



Preface

Why does our field need yet another introductory textbook? We three authors have arrived at an answer through a long series of conversations based on our three decades of experience teaching International Relations to interested and always interesting undergraduates. We recognize that students new to the discipline seek to understand what is happening *now* in a complex world that excites them intellectually but is difficult to fully comprehend. The problem is that courses which place too much emphasis on current events may engage for the moment, but leave students short of the tools needed for sound analysis when, inevitably, the headlines change. On the other hand, courses that focus too heavily on disciplinary or scholastic debates risk leaving new students feeling like outsiders, lacking the context and background to appreciate what is at stake. Professional scholars make sense of the complexity of the world through international relations theories; their natural inclination is to impart knowledge of those theories and their specialized jargon at ever increasing levels of nuance and specificity to initiate even our newest students. Yet, we know that dosage matters: too much theory leaves a new student of international relations overwhelmed and wondering how these debates and typologies matter for the real world, while too little leaves a student unprepared to navigate a complicated and confusing substantive terrain.

We take a different approach to these dilemmas. We begin with the premise that the essentials of international relations are animated less by the news of the day or by the latest twist in theoretical paradigms, and more by a set of long-standing questions that have engaged and challenged generations of international relations scholars and students. We call these *enduring questions* and we motivate each chapter around one of them. Instructors using our book will immediately recognize a familiar organizational structure build around theories and approaches, security studies, international political economy, the role of international organizations and non-state actors, and the future of the international system. But students will be invited to engage with the material in a different way. Once students appreciate that international relations is about grappling with large, challenging questions that have stood the test of time, we believe they will demand the tools necessary to make their own attempt to answer them. Our text provides those tools and offers a variety of approaches and answers to these questions, reflecting differences in the scholarly field of international relations and, in some cases, among ourselves.





We have tried to convey the material of our field in language that is clear and intuitive to undergraduates. We believe it is possible, indeed necessary, to be both comprehensive in coverage and accessible in style. Our intention has not been to make the material artificially easy, but to employ a direct style of writing so that our text welcomes new participants into the enduring conversations of our field, rather than treat them as visitors who need passports and phrase books as they tour a foreign land with exotic customs and language. We aim to inspire students, who are also citizens, to join and remain engaged in those conversations. By developing an appreciation of the enduring questions of our field, and the political, economic and social dynamics that underlie those questions, student-citizens will be more capable not only of understanding today's headlines but also those international issues and problems that will arise long after they have completed their introductory course.

Thematic Framework

We believe the best way for students to attain a firm understanding of international relations is to be able to recognize *enduring questions* in the unfolding of international relations; to grasp the analytical utility of the *levels of analysis*; to understand the interplay of *theory and history*; to *make connections* between the past and present, theory and practice, and political aspirations and practical realities; and to view the world from *different perspectives*.

Enduring Questions

Each chapter following the introduction is organized around an enduring question of international relations. Such questions about relations among countries recur throughout history, have important consequences and are the subject of considerable policy and scholarly debate. For example, consider the question 'In what ways does participation in the world economy help or hinder the development of poorer countries?' America's founding fathers debated that question in the late eighteenth century, the leaders of a newly unified Germany debated it at the end of the nineteenth century, and politicians in China, Brazil, and India struggle with it today. Political scientists and economists have joined that debate over the centuries, often putting forward radically differing answers. Those answers are profoundly consequential for countries seeking to free millions of people from the grip of poverty, and for ambitious leaders seeking to promote national economic strength in order to compete more effectively in the international arena.

As we progress through the chapters that follow, each focusing on an important area of international relations, we begin with a broad, enduring question of international relations to frame the substance of each chapter and to help students recognize that, notwithstanding the presumed novelty of today's fast-paced world, many of the critical issues of contemporary international politics have recurred in one form or another across time. The enduring questions that we address on a chapter-by-chapter basis are summarized in Box 1.1 in Chapter 1. We weave enduring questions throughout the chapters, and at the end of each we revisit that chapter's enduring question and its significance.





Levels of Analysis

The levels-of-analysis framework is a long-standing and battle-tested device for categorizing theories, arguments and insights about international relations. It is valuable both to instructors seeking to organize and teach our field and to students making their initial attempts to understand it. In this text we employ and systematically highlight the individual, state, and international system levels of analysis. For example, our discussion of why the Cold War ended invites students to debate the relative explanatory weight of the role of great leaders and social movements, the calculations of state interest on the part of the United States and Soviet Union, and the shifting balance of economic and technological power between these two superpowers. Our chapters on international political economy go beyond the standard 'trade, money, and investment' format and encourage students to view economic interactions and outcomes from the perspective of the world economy as a whole as well as through the ambitions and strategies of nation-states at different stages of development.

Our goal is for students to move easily across the different levels, yet to be aware of the analytical and theoretical implications of making those moves. At the end of each major section in a chapter, we offer a boxed summary feature prompting students to reflect on the substantive material just presented at one or more relevant levels of analysis. These boxes use icons to represent the different levels of analysis so that instructors and students have an easily identifiable point of reference.

Theory and History

Theoretical frameworks are vital in the study of international relations; they allow us to make sense of the past and anticipate possible patterns in the future. Most beginning students, however, have minimal knowledge of the history of the international system and that constrains their capacity to appreciate either the context in which international relations theories developed or the reason why theories are so important. Our text addresses this problem by providing a comprehensive chapter on the history of international relations and placing it *before* introducing students to the theoretical frameworks and traditions of the field. Scholars have often put forward theories of international relations as a reaction to developments in the world; one must have some baseline knowledge of that world in order to appreciate what has motivated theoretical debates and is at stake within them. We also emphasize that theory and history interact at different levels of analysis, for example by following the chapter on broad theoretical traditions with one on the analysis of state-level foreign policies.

Making Connections

The ability of students to identify and discuss connections across ideas, themes, and issues is an important skill in the development of critical thinking. In the study of international relations, it is obviously critical to appreciate the links between domestic and international politics and between international politics and economics. Other types of important connections may be less obvious to students, so in each chapter we have provided special boxed features that enable students to make connections between theory and practice, between past and present, and between aspirations and reality.





- *Making Connections, Theory and Practice*: By highlighting this connection we help students appreciate both the value and the limits of the standard theories of international relations as devices for organizing and explaining international events. In Chapter 6, for example, we include a box that highlights ‘Realist Theory on International Law, Institutions, and Government Actions.’ We explain that realism generally places very little weight on the value of international law and institutions; yet, even powerful governments like that of the United States seem to place great emphasis in their diplomacy on the workings of these institutions. We encourage students to unravel this puzzle by considering and discussing why governments feel the need to adhere to international law and organizations even when they are not forced to do so, and whether realist theory can account for that seemingly puzzling behaviour.
- *Making Connections, Then and Now*: The boxes that focus on these connections help students to gain insight by uncovering the historical sources of contemporary international initiatives. In Chapter 2, for example, we provide a box on ‘The Persistence of the Munich-Appeasement Analogy,’ showing how that pre-World World II episode shaped the thinking of President Lyndon Johnson about the Vietnam War in 1965 and the calculations of President George W. Bush on the eve of the Iraq War of 2003. We ask students to consider why this type of analogy is so appealing to policy makers, and also to explore whether the logic of the Munich analogy would be persuasive in the event a future American president contemplated military conflict with Iran or North Korea.
- *Making Connections, Aspiration versus Reality*: The boxes that make explicit connections between aspiration and reality remind students of the often profound differences between how the world is and how students, teachers and national leaders might like it to be. For example, in Chapter 12 we provide a feature entitled ‘Compliance with the Kyoto Protocol.’ We show students that among the countries that committed to a treaty to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, some countries met their stated targets while others did not. Why are governments often unable to follow through on commitments they make to improve the global environment? Students may use this feature to debate the role of domestic politics in international behavior, and even to consider the fairness of treaties that hold different countries to different standards in pursuit of a common objective.

Differing Perspectives and Differing Theoretical Approaches

We display two other boxed features chapter by chapter to emphasize to students the importance of viewing the world, and international relations theories about it, from multiple perspectives. First, we use a box labeled Differing Perspectives to help students appreciate that how an individual, group or indeed a political community views a particular international relations issue depends significantly on, among other factors, whether the actor in question is weak or powerful, secure or insecure, or wealthy or poor. For example, countries that already possess nuclear weapons tend to think differently about the dangers of the further spread of nuclear weapons than do countries that do not have those weapons and perceive threats from their neighbors. Our emphasis on multiple perspectives will help students grasp the variety and complexity of the motivations, interests and goals among the many actors on the international stage. In Chapter 10, we feature Fernando Henrique Cardoso on the Benefits of Inter-





national Economic Integration, 1970s versus the 1990s and early 2000s. As a Latin American scholar writing in the 1970s, Cardoso counseled developing countries to minimize their links to the world economy. Later, as president of Brazil during the 1990s, he fully embraced his country's global economic integration. Did Cardoso simply change his mind, did Brazil change its economic position, or did the world economy itself change? We encourage students to consider, discuss and debate how differing perspectives affect the nature of international relations, and how developments in international politics, in turn, change the perspectives of actors.

Second, and beginning in Chapter 3, we include a box labeled Differing Theoretical Approaches. These boxes each pick a particular outcome or decision of relevance to the chapter and describe, in a simple and intuitive way, how scholars working from the perspective of different theoretical traditions (such as liberalism, constructivism, realism, Marxism and feminism) might explain that outcome or decision. For example, in Chapter 4, which focuses on explanations of foreign policy and foreign policy change, we discuss how constructivists, realists and Marxists might account for why Great Britain and the United States long supported South Africa's apartheid regime, yet in the mid-1980s shifted to a strategy of economic sanctions designed to isolate the regime and pressure it to make domestic changes.

Organization of the Book: Integrating Theory, History, and Contemporary International Relations

Chapter 1 serves as our introduction to the study of global politics. We describe how and why international relations are part of the everyday lives of people around the world, including the students reading this book and probably taking their first class in international relations. We provide some basic terms and concepts, elaborate upon the thematic framework of the book, and provide a rationale for our emphasis on recognizing enduring questions, utilizing levels of analysis, making connections, and viewing international relations from differing perspectives.

Beyond the introductory chapter, the book is divided into four parts:

- Part I: Foundations of International Relations (Chapters 2, 3, and 4).
- Part II: War and Peace: An Introduction to Security Studies (Chapters 5, 6, and 7).
- Part III: Wealth and Power: An Introduction to International Political Economy (Chapters 8, 9, and 10).
- Part IV: Contemporary Challenges and the Future of International Relations (Chapters 11, 12, and 13).

Part I: Foundations of International Relations

Part I provides the analytical tools that are integral to the study of international relations. We begin by tracing the evolution of the international system. World politics did not begin in 1945, much less in 1990. Thus, Chapter 2 examines – in broad thematic strokes – global history between 1500 and 2012, covering both the non-Western and the Western origins of the international system. In this chapter we introduce students to key moments in the development of states and the international system up to 1900; then we examine the origins, conduct and consequences during the twentieth century of World War I and World War II, as well as the origins and ending of the





Cold War; and finally we present the key features of the contemporary international order, including the problem of global terrorism.

In Chapter 3, we offer a comprehensive introduction to the primary theoretical frameworks of international relations. We explain why it is important to think theoretically about international relations, and we explore in detail the theoretical traditions of liberalism, realism, constructivism, Marxism, and feminism. Chapter 4 moves from the level of the international system to that of the individual country and provides an overview of foreign policy analysis. Interests and strategies are core concepts in the study of international relations; we examine their internal and external sources, and discuss how and why interests and strategies change over time.

Part II: War and Peace: An Introduction to Security Studies

Part II of the book introduces the subfield of security studies. In Chapter 5 we examine the pathways and mechanisms that sometimes lead states to war. We describe the main characteristics and frequency of international wars and explore the types of issues over which states sometimes fight wars. We also examine wars within states, or civil wars, which are intrinsically important and can have a variety of weighty implications for international relations. In Chapter 6 we explore the parallel issue of the pathways leading states to peace. We examine the importance that leaders and especially ordinary people have assigned to peace, and identify various mechanisms that governments and citizens have used to promote peace. Peace-building efforts are lodged at different levels of analysis, and thus we explore international mechanisms (for example, international law and institutions, and hegemony), transnational mechanisms (for example, peace movements and economic interdependence) and state-level mechanisms (for example, diplomacy and power balancing) to provide students with a comprehensive understanding.

We turn in Chapter 7 to the issues and problems pertaining to weapons of mass destruction (WMD), as well as their effects on international relations. We devote an entire chapter to this topic because students must appreciate the profound effects that WMD and, most importantly, nuclear weapons have had on war-making and peace-making in international relations. This chapter describes the unprecedented destructive capacity of nuclear weapons, explains the peculiar logic of nuclear deterrence, examines the problem of nuclear proliferation and the dangers posed by the possession and spread of chemical and biological weapons, and offers a detailed discussion of the dangerous liaisons that may be bringing together non-state actors, terrorism, and weapons of mass destruction.

Part III: Wealth and Power: An Introduction to International Political Economy

Part III introduces students to the subfield of international political economy, or IPE. We seek to highlight and identify connections between wealth and power by shifting our focus back and forth between international relationships and the foreign policies of states. Chapter 8 begins with the premise that students new to International Relations need to be familiar with the basic concepts of international economics (for example, comparative advantage, or the movement of exchange rates) to appreciate how international politics and economics interact. We focus in Chapter 8 on trade, money, and investment. We draw upon both economics and political science to





analyze the reasons for and consequences of trade, and explain why some states nevertheless choose strategies of protection. We also introduce the types and dynamics of international financial transactions, including the role of exchange rates and the activities of multinational corporations. We explore the institutionalized mechanisms through which states manage their economic relationships, and we concentrate on how states have learned to promote and manage economic globalization in part through forming and working through such international institutions as the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Once students have a basic grasp of economic concepts and of the substance and workings of the world economy, we move in Chapter 9 to the state level and examine how states seek to shape the global economy to promote their influence, defend their national interests, and maintain when possible their national economic autonomy. We explore the major perspectives on the relationships between states and markets as they inform the economic choices of states in a competitive geopolitical world; the relationships among state-building, war, and markets; the role of powerful states in the creation of open markets; the relationship between economic interdependence and interstate conflict; and the use of economic relations as political tools. Chapter 10 focuses in particular on developing and emerging economies. We provide perspectives on the meaning of economic development and review the economic experiences over recent decades of different groups of developing countries. We also introduce students to the structural challenges that past linkages to the global economy pose for poorer countries as they have sought to achieve economic development, and explore opportunities and problems that contemporary globalization in trade and finance may present to developing countries. We devote a section of this chapter to the particular opportunities and challenges facing prominent emerging economies such as Brazil, China, India, Russia and South Africa.

Part IV: Contemporary Challenges and the Future of International Relations

Part IV focuses on contemporary versions of recurring challenges to the international system. Chapter 11 analyzes terrorism as both an old and new problem in international relations. We consider the problems that drug cartels and pirates on the high seas pose for state authority; and we discuss the special problems associated with failed states. We probe the issue of human rights, and in particular whether the international community has a responsibility to protect individuals in failed states who are being harmed by their home governments, even if doing so violates the sovereignty of those states. Chapter 12 takes up the international environment and natural resources as international political issues. We describe key global environmental and resource issues involving the atmosphere, the oceans, and the land, and we investigate why such problems arise, how governments try to address them, and what helps or hinders those efforts. We also explore links between environmental and resource problems on the one hand and civil and international conflict on the other.

Chapter 13 serves as the conclusion to the textbook. Here we invite students to draw on the enduring questions, connections and perspectives they have absorbed throughout the course to think systematically about the future. We assist that effort by laying out several visions of the future of world politics. We draw contrasts between those who believe that the distribution of global power will be important in shaping





the future of world politics and those who do not, and in particular we explore the implications of international systems characterized by one or multiple great powers. We juxtapose the ideas of globalization optimists, who focus on the beneficent effects on world politics of the global spread of the democratic peace, with the views of globalization pessimists, who worry about the clash of civilizations and the renewed significance of religion. We also engage with the possibility that the international system might be moving toward a period of global fracture, that is, an uneasy world of interacting pre-modern, modern and post-modern zones of world politics.

Distinguishing Emphases and Components of the Book

In summary, instructors and students will find the following distinguishing features in our text:

- Each chapter begins with an enduring question that frames the substance of the chapter and helps students recognize key issues in the field of international relations.
- Each chapter begins with a clear specification of learning objectives and ends with a list of further reading and suggested study questions.
- Each chapter utilizes the levels-of-analysis framework and connects it to our enduring question using boxed features and easy-to-recognize icons.
- Each chapter contains five text boxes to help students make the critical connections between theory and practice, between past and present, between aspiration and reality, and to highlight differing perspectives, both in general and in terms of international relations theories.
- A chapter (Chapter 2) that analyzes the key themes in the formation and evolution of the international system from 1500 to the present.
- A separate chapter (Chapter 4) that is devoted to the concepts needed to analyze the foreign policies of particular states and that allows instructors and students to move back and forth across the international and national levels of analysis.
- Sustained attention to both economic and security issues, and to their interaction in the past and current international systems.
- Systematic treatment of important issues in contemporary international relations, such as the rise of non-state and transnational actors and the role of the environment in world politics.
- A chapter (Chapter 7) dedicated to the special problems posed by nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.
- An extended discussion of rising powers – China, Brazil, India, Russia and South Africa – in the current international system.
- An innovative concluding chapter that draws upon enduring questions and multiple perspectives to encourage students to think creatively yet systematically about alternative futures for world politics.





A Note to Students

Your world appears to be in a constant state of rapid change. Things that seemed important ten or even five years ago – especially if they involve technology, mobile phones or social networking – today seem out of date. You will find that change is also a salient feature of international relations; this book will help you to recognize the profound transformations that have taken place over the space of several decades and even several centuries.

Yet there is some truth to the nineteenth-century French proverb (and the twenty-first-century popular song) that ‘the more things change, the more they stay the same.’ It is critical, especially when change appears to be the normal state of affairs, to grasp the enduring continuities that help define and shape international relations. This book will enable you to appreciate both continuity and change in the fascinating international landscape, and to recognize that not everyone sees the international landscape in the same way. We invite you to use this book as a starting point to explore the terrain of international relations yourself, with your fellow students and friends, and over the course of your life.

