Contents

List of Features xv
List of Illustrative Material xviii
About the Authors xxiii
Preface to the Second Edition xxv
Acknowledgements xxxiv
Tour of the Book xxxvi
Online Teaching and Learning Resources xxxviii

1 Understanding International Relations 2
Did you know that what we currently consider international relations can be traced back at least 2,500 years?

How Does International Relations Affect Us? 4
Who is Involved in International Relations? 7
   How Do These Actors Get What They Want in International Relations? 9
How Can We Understand and Analyze International Relations? 9
   Theoretical Foundations 9
   Levels of Analysis 14
   Making Connections: Aspiration versus Reality 17
   Recognizing Enduring Questions 17
   Making Connections: Then and Now 19
   Research Insight 22
How Can We View World Politics from Different Perspectives? 23
   Recognizing Great-Power Centrism 24
   Recognizing Cleavages within the International System 26
Looking Ahead 29
# 1 FOUNDATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

## 2 The Emergence of a Global System of States, 1500–Today

*How did a fragmented world become a global, integrated system of states for which order is an ongoing problem?*

1. **Starting Point: The World in 1500** 35
2. **The Formation of the International Political System, 1500–1900** 37
   - A State System Emerges in Western Europe 38
   - European Pursuit of Foreign Empire 41
   - Why were European States Successful Imperialists? 45
3. **World War I and World War II, 1900–45** 46
   - World War I 46
   - The Interwar Period: Failed Global Reconstruction, 1919–39 50
   - War Comes Again to Europe and the World, 1939–45 53
4. **The Global Struggle of the Cold War, 1945–89** 55
   - The World in 1945 56
   - Explaining the Origins of the Cold War 57
   - The Cold War as an International Order 59
   - The End of the Cold War and the Collapse of the Soviet Union 61
5. **The View from the South: Decolonization, the Non-Aligned Movement, and the Quest for a New International Economic Order** 65
   - Decolonization 65
   - The Non-Aligned Movement and Pressure for a New International Economic Order 66
   - From the Unipolar Era to the Return of Great-Power Politics 67
   - Globalization and Its Discontents 70
   - The Prevalence of International Terrorism 71
7. **Revisiting the Enduring Question and Looking Ahead** 74

## 3 Theories of International Relations

*How do theoretical traditions in international relations differ on how to understand actors and their behavior on the global stage?*

1. **The Realist Tradition** 78
   - Realist Assumptions 79
   - Realist Propositions 80
   - The English School of International Relations 85
2. **The Liberal Tradition** 86
   - Liberal Assumptions 86
   - Liberal Propositions 88
   - Neo-Liberal Institutionalism 93
3. **The Marxist Tradition** 94
   - Marxist Assumptions 96
   - Marxist Propositions 99
### Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Constructivist Tradition</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constructivist Assumptions</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constructivist Propositions</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical Theory and the Feminist Tradition</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Feminist Tradition</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminist Propositions</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparing Traditions</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revisiting the Enduring Question and Looking Ahead</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**4 The Analysis of Foreign Policy**

What motivates and influences the behavior of states toward one another?

Foreign Policy Analysis: Connections to International Relations       116

The Study of International Relations and the Analysis of Foreign Policy 116

Core Concepts of Foreign Policy                                         118

Foreign Policy Interests                                                118

Foreign Policy Strategy                                                 118

The Sources of Foreign Policy                                           124

Sources of Foreign Policy at the Individual Level of Analysis           124

Sources of Foreign Policy at the State Level of Analysis                125

Sources of Foreign Policy at the International Level of Analysis       136

How and Why States Change Their Foreign Policy                          139

Sources of Foreign Policy Change at the Individual Level of Analysis    139

Sources of Foreign Policy Change at the State Level of Analysis         141

Sources of Foreign Policy Change at the International Level of Analysis 143

Revisiting the Enduring Question and Looking Ahead                      146

**5 Framing International Relations: The Role of Laws and Organizations**

How important are international laws and organizations in a world of sovereign states?

Basic Concepts and Distinctions                                         150

Types of International Law                                              151

Types of International Organization                                     152

Domestic vs. International Law                                          154

Domains of International Law and Organizations                           156

When May States Launch Wars?                                            156

Humanitarian Intervention and the ‘Responsibility to Protect’           162

International Law and the Human Rights Revolution                       168

The World’s Oceans and Waterways                                        173

Theoretical Explanations for the Existence of International Law and Organizations 178

The Liberal Tradition: Law as Functional Problem-Solver                178

The Realist Tradition: Law as Derivative of State Power and Interests   181

The Marxist Tradition: Law Reinforces the Economic Divide               182

The Constructivist Tradition: Law Embodies the Norms of World Politics  183
## Theoretical Explanations for the Effectiveness of International Law and Organizations

- **The Liberal Tradition**
- **The Realist Tradition**
- **The Constructivist Tradition**

## Revisiting the Enduring Question and Looking Ahead

### II WAR AND PEACE: AN INTRODUCTION TO SECURITY STUDIES

### 6 War and Its Causes

*Why is war a persistent feature of international relations?*

#### Wars between Countries

- Types of Military Conflicts between Countries
- Incidence of International Military Conflicts
- Lethality of International Wars

#### Immediate Causes of War

#### Underlying Causes of War: The Individual Level of Analysis

- Misperception, Stress, and ‘Motivated Biases’
- Social Psychology of Small Groups: Groupthink
- Personality Trait of Leaders: Over-Optimism

#### Underlying Causes of War: The State Level of Analysis

- Domestic Economic Systems and War
- Domestic Political Institutions and Governmental Processes
- Nationalism and War
- Societal Gender Relations and International Conflict

#### Underlying Causes of War: The International Level of Analysis

- Anarchy as a Permissive Condition for War
- Anarchy as a Propellant of International Conflict

#### Internal Wars and their Causes

- Internal Wars and Their Impact on International Peace and Security
- Internal Wars: Types and Trends
- Causes of Internal Wars

## 7 Pathways to Interstate Peace

*What factors make it more likely that states can resolve their differences and avoid war?*

#### The International Distribution of Power as a Condition for Peace

- Balance of Power
- Hegemony

#### State Strategies for Achieving Interstate Peace

- Diplomacy
- Power Balancing

#### International Law and Institutions as Mechanisms for Peace

- Three Experiences with International Law and Institutions: The League of Nations, the United Nations, and the European Union
Contents

Transnational Mechanisms for Peace 257
  Economic Interdependence 257
  A Possible International Community of Democratic Nations 260
  Peace Movements and Global Civil Society 262
Revisiting the Enduring Question and Looking Ahead 264

8 Technology, the Use of Force, and Weapons of Mass Destruction 266
  How have weapons of mass destruction, and in particular nuclear weapons, changed the practice of international relations?

  Technology and the Historical Evolution of Warfare 268
  Nuclear Weapons and the Nuclear Revolution 269
    The Devastating Effects of Nuclear Weapons 270
    The Nuclear Revolution 275
  Nuclear Proliferation and Efforts to Halt it 285
    Obtaining Nuclear Capability: Difficult but Not Impossible 285
    Why do States Want Nuclear Weapons? 288
    How Dangerous Is Nuclear Proliferation? 291
    Efforts to Halt Proliferation: The Grand Bargain 293
  Chemical and Biological Weapons 297
    How They Work and Efforts to Control Them 297
    Comparing Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Weapons 300
  Weapons of Mass Destruction, Non-State Actors, and Terrorism 301
  New Technologies and New Challenges: Drones and Cyber-Warfare 303
    Drones 303
    The Emergence of Cyber-Warfare 305
Revisiting the Enduring Question and Looking Ahead 306

III WEALTH AND POWER: AN INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

9 International Economics: Basic Theory and Core Institutions 310
  How does international politics shape the global economy?

  Basic Elements of International Trade Theory and Policy 312
    Building Blocks for Analysis: Consumption and Production 313
    Comparative Advantage 314
    The Gains from Trade 315
    Why Do Countries Protect Themselves from Trade? 317
  Basic Elements of International Money 322
    National Exchange-Rate Systems 323
  Multinational Enterprises and International Political Economy 331
    Definition and Characteristics of Multinational Enterprises 331
    Importance of MNEs to the World Economy 333
    Political Issues Surrounding MNEs 334
# Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Institutions of the World Economy</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Trade: From GATT to WTO to the New Regionalism</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Finance: Why Is the IMF so Controversial?</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global Governance: From the G-7 and G-8 to the G-20</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revisiting the Enduring Question and Looking Ahead</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 States and Markets in the World Economy</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How do governments manage international economic relations to further national political objectives?</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Great Eras of Economic Globalization</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>States and Markets: Three Great Traditions of Thought</td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Liberalism</td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Nationalism</td>
<td>364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marxism</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>States and Markets in a World of Anarchy</td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Two-Sided Government: Managing Domestic and International Relations</td>
<td>368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Building, War, and Markets</td>
<td>378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Powers and the World Economy</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership and the Liberal World Economy</td>
<td>383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Contemporary World Economy: Globalization and Its Challenges</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revisiting the Enduring Question and Looking Ahead</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Dilemmas of Development</td>
<td>392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does participation in the world economy help or hinder the economic development of poorer countries?</td>
<td>394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What and Where Are the Developing Countries?</td>
<td>394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is Economic Development?</td>
<td>395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growth Experiences of Different Groups of Developing Countries</td>
<td>397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Relations and Challenges to Developing Countries</td>
<td>398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to Develop: A Legacy of Colonialism?</td>
<td>398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficulties in Development: The Division of Labor</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is International Trade a Path to Development?</td>
<td>404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market-Controlling Trade Strategies</td>
<td>404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market-Accepting Trade Strategies</td>
<td>406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategies to Reshape the Rules of International Trade</td>
<td>409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is International Finance a Path to Development?</td>
<td>410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Financial Flows: Meaning, Types, and Magnitudes</td>
<td>410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunities and Challenges for Developing Countries</td>
<td>412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMF Lending to Developing Countries</td>
<td>418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development Strategies and Emerging Powers – the BRICS</td>
<td>419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revisiting the Enduring Question and Looking Ahead</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IV CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES AND THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

12 Non-State Actors and Challenges to Sovereignty 434
Can the state continue to overcome challenges to its authority?

States, Sovereignty, and the Westphalian System 436
Challenges to Sovereign States 439
  Weak and Failed States 440
  Piracy 447
  Terrorism 450
  Technology and the Privatization of War 452
International Responses to Weak and Failed States 454
Whither the State? 459
Revisiting the Enduring Question and Looking Ahead 462

13 The Environment and International Relations 464
How does the natural environment influence international relations?

Sources of Problems for the Global Environment and Natural Resources 466
  Negative Externalities 466
  The Tragedy of the Commons 468
Challenges for the World’s Environment and Natural Resources 470
  Problems with the Atmosphere 470
  Damage to the World’s Water Resources 476
  Damage to the Land 480
Management of International Environmental Problems 482
  Unilateral Responses 483
  Bilateral Efforts 485
  Multilateral Approaches 485
Revisiting the Enduring Question and Looking Ahead 493

14 Facing the Future: Six Visions of an Emerging International Order 496
Will the international system undergo fundamental change in the future?

Model 1: A World of Geo-Economic Competition 498
  Characteristics of Geo-Economic Competition 500
  International Trends 503
  Contrary Evidence and Questions 505
Model 2: A Return to a Multipolar Balance-of-Power System 508
  Characteristics of Multipolarity 509
  International Trends 509
  Contrary Evidence and Questions 511
Model 3: A Return to Bipolarity 513
  Characteristics of a New Bipolarity 513
  International Trends 514
  Contrary Evidence and Questions 515
## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Model 4: A Democratic Peace</td>
<td>516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Characteristics of Democratic Peace</td>
<td>516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Trends</td>
<td>518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrary Evidence and Questions</td>
<td>519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model 5: A Clash of Civilizations</td>
<td>521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Characteristics of a Clash of Civilizations</td>
<td>522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Trends</td>
<td>524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrary Evidence and Questions</td>
<td>524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model 6: Global Fracture: Pre-Modern, Modern, and Post-Modern Zones</td>
<td>528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Characteristics of Global Fracture</td>
<td>528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Trends</td>
<td>530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrary Evidence and Questions</td>
<td>531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looking Back: A Reminder to Focus on Enduring Questions</td>
<td>532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glossary</td>
<td>534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>References</td>
<td>548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index</td>
<td>568</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Features

Box 1.1  *Enduring Questions in International Relations*  19

**Making Connections, Theory and Practice**

Box 2.1  *Religious Identity and the Franco-Ottoman Military Alliance*  39
Box 3.1  *Realism and State Rationality: The Issue of State Self-Defeatism*  80
Box 4.5  *The Influence of Bankers on Foreign Policy across Countries*  137
Box 5.6  *Obama, Trump, and the Paris Agreement on Climate Change*  186
Box 6.6  *Institutional Politics and War: The US Oil Embargo against Japan, 1941*  219
Box 7.2  *Realist Theory on International Law, Institutions, and Government Actions*  249
Box 8.2  *The Logic of MAD versus the Cold War Nuclear Strategies of the United States and Soviet Union*  279
Box 9.2  *The Economic Logic of Specialization and Trade versus the Political Power of Domestic Interest Groups*  320
Box 10.3  *The Trade Dispute over China’s ‘Rare Earth’ Mineral Exports*  377
Box 11.4  *Foreign Aid and Economic Development in Africa*  415
Box 12.4  *State Sovereignty*  455
Box 13.1  *The Tragedy of the Commons and Deforestation of Tropical Forests*  469
Box 14.3  *The Future of NATO under Multipolarity*  512

**Making Connections, Then and Now**

Box 2.2  *The Persistence of the Munich Analogy*  53
Box 3.3  *Changing Character of Economic Doctrines*  89
Box 4.3  *Presidents Woodrow Wilson, Harry Truman, and Barack Obama on Working with Congress on Foreign Policy*  130
Box 5.1  *The Evolution of the United Nations*  157
Box 6.1  *Conflict of Interest over Domestic Political Regimes: The French Revolutionary Period in the 1790s and the Buildup to the US Invasion of Iraq in 2003*  208
### List of Features

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Box</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>The Growth of Modern International Diplomacy</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>Proposals from US Political Elites for a Nuclear-Free World</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>Trade-Dispute Settlement in the GATT and WTO</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>The Rise of a Liberal World Economy</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>State Leaders Describe the Importance of National Economic Self-Sufficiency</td>
<td>401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>Pirates in the Seventeenth and Twenty-First Centuries</td>
<td>448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>From Sporadic Overfishing to Possible Collapse of Vital Marine Life</td>
<td>479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>Regional Economic Blocs</td>
<td>506</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Making Connections, Aspiration versus Reality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Box</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>The United States and Support for Democracy during the Cold War</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Liberal Visions of Shared Benefits of Economic Growth</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>US Foreign Policy toward China, 2009</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>The Responsibility to Protect</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>Pre-Conflict Aspirations of Leaders and the Realities of War</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>Collective Security versus the British Abandonment of Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>Government Advice on Preparing for Nuclear War versus Government</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>Response to Hurricane Katrina</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>Free Trade in Principle, Not Practice</td>
<td>379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>Developed Countries’ Pledges and Performance on Official Development</td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>Assistance 1970 and 2002</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>Compliance with the Kyoto Protocol</td>
<td>488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>Revolutionary Upheaval in the Middle East</td>
<td>520</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Differing Perspectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Box</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>The Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>China, Southeast Asia, and the Security Dilemma</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Explaining Iraq’s Foreign Policy and Decision to Go to War in 1991</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Views of the International Criminal Court from Africa, America,</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and the UN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Conflict of Interest over Territory: Taiwan, China, and the Risk of</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Military Conflict in East Asia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>Liberals and Realists on Interdependence and the Rise of China</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>Were Nuclear Attacks on Japan Needed to End World War II?</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>Infant-Industry Protection in Developing Countries</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>The Chinese Government and Google</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>Fernando Henrique Cardoso on the Benefits of International Economic</td>
<td>408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Integration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>How to Cope with the Threat of International Terrorism</td>
<td>452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>The United States, India, and Greenhouse Gas Emissions</td>
<td>490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>The Clash of Civilizations</td>
<td>527</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Differing Theoretical Approaches

| Box 3.6 | Sources of Change in International Relations | 109 |
| Box 4.6 | Why Did the United States and the European Community Impose Economic Sanctions against South Africa? | 144 |
| Box 5.4 | Realist, Liberal, and Constructivist Ideas on Sovereignty and Humanitarian Intervention | 167 |
| Box 6.3 | Constructivist and Feminist Interpretations of Groupthink and the Bay of Pigs | 213 |
| Box 7.4 | The Role and Significance of the United Nations | 255 |
| Box 8.5 | Why Don’t More States Pursue Nuclear Weapons? | 291 |
| Box 9.6 | Realist, Liberal, and Constructivist Views on the Prospects for an Ambitious G-20 Agenda | 352 |
| Box 10.5 | Why Has China Embraced International Institutions? | 383 |
| Box 11.6 | The Future of the BRICS | 421 |
| Box 12.6 | The Future of the Nation-State | 461 |
| Box 13.6 | Factors Affecting the Likelihood of a Comprehensive Climate-Change Agreement | 492 |
| Box 14.1 | Explaining the End of the Cold War | 501 |

## Research Insight

| Box 2.5 | What Motivates Suicide Terrorism? | 73 |
| Box 3.4 | Is a Rising China Likely to Support or Undermine the Existing International Order? | 93 |
| Box 4.4 | Why Did the United Kingdom decide to Leave the European Union? | 133 |
| Box 5.2 | Why Seek Authorization for War from the UN Security Council? | 162 |
| Box 6.5 | Beyond the Democratic Peace Thesis: Some Authoritarian States May Be as Peaceful as Democracies | 218 |
| Box 7.5 | Economic Interdependence and Conflict | 259 |
| Box 8.4 | Does Having the Bomb Provide Foreign Policy Benefits? | 290 |
| Box 9.5 | Is Trade Becoming Less Important to Global Economic Growth? | 342 |
| Box 10.6 | Globalization and Inequality | 386 |
| Box 11.2 | Natural Resources and Political Dysfunctionality at Home and Abroad | 402 |
| Box 12.5 | What is Global Civil Society? | 460 |
| Box 13.3 | Does Democratization Help the Environment? | 484 |
Preface to the Second Edition

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 built around theories and approaches, security studies, international political economy, and contemporary challenges 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 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. 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 new 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 then and now, and between aspirations and reality. This second edition also contains a new feature called ‘Research Insight.’

• 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 3, for example, we include a box that explores ‘Realism and State Rationality: The Issue of State Self-Defeatism.’ We observe that realism views states as rational actors making sober calculations of power and interests. In reality, however, states sometimes embark on ideological crusades or other types of self-defeating behavior that works to the detriment of their security. To unravel this puzzle, we encourage students to look to the domestic level of analysis and note that certain types of societal coalitions can have strong influences on a state’s foreign policy and drive it in a self-destructive direction.
• 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 13 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.

• Research Insight: This feature, new to the second edition, applies findings in academic research to contested or puzzling national and international policy topics. The purpose is to remind students, in each chapter, of the important contributions scholars make to understanding international relations. In Chapter 5, for example, we take up the question of why powerful states, strong enough to go to war on their own, nevertheless seek authorization to do so from the United Nations Security Council. We review recent research that suggests state leaders, by working through the UN system, gain valuable information about the likely support of or resistance to their initiative. We cite other research which shows that the greater the international support for military initiative, the more likely it will garner domestic support as well.

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 11, we feature Fernando Henrique Cardoso on the benefits of international 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 the United Kingdom 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, 4, and 5).
- **Part II: War and Peace: An Introduction to Security Studies** (Chapters 6, 7, and 8).
- **Part III: Wealth and Power: An Introduction to International Political Economy** (Chapters 9, 10, and 11).
- **Part IV: Contemporary Challenges and the Future of International Relations** (Chapters 12, 13, and 14).

**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. In this second edition, we have devoted greater attention to defining features of the contemporary international system, including the return of great power politics, globalization, and the populist backlash against it, evidenced by the United Kingdom’s decision to exit the European Union and the US election of President Donald Trump, and the rise of global terrorism and the response to it.

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.

This second edition includes a new chapter on international law and organizations. We view law and organizations as part of the basic infrastructure or architecture of international relations, and thus we include the chapter in the 'Foundations' section of the book. This chapter, Chapter 5, analyzes the different types of international law and how international law differs from domestic law; reviews the roles played by international laws and organizations in key areas of international political and economic activity; explains why laws and organizations emerge, with sensitivity to different explanations provided by liberal, realist, Marxist, and constructivist thinkers; and discusses why sovereign states may comply with international laws, even those which appear to constrain their behavior.

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

Part II of the book introduces the subfield of security studies. In Chapter 6 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 7 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 8 to the issues and problems pertaining to weapons of mass destruction (WMD), as well as their effects on international relations. Our goal is for students to appreciate the relationships between technology and the use of force in general and in particular 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 discusses the dangerous liaisons that may be bringing together non-state actors, terrorism, and weapons of mass destruction. This second edition also takes up the possible impact of new technologies, drones, and cyber-warfare, on international politics.

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 9 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 9 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 10 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 11 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 12 analyzes the reasons for and the consequences of weak and failing states in the international system. Failed states enable the operation of terrorists, pirates, drug gangs, and warlords. We also 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 13 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 14 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 six text boxes to help students make the critical connections between theory and practice, between then and now, between aspiration and reality, to highlight differing perspectives, both in general and in terms of international relations theories, and to appreciate the findings and insights of current academic research.
- 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, the role of the environment in world politics, the problem of failed states, and the populist backlash against globalization found in the advanced industrial world following the financial crisis of 2008–10.
- A chapter (Chapter 8) 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.
Enduring question
Did you know that what we currently consider international relations can be traced back at least 2,500 years?

Chapter Contents

• How Does International Relations Affect Us?
• Who Is Involved in International Relations?
• How Can We Understand and Analyze International Relations?
• How Can We View World Politics from Different Perspectives?
• Looking Ahead
• Study Questions
• Further Reading
Learning Objectives

By the end of this chapter you will be able to:

→ Understand why international relations matter.
→ Apply a basic vocabulary and the levels-of-analysis device to international relations and foreign policy.
→ Analyze the use of enduring questions in international relations.
→ Recognize the need to make connections between international relations theory and practice, the past and present, and aspirations and reality to develop a better understanding of international relations.
→ Evaluate the significance of viewing world politics from multiple perspectives.
During the fifth century BCE, the relevant political groups were Greek city-states (e.g. Athens or Sparta) rather than modern nation-states. International relations in that period in some ways looks similar to what it is today (city-states traded with each other, participated in cross-border sports competitions, practiced diplomacy, formed alliances, and fought wars against each other as enemies and as allies against the Persian Empire), but, of course, the modern international system also looks very different.

We define international relations as the political, economic, social, and cultural relations between two countries or among many countries. In this, we also include relations countries have with other important actors such as global corporations or international organizations. Today's nation-states operate in a global system of interaction. Goods, technology, and money change hands with the click of a mouse rather than with the launch of a sailing ship. States still fight wars, but the destructive capacity of modern weapons, especially nuclear weapons, introduces a strong element of caution into how states resolve conflicts with each other. Non-state actors, such as global corporations, environmental advocacy groups, and criminal and terrorist networks cross borders and share the stage with countries and their governments.

This book introduces you to the fascinating and complex world of international relations. The best way to begin to acquire a solid knowledge of this field is to master some basic terms and concepts that are used to describe international relations and foreign policy and to learn how to employ the levels-of-analysis framework for organizing and understanding arguments and ideas about international relations. Second and most importantly, we believe you can begin to master the complexity of international relations by exploring what we call enduring questions. These are questions which have engaged and challenged generations of international relations scholars and students – large, challenging questions that have stood the test of time. Finally, we believe it is critically important that you are able to make connections about international relations that relate the past to the present, theory to practice, and aspiration to reality. You should also be comfortable viewing world politics from multiple perspectives. We will explain what we mean by each of these defining features of our book as we introduce you in this chapter to the field of international relations.

**HOW DOES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AFFECT US?**

If you happen to be one of the many people to own an iPhone (as of 2016, over one billion had been sold worldwide), you are probably familiar with Apple, the famous American computer company. Although the iPhone was designed and marketed by Apple in California, its components are produced all over the world. A South Korean company, Samsung, and a Chinese company, Sunwoda Electric, manufacture the battery. The camera and flash memory come from Japan. The touchscreen is made by a US company, Broadcom, with factories in one dozen locations including Israel, the United Kingdom, India, and Brazil. The various components are sent to Taiwan, where companies named Foxconn and Pegatron assemble and ship phones to customers around the globe (Costello 2017; Xing and Detert 2010). As a consumer, you benefit directly from this global network of trade: the mobile phone you buy and the service you receive are more affordable than if your phone had been built and serviced all in one country. Some East Asian, European, and American workers share in the benefits of this trade as well, since the more phones that are sold, the more US-, European-, and East Asian-based jobs are created to produce and service them.
The stakes in international relations sometimes involve conflict and war rather than, or alongside, trade and mutual economic benefit. One watershed moment occurred on September 11, 2001, when members of the Al Qaeda transnational terrorist organization hijacked a number of airliners and crashed two of them into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, a third into the Pentagon (the headquarters of the US Department of Defense) in the nation’s capital, and a fourth headed toward another Washington target (before being stopped by a passenger uprising that resulted in the plane crashing in Pennsylvania). In total, over 3,000 people died during the September 11 attacks, including several hundred police and fire workers who tried to save the initial victims in the Twin Towers. These attacks prompted a US-led invasion of Afghanistan, whose Taliban government had been giving refuge to Al Qaeda, and served as one justification for a second and far more controversial US-led war, against Iraq, in 2003. It also prompted US special-forces and spy operations against Al Qaeda in numerous countries, including one in Pakistan in May 2011 in which its leader, Osama bin Laden, was killed.

The events of September 11 gave rise to a longer-term war against terrorism, that has been a prominent part of America’s recent engagement with international relations. But taking a longer view, we should recognize that in relative terms Americans have been among the peoples of the world least affected by foreign wars. In the Vietnam War, one of the longest and costliest wars fought by the United States, 58,000 Americans were killed and about 300,000 were wounded. However, in 1995, the Vietnamese government estimated that 2 million civilians in the North and another 2 million in the South also died during the war. Vietnamese casualties represented a shocking 13 percent of the total population of that country.

The citizens of France and Germany treated each other as adversaries for almost 100 years. These two countries fought a major war against each other in 1870 and were the principal combatants in two devastating World Wars, between 1914 and 1918 and again between 1939 and 1945. It is not surprising that, for many decades, the French and German people regarded each other with suspicion and resentment and considered each other mortal enemies. But, since 1945, the French and German governments have cooperated with each other politically and economically in what is today called the European Union (EU) – a group of 28 European countries (27 if the United Kingdom leaves as planned in 2019) that abide by common laws and practices – and militarily in an alliance called the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which requires the United States and its European partners to come to the defense of each other in the event of a military attack against one of them. Today, war between France and Germany is almost unthinkable, and in 2012 the European Union was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in recognition of its historical accomplishments. French and German citizens freely cross each other’s borders and work in each other’s factories and offices. The Germans and French even gave up their long-standing national currencies, the Deutschmark and the French franc in 2002; they now share, along with 17 other European Union members, a common currency called the euro. Today, members of the European Union worry very little about war with each other and very much about economic instability as they struggle to recover from a financial crisis that has threatened their own prosperity and that of the global economy.

International relations involve not just war and the movement of goods and money across borders, but also the ability of people themselves to move across those borders. If you are not a citizen, national governments require you to have special permission (for example, in Australia an employer-sponsored 457 visa, or in the

---

**European Union**
A group of 28 European countries that abide by common laws and practices.

**North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**
A defense pact formed in 1949 between the US, the UK, and several other western European states. It has since expanded and is still very active today.

**Euro**
The common currency of the eurozone.
Understanding International Relations

United States, an identification document commonly known as a green card) before you may legally work in their country. Even visiting different countries simply as a tourist often requires you to request permission in the form of a visa from the respective governments of those countries. The citizens of some countries have an easier time crossing borders than do the citizens of others; in 2012, for example, citizens of Sweden and Finland could enter 168 other countries without needing a visa, while Chinese citizens could only enter 41 countries and Pakistani citizens only 32 countries visa-free (Visato.com 2012). But even these opportunities would have been a luxury compared to what international relations imposed on people living in Eastern Europe between the late 1940s and late 1980s. During that time an Iron Curtain, a term coined by British leader Winston Churchill to capture the profound political and human divisions, separated the western and eastern parts of Europe. The communist governments of Eastern European countries tried to prevent their citizens from traveling to the West because they feared people would find freedom so attractive that they would not return home. The eastern and western parts of today’s German capital city, Berlin, were divided by the Berlin Wall. East Berliners trying to escape across the wall to West Berlin were routinely shot by East German guards.

International relations powerfully affect our everyday lives. There are 196 countries in the world today (that includes Taiwan, which operates as a country but which is also claimed by the People’s Republic of China as a part of its own country) and they interact with each other over a wide variety of political, economic, social, cultural, and scientific issues. They also interact with an array of international governmental organizations (IGOs) – organizations that states join to further their political or economic interests – such as the United Nations (UN), International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Health Organization (WHO), World Trade Organization (WTO), and Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Countries also deal regularly...
with private actors whose work crosses borders, such as the US-based conglomerate General Electric, the Chinese-based computer company Lenovo, the international health crisis response team Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors Without Borders), and transnational political and social movements such as the Muslim Brotherhood and the World Social Forum. Your task is to gain an understanding of those relationships, and so we begin by laying some of the necessary foundations.

WHO IS INVOLVED IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS?

The initial step is to identify the fundamental actors in international relations. While the question of which actors in international relations are most important is controversial and will be taken up in many of the chapters that follow, for now we can identify at least three important classes of key actors in international relations.

First, we are interested in individual national leaders. These are individuals, like the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, or the Chancellor of Germany, who hold executive offices as a result of which they are entitled to make foreign policy and military decisions on behalf of their countries. We also include those individuals, such as the Russian Defense Minister or the Brazilian Minister of Agriculture, who as a result of the offices they hold give counsel to and implement the decisions of their respective core executive leaders, like the Russian or Brazilian President.

Second, we are interested in states. In international relations we often say ‘India’ has this or that foreign policy interest, or that ‘China’ has this or that strategy toward ‘Russia,’ or that ‘Venezuela’ is making use of this or that foreign policy instrument to attain some goal. India, China, Russia, and Venezuela are among the 196 states in the current international system. But what, in general, is a state? It is a political entity with two key features: a piece of territory with reasonably well-defined borders, and political authorities who enjoy sovereignty, that is, they have an effective and recognized capacity to govern residents within the territory and an ability to establish relationships with governments that control other states.

The state should be distinguished from another key international relations actor, the nation. States are political units, while nations are collections of people who share a common culture, history, or language. The term nation-state refers to a political unit inhabited by people sharing common culture, history, or language. Although nation-state is used frequently in international relations literature, often as a synonym for country, pure nation-states are rare: possible examples might include Albania, where over 95 percent of the population consists of ethnic Albanians, or Iceland, which has a language and culture found only on that island. Nations often transcend the boundary of any single state; members of the Chinese nation, for example, are found in mainland China and in Taiwan, but also in Singapore, Malaysia, and other parts of Southeast Asia.

Similarly, states often contain more than one nation. The former Soviet Union included not only Russians but Armenians, Ukrainians, Georgians, Latvians, and Lithuanians, among others. Many African countries were created from former colonies whose borders were not drawn along national lines. Kenya, for example, contains numerous ethnic groups, including the Kikuyu and Luo, with their own languages, cultures, and traditions. Scotland is a distinctive nation that is part of the United Kingdom (Great Britain), and Catalonia is a distinctive nation that is part of Spain. Both Scotland and Catalonia, with their own cultures and languages and long histories of political autonomy, have recently contemplated breaking away from their multinational states and creating their own independent nation-states.
surprising that one of the fiercest rivalries in global sports is between the football clubs FC Barcelona (based in Catalonia) and Real Madrid (based in the capital of Spain).

Third, to understand international relations we need to analyze non-state actors. These are actors other than states that operate within or across state borders with important consequences for international relations. Multinational enterprises such as the US-based soft drink company Coca Cola, the Netherlands-based electronics firm Philips, and the Japan-based conglomerate Mitsubishi are non-state actors with important business operations across the globe. The Catholic Church and the Muslim Brotherhood are active regionally and globally and are thus important non-state actors; and, with radically different aims and methods, several criminal groups, such as mafias and drug cartels, and terrorist organizations such as ETA (a Basque group that has used violence to pursue Catalonia’s separation from Spain) and Boko Haram (a Nigerian group that forbids Muslims from participating in Western-style social or educational activities) are consequential non-state actors. ISIS (the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), a terrorist group that grew out of Al Qaeda, gained global attention in 2014 when it captured large swaths of territory in Iraq and Syria and claimed to create a transnational Islamic State, or caliphate. By 2017 ISIS lost much of its claimed territory, including its stronghold of Mosul, Iraq, yet remained a formidable non-state actor.

Finally, the term civil society refers broadly to a collection of non-state actors that organize and operate in a so-called third sphere, outside the control of government or business. Examples might include charities, groups of citizens demonstrating for political change, and volunteer organizations working to assist victims of natural disasters. To the extent they operate across borders, members of civil society may have a meaningful impact on foreign policy and international relations.
How Do These Actors Get What They Want in International Relations?

What do these actors want and how do they get what they want in international relations? Here it is useful to distinguish interests, strategies, objectives (or goals), and policy instruments.

When we say that a state (or nation-state) has an **interest**, we mean that the state’s wish either to maintain or attain some condition of the world is sufficiently important to it that it is willing to pay meaningful costs. For example, in recent years, the Chinese government has revealed that it has an interest in attaining sovereignty over the South China Sea, perhaps because that area may be rich in oil and natural gas. In making that claim it has come into conflict with numerous neighboring states such as Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Vietnam, who also claim sovereignty over parts of that sea space (see Map 1.1). Not surprisingly, the South China Sea has become a potential focal point for conflict in world politics.

How do states promote or defend an interest? They do so by the development and implementation of a strategy. A **strategy** essentially connects means to an end. If China’s ultimate **objective** or goal is to attain sovereignty over the South China Sea, part of its strategy might be to induce such countries as Vietnam and the Philippines to renounce their own claims over the South China Sea, and to recognize Chinese sovereignty over the area. China will rely on policy instruments to help it obtain that goal. **Policy instruments** can take a variety of forms, which we will examine in detail in Chapter 4. In the South China Sea case, China thus far has used multiple policy instruments including diplomacy, propaganda, economic incentives, and low levels of military force to persuade or coerce other states to recognize its claim. The term **statecraft** is often used to refer to the use of policy instruments by state leaders to achieve foreign policy objectives.

**HOW CAN WE UNDERSTAND AND ANALYZE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS?**

We now have a basic language for the description of the actions and interactions of states, which we will build on with additional terms over the course of the book. You will also encounter many different arguments, ideas, and theories about international relations. To help you break down and grasp such a multitude of ideas, this book employs several features to aid your learning. It is grounded in **theory**, exploring several different intellectual traditions; it uses **levels of analysis** as a framework for organizing different theories, and it uses **enduring questions** to encourage you to think more holistically about important issues. A thorough understanding of international relations also includes the exploration of national, regional, and global contexts, common and differing interests among actors, and causal relationships that can affect outcomes. This kind of critical thinking requires that you make three types of connections in your study of the issues: between **theory and practice**, **then and now**, and **aspiration and reality**; these are presented in every chapter through the Making Connections features.

**Theoretical Foundations**

**Theories** help us understand why something occurred in international relations, and the likelihood that it will happen again. As you will see in subsequent chapters, there are many such theories, and debates over how useful or valid theories are. How do we keep track of these different arguments, ideas, and theories? How do we compare...
Map 1.1 A National Interest: China and Its Claims to the South China Sea

This map shows why the South China Sea is an area of geopolitical dispute in the current international system. The region is potentially rich in energy resources and several countries, including China, Malaysia, Vietnam, Indonesia, and the Philippines, claim that the territory falls within their jurisdiction. In recent years China has employed a variety of diplomatic and coercive tactics to try to convince other countries that they should recognize China’s claim.

them to each other so that we can get a better sense of each and assess their relative strengths and weaknesses?

Theories help us to describe and explain the world. They are analytical devices that make assumptions, put forward causal arguments, and offer predictions about the workings of the international arena. Theories are usually not completely right or wrong but may be more or less useful. Any particular theory might be useful for some time, until it is challenged by new evidence or overtaken by a better theory that someone develops. In the sixteenth century, the Polish-born scientist Copernicus gave us a new and (after some of his supporters had the misfortune of being burned at the stake) better theory of astronomy. Using observations and mathematical calculations, he theorized that the sun was the center of the universe and the earth moved around it, challenging the long-standing geocentric theory that placed the earth and, by implication, human beings at the center of the universe. The creation and testing of theories is an important part of any scientific enterprise, and in this book, we use two different features to enable you to understand the differences between several theories and interrogate their usefulness.

Appreciating Differing Theoretical Approaches

As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3, theories designed to explain international relations are usually grouped within broad schools of thought such as realism, liberalism, Marxism, and constructivism. Proponents within each school make a set of assumptions about what is important, or what matters most, in international relations. Realists, for example, tend to emphasize that states use their power to pursue interests within a context of *anarchy*, in which no authoritative world government resolves disputes or compels the redistribution of resources from rich to poor states. Nation-states are ultimately on their own. Liberal thinkers see certain types of states as more conflict-prone than others and emphasize that economic interdependence brings states together and encourages peace and cooperation. Marxist thinkers view a state’s economic system as the ultimate engine of its foreign relations, believing that the behavior of a capitalist state in the world arena is driven by the needs of its economic actors for markets and resources. Unlike liberals, Marxists also see international economic relations as exploitative – some states and groups within states benefit at the expense of others. Constructivist thinkers stress that ideas about how the world works – for example, whether or not slavery is seen as an acceptable social practice – shape or ‘construct’ international politics as much as money or armies do.

None of these approaches or the theories associated with them is a clear winner in explaining the complicated world of international relations. Each approach has its strengths and weaknesses, and its scholarly proponents and detractors. Although the realist approach became dominant after World War II, today many scholars find its assumptions and theories unsatisfying. Scholars of international relations approach their field from a wide variety of perspectives (Lebow and Risse-Kappen 1995). Part of the excitement of studying international relations is to participate in this ongoing contest of arguments and theories as we try to make sense of the world around us. As a student, you should be intellectually open to, but critical of, all theories, including those seemingly favored by your textbook authors (who in their professional writings frequently disagree with each other!). Beginning in Chapter 3, in each chapter a boxed feature called Differing Theoretical Approaches showcases the ongoing conversation among different theoretical traditions in international relations.
Making Connections between Theory and Practice
All students of international relations need to appreciate the links between theory and practice. One nice example of an international relations theory is Vladimir Lenin’s theory of imperialism and war. We wouldn’t normally consider Lenin a political scientist; he was the revolutionary leader of the Bolshevik movement that brought communists to power in Russia in 1917, beginning its transformation to the multinational empire of the Soviet Union. But Lenin analyzed international relations systematically, as a political scientist. He wrote a short book, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, that contains an elegant theory of international relations.

Lenin was trying to understand imperialism – the political domination of weaker countries by stronger ones. He argued that large banks and corporations in Europe and America at the end of the nineteenth century needed new markets to maintain their economic profits. After a while, profits declined at home so they had to look abroad, where capital was scarce and investments were more profitable. To capture new markets in places like Africa, the capitalists in Germany prodded the German government to conquer some African territories, giving them exclusive colonial control over the people and resources in these territories. The British banks and corporations got their government to take similar steps, and so did the American, French, and other capitalist powers. Lenin thereby explains the scramble for Africa.

Imperialism
A state strategy in which one country conquers foreign lands to turn them into colonies.

Scramble for Africa
The carving up of Africa by colonial powers after 1870.

Map 1.2  Imperialism and Colonialism in Africa on the Eve of World War I
During the latter part of the nineteenth century, European great powers engaged in a ‘scramble for Africa.’ Their motives were political, strategic, and economic; Lenin emphasized the economic motive in crafting his theory of imperialism.
or the carving up of that continent by colonial powers after 1870, as a function of the simultaneous need of various capitalist countries to expand. When all the existing territory was taken, capitalist countries had no choice but to fight each other in order to redistribute the territory. This is how Lenin explained World War I, which was being fought when the Bolshevik revolution was carried out. Lenin also argued that capitalist countries would keep fighting each other until they exhausted themselves, allowing nation-states with economies that were less profit-driven (that is, socialist states) to take over.

Lenin’s theory is important because it tries to make sense of two big outcomes in international relations: imperialism and great-power war. Theories are most useful when they are connected to practice, or when they help us understand otherwise puzzling things about the world we observe. In this text, we will not ask you to learn and debate theories for their own sake, even though some political scientists may do that. We are interested in theories in so far as they illuminate the complex world of international relations.

So, how useful is Lenin’s theory? Evidence accumulated over time suggests strengths and weaknesses. Many of the overseas investments of the capitalist
powers during his era were directed to other capitalist powers, rather than to capital-scarce areas like Africa. This is puzzling for a theory that emphasizes the economic incentives of conquest. Also, historians have come up with a variety of non-economic reasons for late nineteenth-century imperialism, including the propositions that colonies were a source of prestige in a great-power competition and some governments believed they had a civilized obligation to control and modernize what they considered to be backward parts of the world. In other words, there are other reasonable ways to explain what Lenin was trying to explain. Lenin’s supporters could say capitalist powers did fight each other in World Wars I and II, as he expected. However, at least thus far they have not exhausted themselves in a series of wars, but have found ways to cooperate with each other – something that Lenin did not expect.

On the other hand, Lenin’s theory provided crucial insights that shaped the subsequent study of our field. It has led scholars to explore the ‘law of uneven development,’ or the tendency for countries to grow their power at different rates, thereby putting pressure for change on the international system (Gilpin 1981). It has sparked ongoing debates about the influence of corporations over the foreign policies of capitalist states. And it reminds us that global capitalism is both an engine of growth and its own worst enemy in that it creates periodic crises that threaten international prosperity and peace. Subsequent chapters will explore these themes in more detail; the point for now is that theories need not be completely correct to be useful.

Levels of Analysis

We employ a well-regarded analytical device for the classification of arguments about international relations. This device is called the levels-of-analysis framework. It emerged from the writings of two scholars, Kenneth Waltz and J. David Singer (Waltz 1959; Singer 1961). It is based on the view that a writer who puts forward any theory or explanation about international relations has had to make choices about which actors and causal processes are to be emphasized. Put differently, analysts of international relations must decide where to look for explanations. The choices usually lead them to concentrate on actors and processes that are principally situated in one of three different categories, or levels of analysis.

Individual Level of Analysis

Many explanations and arguments in international relations focus on actors and processes that are situated at the individual level of analysis; this involves looking at the impact of individual decision makers (like presidents and their main advisors) on international relations and foreign policy. It also involves examining the impact of individual citizens (such as Raphael Lemkin, a lawyer who defined the crime of genocide, as discussed in Chapter 5), who might have a significant influence on international relations. There are several classes of individual-level theories about foreign policy and the causes of war, which we will discuss in detail in Chapters 3, 4, and 6. Some scholars believe, for example, that to understand the causes of World War II requires you to focus on the personal experiences and ambitions of Adolf Hitler, the dictator who led Germany into war.

Other studies at the individual level of analysis have focused on the psychological capacity of state leaders and on how limitations on how human beings process information, especially in moments of stress and crisis, can lead to errors in judgment.
When national leaders make these types of errors, it could lead to diplomatic crises and even war. We will also see that most feminist theories of international relations are cast at the individual level of analysis: these works, we will see in Chapters 3 and 6, propose that the upbringing of males often leads them to be more prone to risk taking and violence, including the choosing of military solutions rather than diplomacy to resolve conflicts of interest.

State Level of Analysis
The state level of analysis comprises arguments that focus on the political or economic characteristics of countries or states. A good example of a state level-of-analysis argument is democratic peace theory, a set of ideas developed by many international relations scholars including Michael Doyle and Bruce Russett (Doyle 1997; Russett 1993). That argument suggests that what states do abroad, including whether they get into conflict with one another, is heavily influenced by the domestic political institutions of the country. States with democratic governments, the theory suggests, are very unlikely to fight wars with one another, for reasons we will explore in Chapters 3 and 6. Another state level-of-analysis theory we will examine later in this chapter concerns economic systems: a long-standing argument by critics of capitalism is that states with capitalist economic systems at home are more likely to fight wars with one another than would be true if those same states were organized according to different principles. We will also encounter other types of argument about economic policy at the state level of analysis. The governments of countries in which multinational businesses exert a lot of influence, for example, might pursue strategies of open trade and investment because those policies support the financial interests of powerful companies.

International Level of Analysis
Finally, many arguments about world politics emphasize the international level of analysis. Countries do not exist in isolation; they interact with each other. Taken collectively, states and non-state actors coexisting and interacting at any point in history form an international system. That system has its own features and characteristics which themselves might strongly influence how countries behave. For example, many political scientists emphasize anarchy, or the fact that in international relations there is no centralized authority, no government of the whole world to adjudicate disputes among states and protect weak ones from strong ones. Scholars working at this level of analysis emphasize that international relations is a ‘self-help’ system — states in the final analysis must rely on themselves to defend their territory or political autonomy in the face of more powerful or aggressive actors. As we will
discuss in Chapter 5, the United Nations might be seen as an imperfect attempt to take on some of the functions of the non-existent world government.

Here is a simple way to remember the differences across levels of analysis. Ask yourself this fundamental question about international relations: what causes war? Scholars working at the individual level might answer that war is caused by overly aggressive or ambitious leaders. Some analysts place the blame (or give credit) for the 2003 Iraq War on the personal calculations of US President George W. Bush, who may have perceived an opportunity to topple a dictator, Saddam Hussein, who tried to assassinate Bush’s father, George H.W. Bush, after the Persian Gulf War of 1991. Scholars who place their analytical bets at the second level provide a different answer; they argue that wars are caused by certain types of states, or by powerful groups within states (like oil companies), regardless of the particular personal ambitions or characteristics of their leaders. Scholars working at the international system level might say that it doesn’t matter whether leaders are good or bad, whether states are democratic or non-democratic, or whether big companies are politically powerful or not. What matters for these scholars is the international situation in which states find themselves. Lacking any centralized governing authority, any state at any time could start a war because it feels threatened by other states, needs more resources or territory than it already has, or has some other reason to use force against some other state in the system.

None of these arguments or theories is necessarily right or wrong. Each would need to be tested logically and against the evidence that the past and present of international relations offers to us. The important first step, aided by the levels of analysis, is to categorize arguments and understand the assumptions they make about what matters most in international relations. For that reason, in each chapter that follows we employ special features to remind you to think about arguments, theories, and ideas with the aid of the levels-of-analysis framework. After every major section of each chapter, we use a box to summarize the material you have just learned from the perspective of different levels. We use simple icons in these boxes to represent the different levels visually. In some cases these boxes will display information at each of the three levels; in other cases, depending on the nature of the material covered, we will display information only with regard to one or two of the levels.

It is also important to recognize that the levels of analysis are not isolated from each other. Often a good explanation will combine or integrate ideas from different levels. For example, why do the United States and European Union have such close economic ties to each other? Part of the answer might be found at the international level: the transatlantic partners are military allies, and close military cooperation encourages and reinforces close economic cooperation. Part of the explanation may be found at the state level as well: the United States and countries of the European Union are capitalist democracies with relatively similar political systems and strong business sectors that operate across borders and thus have a mutual interest in open trade and investment.

Although in this text we focus on three basic levels of analysis, scholars sometimes make finer distinctions that incorporate additional levels. Some, for example, highlight a regional level situated analytically between the state level and the international level (Tow 2009). Regional characteristics – for example, the existence or absence of well-established regional institutions like the EU, or historical legacies, like the colonial past in Southern Africa or the memories of World War II in East Asia – might help us to understand why some parts of the world are more prone to conflict than are others.
International relations are complicated, and what happens within them often blurs or cross-cuts the neat dividing lines between different levels. The levels-of-analysis framework can never fully capture the complexity of activity on the world stage. However, it is a useful analytical tool and a starting point for helping us to make sense of that complexity.

**Making Connections: Aspiration versus Reality**

In trying to understand the causal motivations that drive actors at different levels we must recognize that there is a profound difference between how the world is and how we might like it to be. It is natural to approach world politics with a particular set of values or aspirations. Different people have different values, and it would be difficult to identify a set of universal values upon which everyone across time, place, and culture would agree. Nonetheless, it is probably fair to assume that most people prefer peace to war and would welcome the eradication of global poverty. Many people believe in some notion of equality for the world’s population. Some people believe that countries, especially wealthy or powerful ones, have an obligation not only to their own citizens, but to people living beyond their borders as well.

These values and others are often frustrated in world politics. War and poverty are all too common. International relationships are characterized by great inequalities in power and wealth. Some people have excellent life opportunities, while others are virtually imprisoned by the difficulty of their circumstances, depending on the country or region they inhabit. The governments of wealthy countries express good intentions to share wealth and combat oppression outside their borders, and they sometimes follow through. But all too often, as we will see in Chapter 11, they fail to meet their commitments on foreign aid to poorer countries. They also often look the other way in the face of human suffering in foreign countries, as evidenced by the world’s slow reaction to the humanitarian tragedies in Bosnia and Rwanda during the 1990s, in the Darfur area of Sudan during the early 2000s, and in Syria beginning in 2013.

International relations must, in the first instance, entail the study of the world not as it should be but as it is – keeping in mind that scholars and observers may not always agree on what constitutes the world ‘as it is.’ Our primary concern must be to describe how states actually behave and explain why they behave as they do, even if we find that behavior repulsive from our own political or moral vantage point. Explanation and prescription are separate tasks and should be treated that way. But they are also connected; understanding why states behave the way they do is a necessary first step for anyone seeking ways to change that behavior. Consider, for example, various explanations for the problem of war. If international relations research shows that democratic states are less likely than non-democratic states to fight wars in general and with each other, then the transformation of non-democratic states into democracies is a worthwhile though potentially difficult strategy in pursuit of peace. But if wars are more likely caused by other factors, such as excessive nationalism, resource scarcities, overpopulation, or competing territorial claims, then different prescriptions are in order. In each chapter below, we use a boxed feature to help you recognize the connections between aspiration and reality.

**Recognizing Enduring Questions**

It is natural to associate the study of international relations with current events. Daily and weekly news outlets bombard us all with reports on whether Israelis and Palestinians will be able to make peace, whether the North Korean nuclear crisis
will destabilize Northeast Asia, how the European Union will negotiate the United Kingdom’s exit, whether the United States and China will maintain harmonious relations, whether sub-Saharan African countries will prosper or face food shortages, and numerous other issues. This textbook will help you make sense of current international events. But international relations, and the effort to understand them, range far beyond analyses of the politics of the moment.

The modern international system dates from the creation of nation-states and the Peace of Westphalia of 1648, which we will discuss in greater detail in Chapter 2. But we can trace the systematic attempt to study international politics back considerably further, at least to the writings of a classic Greek thinker named Thucydides. Thucydides wrote a detailed account of the great Peloponnesian War, a conflict between two powerful Greek city-states, Athens and Sparta, and their respective allies, between 431 and 404 BCE. In writing this analysis, he said, ‘My work is not a piece of writing designed to meet the taste of an immediate public, but was done to last forever’ (Thucydides 1954: 48). Although the term was not used commonly back then, Thucydides was in fact acting as a political scientist. He was interested not just in reporting on the war of his day, but in understanding more generally the problem of warfare, or why humans organize themselves into groups and engage in armed conflicts. Thucydides used the experience of the Greek city-states to ponder the ethical issue of whether ‘might makes right,’ or whether the more powerful groups in human society have the right to govern the weaker. He drew upon Athens’ failed expedition to Sicily near the end of the war to question why powerful states make foolish errors in international relations, overextending themselves in ways that ultimately lead to the collapse of their own position of power. Thucydides wrote about a set of events at a particular time, but his larger goal was to illuminate what he considered to be the core problems of international relations.

Our book proceeds in a similar spirit. We believe that the best way to unravel the complexity of international relations is to focus on what we call **enduring questions**. Enduring questions in international relations are those questions that share the common characteristics of being recurring, unresolved, and consequential. Take, for example, the question we noted earlier, ‘what causes war?’ That question is recurring: it was as relevant in the city-state politics of ancient Greece, the dynastic struggles of early modern Europe, and the colonial wars of nineteenth-century Africa as it is in the politics of the contemporary global system. It is also an unresolved question. Some scholars believe wars occur because human beings are inherently evil. Others argue that certain kinds of states are more war-prone than others. There are many other reasonable answers, and, as you will find in Chapters 3 and 6, scholars have made good progress addressing this enduring question. But have not resolved it to everyone’s satisfaction. Finally, enduring questions are consequential. They matter greatly to people, states, and the international system. Solving the problem of why war occurs would potentially affect the lives of tens of millions of people.

Enduring questions allow us to separate what is significant and foundational in the study of global politics from what is trendy or simply the ‘news of the day.’ The insights you gain in an international relations class should remain relevant over long periods of time, rather than expiring when the issues that were hot topics when you took the class are no longer in the news. By now you are aware that there are dozens or even hundreds of particular events unfolding in the international arena at any given time. The enduring question approach offers a navigational strategy, a series of well-worn paths to help you make your way through the maze of information and events.
There is no set number of enduring questions and no standard list on which everyone might agree. Different scholars would likely vary to some degree in the questions they consider to be the most enduring in the study of international relations. We have already mentioned what we consider to be one enduring question, the question of why states fight wars. Here are several other examples of enduring questions you will encounter in the chapters that follow. Box 1.1 provides a list of the enduring questions that we use to organize and motivate the study of international relations chapter by chapter.

### 1.1 ENDURING QUESTIONS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>How did a fragmented world become a global, integrated system of states for which order is an ongoing problem?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>How do theoretical traditions in international relations differ on how to understand actors and their behavior on the global stage?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>What motivates and influences the behavior of states toward one another?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>How important are international laws and organizations in a world of sovereign states?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Why is war a persistent feature of international relations?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>What factors make it more likely that states can resolve their differences and avoid war?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>How have weapons of mass destruction, and in particular nuclear weapons, changed the practice of international relations?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>How does international politics shape the global economy?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>How do governments manage international economic relations to further national political objectives?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Does participation in the world economy help or hinder the economic development of poorer countries?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Can the state continue to overcome challenges to its authority?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>How does the natural environment influence international relations?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Will the international system undergo fundamental change in the future?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Making Connections: Then and Now

Why should you care about history? Why seek connections between the past and the present? An understanding of the past affects how people, including policy makers in different countries, think about and act in world politics. International relations in Africa, for example, are shaped by the continent’s colonial legacy and the arbitrary way European governments constructed territorial boundaries. In 2002, Nigeria and Cameroon each claimed the oil-rich Bekassi Peninsula as part of its respective territory. In defending its claim before the International Court of Justice, neither country cited a cultural attachment to the land or the preferences of the local inhabitants. Instead, each produced a map from a 1913 border agreement between Germany, which had colonized present-day Cameroon, and the United Kingdom, which had colonized present-day Nigeria. The Court found Cameroon’s claim (and presumably its map) more persuasive, and on that basis Nigeria agreed to cede the peninsula to its neighbor (Fisher 2012).

In 1930 the United States passed a piece of international trade legislation popularly known as the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act (after its sponsors, Senator Reed Smoot and
Representative Willis Hawley). The act raised US tariffs, or taxes, on about 20,000 goods coming into the United States from other countries. This legislation outraged other governments, many of which responded by increasing their own tariff levels. This all happened on the eve of the Great Depression, and many economists believe that the Smoot-Hawley tariff was an important reason why the depression of the 1930s was so deep and catastrophic for the global economy (Irwin 2011).

After World War II, policy makers in the United States and Western Europe learned the lesson of Smoot-Hawley. They sought freer trade, or lower taxes on goods coming into their countries from abroad. As we shall see in Chapter 9, in difficult economic times countries are often tempted to raise barriers to imported goods in order to protect jobs at home. In the United States and elsewhere, even today, the specter of Smoot-Hawley and the Great Depression is raised in political debates as a warning to resist that temptation because in a global economy, any effort by a country to protect its markets usually leads to efforts by other countries to protect theirs, leaving all countries worse off than when they began. In short, understanding the past experience of trade policy, and how it has been interpreted by leaders over the decades, helps give us the proper context for understanding contemporary debates about foreign economic policy and global trade.

Different people may draw different lessons from major historical experiences. For some Europeans, the key lesson of fascism’s rise during the 1930s was that dictators like Germany’s Hitler or Italy’s Mussolini needed to be confronted with military force rather than appeased though diplomacy. For other Europeans, the lesson is that economic distress leads to political extremism. Far-left and far-right political movements take power when economic cooperation breaks down and jobs vanish.

For some Americans, the lesson of September 11 may be ‘better safe than sorry’ – it is better to preemptively attack a potential enemy now than wait and risk a costlier conflict in the future. This kind of thinking influenced American policy makers who argued in 2002 that the United States should invade Iraq and overthrow Saddam Hussein before he developed a nuclear weapons capability. For other Americans, the lesson of September 11 might be ‘come home America’ – the idea that the United States is overextended, and its global military presence is creating a target for terrorists worldwide. The point is not to debate the correct lesson, but to appreciate that different understandings of the experiences of the past give us insights into why states behave as they do in the present.

History gives us perspective not only on any country’s behavior, but on the nature and evolution of the international system as a whole. An understanding of the past helps reveal which features of the present international order are truly novel. However, an appreciation of the past may also reveal remarkable continuities in the practice of international relations alongside large-scale changes. Consider the following news account provided by a contemporary observer of events:

The Athenians also made an expedition against the island of Melos ... The Melians are a colony from Sparta. They had refused to join the Athenian empire like the other islanders, and at first had remained neutral without helping either side ... Now [the Athenians], encamped with force in Melian territory and, before doing any harm to the land, first of all sent representatives to negotiate.

Athenians: We do not want any trouble in bringing you into our empire and we want you to be spared for the good both of yourselves and of ourselves.

Melians: And how could it be just as good for us to be the slaves as for you to be the masters?
Athenians: You, by giving in, would save yourselves from disaster; we, by not destroying you, would be able to profit from you.

The Melians, left to themselves, reached a conclusion ... 'We are not prepared to give up in a short moment the liberty which our city has enjoyed from its foundations for 700 years.' ... The Athenian representatives then went back to the army and the Athenian generals, finding that the Melians would not submit, immediately commenced hostilities ... Siege operations were carried on vigorously, and the Melians surrendered unconditionally to the Athenians, who put to death all the men of military age whom they took, and sold the women and children as slaves. Melos itself they took over for themselves ...

The observer, of course, was Thucydides, and the events took place around 416 BCE (Thucydides 1954: 400–8). By today's standards, the diplomacy in this famous 'Melian dialogue' is brutally frank and the resolution – separating the men from women and children, then killing all the men and enslaving the women and children – is a form of barbarism that we associate with the distant past in human civilization. No one came to help the Melians, and Thucydides leads us to believe that what happened over Melos was not out of the ordinary.

Map 1.4 Greece in the Era of the Peloponnesian War
Four hundred years before Christ, Greek city-states interacted with each other as members of a local international system. Sparta was a powerful city-state on land, and Athens was a sea-faring city-state. The Greek city-states also interacted and battled with outsiders, most importantly the Persian Empire, which was organized on the eastern side of the Aegean Sea.
Today, colonialism is a thing of the past, and slavery and genocide are outlawed by international agreements. As we will see in Chapter 5, a large body of international laws and agreements has arisen to protect human rights and prosecute leaders and other individuals who commit crimes against humanity. In the current international system, we would expect that other states would react to the kind of raw aggression exhibited by the Athenians with outrage, and victims could reasonably count on members of the international community to try to deter the aggressor and come to the aid of victims if aggression took place.

But, before celebrating our modernity and moral superiority too hastily, consider this second news account:

Bosnian Serb forces had laid siege to the Srebrenica enclave, where tens of thousands of civilians had taken refuge from earlier Serb offensives in north-eastern Bosnia ... They were under the protection of about 600 lightly armed Dutch infantry forces. Fuel was running out and no fresh food had been brought into the enclave since May.

Serb forces began shelling Srebrenica ... The Bosnian Serb commander Ratko Mladic entered Srebrenica... accompanied by Serb camera crews. In the evening, General Mladic delivered an ultimatum that the Muslims must hand over their weapons to guarantee their lives ... Buses arrived to take women and children to Muslim territory, while the Serbs began separating out all men from age 12 to 77 for ‘interrogation for suspected war crimes.’ It is estimated that 23,000 women and children were deported in the next 30 hours ...

Hundreds of men were held in trucks and warehouses. In the five days after Bosnian Serb forces overran Srebrenica, more than 7,000 Muslim men are thought to have been killed. (BBC News 2013; Rohde 1997)

The tragic events of Srebrenica took place not in ancient times but in 1995, during the Bosnian war that followed the collapse of the former multinational state of Yugoslavia. Neither the United Nations forces on the ground, the United States, nor members of the European Union came to the aid of the Bosnian Muslims, who were separated and slaughtered in much the same way that the Athenians dealt with the Melians more than 2,000 years earlier. Unlike their Athenian counterparts, the Serbian aggressors were put on trial and convicted of various war crimes, including genocide, at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. On March 30, 2010, the Serbian parliament adopted a resolution that condemned and apologized for the war crimes that took place at Srebrenica, and subsequently the President of the Republic of Serbia wrote a public apology as well (Tadec 2010). The norms of the current international system certainly differ from those of the ancient Greek system; what was considered ‘normal’ practice back then is viewed as reprehensible and even criminal today. Nonetheless, and apology notwithstanding, the exercise of power by political actors in pursuit of their interests was tragically similar in Melos and Srebrenica.

Research Insight

Enduring questions help us connect the past to the present. We also focus on enduring questions because they help us more effectively understand the development and current status of the study of international relations. Focusing on the core problems in the field reveals what we know and do not know about international relations. In Chapter 3, we introduce the major schools of thought in the study of international relations. Each of these theoretical schools, or paradigms, is based on different
Understanding International Relations

assumptions about how the world works and offers different interpretations and explanations of the knottiest problems in international politics. In subsequent chapters, we explore what international relations research across different intellectual traditions has discovered in attempting to answer these questions.

We also include in each chapter a feature called 'Research Insight' that reviews what academic researchers have found on a puzzling or controversial international relations question. In Chapter 5, for example, we explore why powerful states consult the UN Security Council before going to war – even though they could certainly use military force without such authorization. In Chapter 10, we consider what political science and economics research finds about the relationship between globalization – the process of closer economic integration among countries – and inequality, both within and across countries.

In this section, we have highlighted three organizing frameworks: theories, levels of analysis, and enduring questions and three types of connections: between theory and practice, past and present, and aspirations and reality. This book will prompt you to make other connections as well; you will encounter two others regularly in the chapters ahead. One is the connection between international politics and international economics. Although economics is a separate academic discipline from political science, an understanding of international relations requires a familiarity with the basic concepts of economics and the substance of international economic issues. We highlight the interplay of politics and economics in our examination of the history, theory, and practice of international relations.

Another important connection is between domestic and international politics. The external or foreign policies of states are significantly affected by the internal or domestic politics of states. Domestic politics, in turn, are influenced by what happens in the international arena. Any successful student of international relations must also be a student of domestic politics. In Chapter 4, we explore the connections between domestic and international politics by focusing on the determinants and consequences of foreign policy behavior.

Understanding theories, using levels of analysis, recognizing enduring questions, and making connections are critical analytical tools to help guide you through the maze of international relations. In the next section we discuss something equally valuable – the ability to view world politics from multiple perspectives.

HOW CAN WE VIEW WORLD POLITICS FROM DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES?

Do we believe the current international order is desirable, or would we like to see it changed? The answer to that question depends critically on who ‘we’ are. If we are the governing authority and citizens of a rich and powerful country like the United States, we might consider the contemporary international order – where we perceive our own country as near or at the top of the international hierarchy – as desirable and perhaps even just. But from the perspective of countries that lack resources or desire more influence, the international order probably looks much less attractive, and also less fair. You also must be able to identify and appreciate how different leaders, governments, and perhaps even whole nations can have differing perspectives on the same question.

Perspectives vary across nation-states and within them as well. Many observers consider what is loosely termed ‘the West,’ or the countries of North American and Western Europe, as the most privileged actors in world politics. But some countries in the West, for example Greece, which has been forced to endure painful
economic austerity as a result of recent financial crises, may perceive themselves as far less privileged than other Western countries, for example Germany. Similarly, some groups within prosperous Western countries – think here of working-class white or minority populations within Western Europe or the United States – may not consider themselves particularly privileged even though they are citizens of countries that are on the whole wealthy and powerful. The West is neither monolithic nor homogeneous, and the same is true of other regions of the world. Africa is a diverse continent comprised of 54 countries from A to Z (Algeria to Zimbabwe) whose populations speak close to 2,000 languages. The perspective of a citizen in politically stable Botswana, where annual per capita (per person) income averages about $15,000, is likely to differ from that of a citizen of the Central African Republic, where political violence is commonplace and per capita income is only about $600 annually (Legatum Institute 2016).

It is critical to consider world politics from multiple perspectives. The study of international relations seeks to understand the behavior of states and people across borders, and that behavior is influenced by how people – and collections of people within nation-states – view the international arena and their place within it. Some years ago, the political scientist Graham Allison captured this reality with an important phrase, ‘where you stand depends on where you sit’ (Allison 1971). Allison was referring to relations between different parts of the US government, but his aphorism applies more widely. In other words, how you think about an issue in world politics is likely affected by the particulars of your own situation: whether you are an American, Russian, Egyptian, or Indonesian; rich or poor; male or female; and a member of the majority in a country or a racial or ethnic minority.

The same holds true for nation-states. The national perspective of a country is affected by a variety of factors, including historical experience. A former great power will view the world differently from a former colony of a great power. The Chinese, who for centuries enjoyed the position of political and cultural leader of Asia, have a different worldview than their neighbors, the Vietnamese, who were occupied by and resisted occupations by the Chinese, French, and Americans. The national perspective will also be shaped by racial, ethnic, and religious characteristics; a nation-state like Japan that is relatively homogeneous ethnically will likely have a different perspective on immigration, for example, than a multiethnic Indonesia or a nation-state with strongly entrenched religious factions (Christian and Muslim) like Lebanon. Size and relative power shapes perspective; the larger a nation-state is and the more power it enjoys, the more likely it is to try to shape or alter its international environment, instead of simply reacting to it. Geographic position matters as well. Whether a country views the international system as benign or threatening depends at least in part on whether it is landlocked and surrounded by larger states or situated securely behind natural barriers like oceans or mountain ranges.

In the chapters that follow we will continually remind you of the importance of viewing world politics from multiple perspectives. We begin that process here by drawing your attention to two important features of international relations.

**Recognizing Great-Power Centrism**

Sensitivity to multiple perspectives will help you guard against the tendency – a natural one if you happen to live in a wealthy nation such as, for example, the United States or Germany or the United Kingdom today – to view international relations solely or largely from the perspective of the relatively powerful and prosperous. Historically, the so-called great powers received a lot of attention in the study of international relations because they wielded disproportionate influence on the global stage.
What is wrong with viewing international relations from the perspective of the powerful? Nothing – if it is recognized as such and juxtaposed to other perspectives. Americans, for example, just as citizens of any powerful and wealthy country, must recognize that most of the people in today’s world are not American and that the United States is only one of 196 countries in the global system. The rich variation in history, geography, identity, culture, and aspiration that characterizes the global landscape affects international relations. If we proceed from the explicit or even implicit assumption that one country’s values, ideals, and institutions are universal, or that the rest of the world is simply an imperfect replica of that country, then we are going to miss the critical insights that the study of international relations offers.

This point was driven home – painfully to Americans – in the aftermath of September 11, 2001. One immediate reaction of many ordinary US citizens to these tragic events was to ask ‘who are these people, and why do they hate us?’ Understanding the answer requires an appreciation of the differences between organized, non-state terrorist entities like Al Qaeda, the much larger group of Muslims living in the Middle East and Southwest Asia who may both admire and resent the United States, but are not drawn to violence to express their sentiment or advance their interests, and non-democratic regimes, like that in Saudi Arabia, who have cooperative relations with the United States but do not command the support of large segments of their own populations. Americans have also come to understand that the United States is resented by some simply because it is so powerful; by others because it represents an all-pervasive, modern consumer culture; or also due to the fact that US foreign policies have traditionally supported repressive governments in the region and have favored the interests of one party in a conflict in the Middle East, Israel, over the interests of other parties, such as the Palestinians.

One of the great students of international relations, Hans Morgenthau, proposed after World War II his four fundamental rules of diplomacy. One rule directed every nation-state to ‘look at the political scene from the point of view of other nations’
(Morgenthau 1985). His advice may be tempting to ignore if you happen to live in stable, influential, prosperous, and secure countries. But most people do not, and thus it is vital for students of international politics to recognize and analyze the subject from multiple vantage points.

### Recognizing Cleavages within the International System

Sensitivity to multiple perspectives will also allow you to recognize that there are always key divisions, or cleavages, within any international system. In the current international system, for example, there persists a division between rich and poor, or **developed** and **developing countries**, particularly on international economic issues. In developed states, where standards of living are higher, people worry that jobs are and will continue to be lost in international trade to developing states, where labor is much cheaper. American workers worry about competition from China and Mexico, while German and French workers worry about competition from labor in Greece or Turkey. Developed countries also feel that developing ones should do their part to advance international economic cooperation by opening their markets to the products of the North. The view from the developing world is different. Developing states point out that it is difficult to develop in a world economy dominated by established, rich states. Developing economies want special exceptions in international trade and they want access to developed-country markets, like agriculture, even if the developed countries do not have symmetrical access to their markets. These debates, discussed in Chapter 11, are played out in various international forums, such as the United Nations and the World Trade Organization.

There are, of course, different perspectives within developed and developing countries as well. In the United States, people tend to believe the government should play a more modest role in influencing the international or domestic economy than is typically expected in European countries and Japan. In the less developed world, countries that are primarily agriculture exporters (like Ghana, which exports cocoa) view the world economy differently than oil producers and exporters (like Venezuela or Kuwait). Exporters of manufactured goods, like South Korea or Taiwan, will have a different perspective on trade negotiations as well.

There are also developed-developing country divisions on environmental issues. The United States refused to ratify a global agreement on carbon emissions, the Kyoto Protocol, because it felt the burden of reducing emissions was not shared equally among all countries, including big developing countries like China. In 2017, the United States announced its intention to withdraw from a subsequent agreement, the Paris Climate Accord. Developing countries argue that the existing rich countries developed without worrying about the natural environment, and now expect today’s poorer countries to inhibit their own development due to environmental problems (which poorer countries see as caused by the advanced industrial evolutions of the North).
part of the world). Developing countries like India and China also demand aid and technology from advanced industrial countries to assist them in limiting emissions and adapting to the impact of climate change. These debates will be discussed in detail in Chapter 13.

The divisions between developed and developing countries have been exacerbated by **globalization**, the process by which countries of the world are becoming more tightly connected to each other economically and even culturally. Globalization has enabled developing countries such as China to grow rapidly and pull hundreds of millions of people out of poverty. But it has also increased inequality in the developed world, as better educated workers have enjoyed sharp increases in income and wealth while the less educated have faced intense job competition from around the world and have seen their wages stagnate. As we explore in Chapter 2, a backlash against globalization helped pave the way for **Brexit**, the decision by the United Kingdom following a popular referendum to withdraw from the European Union. Concerns about the impact of globalization also contributed to the 2016 election of Donald Trump, a political outsider who promised to build a wall between the United States and Mexico and to renegotiate or abandon trade agreements that from his perspective advantaged foreign workers over American ones.

There used to be an important cleavage in international relations between East and West. During the Cold War (1945–89), the world was divided between communist and non-communist countries. The Western countries viewed themselves as defending the rights of the individual and political and economic freedoms. The communist countries, generally located in the eastern part of Europe but also in Asia and Central America, viewed capitalism as exploitative and saw themselves defending social values, such as full employment and a more equitable distribution of income and wealth. As Chapter 2 explores, each side in this conflict viewed the other as a threat and tried to enlist the support of neutral countries to its cause. The East–West division in world politics ended in 1991, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the leader of the Eastern side.

The existence of cleavages or divisions among states within any international system leads us to what historically has been a vexing problem in international politics, that of **dissatisfied states**. Dissatisfied states are those who feel an existing international system threatens their values, compromises their interests, or blocks their aspirations. These states may remain frustrated, patiently build their power, or become aggressive to advance their relative positions. Germany, Japan, and Italy after World War I are classic cases of dissatisfied states. Italy desired colonial possessions befitting its self-image as a great power. Germany sought respect and influence after what it considered the humiliation of the settlement that ended World War I. Japan, a vulnerable island economy, desired economic security, which its leaders believed could be best achieved by occupying its resource-rich neighbors. The dissatisfaction of these states and their determination to rectify it was an important cause of World War II.

A dissatisfied state is potentially dangerous, but it is not always easy to recognize. States may act aggressively because they are dissatisfied and intent on undermining the international system, or because they feel threatened and insecure. During the Cold War, policy makers and analysts in the Western countries continually debated whether the Soviet Union was a dissatisfied state intent on world domination, or a troubled and insecure great power that needed to control its immediate neighborhood because it felt threatened by a more technologically advanced set of Western countries. The debate was important. If the Soviet Union was primarily aggressive, it needed to be contained; if it was primarily insecure, then reassurance and cooperation might be the more appropriate foreign policy. The failure to contain an aggressive country

---

**Globalization**
The ongoing process of international economic and technological integration, made possible by advances in transportation and communication.

**Brexit**
The ‘British exit,’ or decision made by British citizens in a popular referendum to have the United Kingdom leave the European Union.

**Dissatisfied states**
States who feel that their influence, status, and material benefits should be higher than what they are actually achieving.
could lead to trouble if that country believed itself free to dominate others. But an aggressive response to an insecure country could be provocative, reinforcing fear and insecurity and leading to a conflict that perhaps neither side wanted. International relations scholars refer to this general problem of how states interpret and react to the intentions of others as the **security dilemma**. Although it is not always easy to distinguish dissatisfied states from defensive states, it is important to do so because the stakes are very high. In today’s international system, many analysts are debating the extent to which China is (or will become) a dissatisfied state that will eventually disrupt international order regionally or globally, a defensive state mainly seeking to resolve its internal problems and command a degree of international respect, or a satisfied state content to accept the current rules of the international order. Analysts who view China as a dissatisfied point to its assertive pursuit of territorial claims in the East and South China Seas and to the nationalist rhetoric of its leader, Xi Jinping. Analysts who view China as a satisfied state point to its integration into the Western-dominated world economy and its willingness to participate in international organizations.

In the current international system, it is also plausible to consider Russia a dissatisfied state. Russia ruled the Soviet Union as one of only two superpowers at the top of the international hierarchy during the Cold War. When the Cold War ended and the Soviet empire collapsed, Russia experienced economic deprivation and a sharp loss in international prestige and influence. Vladimir Putin, Russia’s leader since 2000, has sought to centralize his authority at home, reinvigorate a sense of Russian patriotism, and restore Russia’s influence abroad. In 2014 Putin annexed Crimea, a region of Ukraine (now an independent country that was part of the former Soviet Union), of strategic, historical, and cultural significance to Russia. Putin sent Russian forces, the so-called little green men, without official uniforms and insignia, into other parts of Ukraine, and also intervened militarily, on the side of dictator Basharal-Assad, in Syria. Russia is widely suspected of using cyber-attacks to meddle in democratic elections abroad, including in the 2016 US presidential election.

A similar debate is taking place at a regional level, concerning the intentions and aspirations of Iran in the Middle East and North Korea in East Asia. To some, Iran is a disruptive force seeking weapons of mass destruction to threaten Israel and Sunni-controlled regimes (Iran is controlled by Shiites) in the Gulf region. To others, Iran is an insecure middle power that feels threatened by the world’s dominant power, the United States, and its powerful regional ally, Israel. The United States today is closely associated politically and militarily with Iran’s traditional enemy, Iraq. Iran and Iraq fought a costly and bloody war throughout the 1980s. The appropriate foreign policy depends, to some extent, on whether one has a clear understanding of the perspective of the country in question.

The same point applies to North Korea, an isolated Communist country ruled since 2011 by a boisterous young dictator, Kim Jong-un. In defiance of United Nations resolutions and sanctions, North Korea has developed and tested nuclear weapons and has launched ballistic missiles over the territory of neighboring Japan. The United States, Japan, and South Korea view North Korean behavior as aggressive and provocative and as the greatest source of possible conflict in East Asia. For their part, North Korea perceives these capitalist democracies, and especially the United States, as posing an existential threat to the survival of their political system. North Korea believes the possession of a nuclear arsenal will help to deter these hostile and more powerful adversaries.

In the subsequent chapters, we will remind you continually to view world politics from different perspectives, recognize great-power centrism, and appreciate cleavages within the past and present international system. These insights, along with
our emphasis on different theoretical perspectives, the levels of analysis framework, and the enduring questions approach provide you with critical tools to understand international relations.

**LOOKING AHEAD**

This textbook is divided into four sections. In Part I, Chapter 2, we provide the historical background necessary to appreciate enduring questions and give context to contemporary international politics. In Chapter 3 we introduce the basic theories and concepts in the study of international relations. Chapter 4 moves to the state level of analysis to explore statecraft and explain the foreign policy strategies adopted by different countries. Chapter 5 is focused at the international level and introduces international laws and organizations as key features of the international system. Taken together, these discussions provide a ‘toolbox’ that will help you make sense of the practice of international politics described and analyzed in subsequent chapters.

Part II is devoted to an introduction to the issues of war and peace, or what is known in international relations as the subfield of security studies. In Chapters 6 and 7, we discuss the causes of war, and the mechanisms in the international system that lead states to resolve disputes peacefully. In Chapter 8, we analyze the special problem of weapons of mass destruction, and their impact on the theory and practice of international relations.

Part III turns to the relationship between international politics and economics. In Chapter 9, we provide the basic building blocks of the world economy, focusing on trade and money and the global institutions of the world economy. This basic background is critical for you, as a student of international relations, to grasp before diving more deeply into how politics and economics interact. In Chapter 10, we examine foreign economic policy, and how governments use international economic relations to further their political objectives. Chapter 11 investigates the special problems and opportunities developing countries encounter as they seek to associate with, but not be overwhelmed by, the global economy.

Part IV looks at emerging challenges to the international system and world of nation-states. In Chapter 12, we examine the role of non-state actors, such as terrorists, warlords, and drug dealers, who have privatized political violence and, in some cases, challenged the authority of sovereign states. We also explore the obligation of the members of the international community to protect people whose human rights are threatened by their own governments, or who are the victims of war or natural disaster. We then turn in Chapter 13 to international environmental problems and the response of states, individually and collectively. In conclusion, Chapter 14 challenges you to draw on what you have learned and think creatively about the future of international relations. We provide summary observations and explore six alternate visions of the future world order.

Each chapter also pays particular attention to the major frameworks introduced above – the enduring question, the levels of analysis, making connections, and viewing world politics from multiple perspectives. We also constantly challenge you with discussion questions, which we hope will help you structure your thinking about the material we cover in the text. As you explore the enduring problems and contemporary texture of international relations, we invite you at each step to engage the material with a critical eye. We ask you to challenge yourself by drawing your own conclusions about the problems of war and conflict in international relations, as well as the opportunities for cooperation and the attainment of international peace in this, your twenty-first century.
1 Understanding International Relations

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. In what ways do you think international relations affect your life?
2. What do you most want to learn about as you read this book and take what is likely to be your first and hopefully not only course in international relations?
3. From your viewpoint, which of the enduring questions about international relations discussed in this chapter, and pursued throughout this book, are the most interesting and important? Why?
4. What perspective do you think you are bringing to this course and the study of international relations? That is, when you think about international relations, do you do so from the viewpoint of a citizen of a particular country, as a young person, or as a male or female? What are the stakes and interests you bring to your study of international relations? How might that perspective be influencing the way you approach the field?

FURTHER READING

Axelrod, Robert (2006) The Evolution of Cooperation, rev. edn (New York: Basic Books). This is a classic social science study that has direct implications for international relations. Axelrod examines how cooperation emerges among self-interested actors – and how they resist the temptation to cheat each other – even when there is no central authority to police their behavior.

Drezner, Daniel (2011) Theories of International Politics and Zombies (Princeton: Princeton University Press). This is an unusual and irreverent introduction to international relations theories. Drezner goes through a variety of the leading theoretical traditions in international politics and shows how each might help us explain and react to the threat of a zombie invasion. An easy way to digest theory!

Jervis, Robert (1976) Perception and Misperception in World Politics (Princeton: Princeton University Press). In this classic study of foreign policy and international relations, Jervis explains when and why the perceptions of world leaders diverge from reality. The consequences of misperception may be conflict and sometimes inadvertent war.

Keck, Margaret and Kathryn Sikkink (eds) (1998) Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics (Ithaca: Cornell University Press). This book nicely illustrates the importance of non-state actors in international relations. Keck and Sikkink and their contributors show how and why coalitions form across borders to address problems such as slavery, women’s suffrage, human rights, and environmental degradation.

Kupchan, Charles (2012) No One’s World: The West, the Rising Rest, and the Coming Global Turn (Oxford: Oxford University Press). Kupchan sees the Western-dominated international order coming to an end as other rising states follow their own political and economic paths. No country or countries will dominate the world as the West did – the future international order will be ‘no one’s’ world.

Mahbubani, Kishore (2004) Can Asians Think? (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish). This book of essays is a nice application of the need to view the world from multiple perspectives. Mahbubani is critical of the idea that the values of Western civilization are universal, and argues that other civilizations make important though at times underappreciated contributions to the human endeavor.

Visit www.macmillanihe.com/Grieco-IntroIR-2e to access extra resources for this chapter, including:

- Chapter summaries to help you review the material
- Multiple choice quizzes to test your understanding
- Flashcards to test your knowledge of the key terms in this chapter
- Outside resources, including links to contemporary articles and videos, that add to what you have learned in this chapter
Index

Page numbers in italic indicate figures, maps and photos, and in bold indicate tables.

A
Abkhazia 68–69, 428
ABM see Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty
absolute advantage 314
absolute gains 103, 364, 378–379
Abyssinia 52, 251–252, 252
Acheson, Dean 82, 258
acid rain 467, 485
Afghanistan
drone attacks on 304
economic sanctions against 249
Soviet invasion 60, 63
US invasion 5, 68, 123, 162, 199, 444, 457–458
as weak/failed state 442–444, 443
Africa 24
in 1500 36
climate change effects 473
decolonization 65
economic growth 397, 397
European imperialism 12, 13, 14, 42–43
International Criminal Court and 165
official development assistance (ODA) 412, 415, 415
scramble for 12, 13
slavery and slave trade 43–44, 43, 44
Sub-Saharan African civilization 522–526, 523
African National Congress 429
agriculture
protectionism 341, 379–380
reliance on for development 400–403
aid see official development assistance (ODA)
AIIB see Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB)
Al Jazeera 120
Al Qaeda 5, 8, 68, 71, 72, 73, 74, 122, 123, 199, 301, 442, 444, 450, 451
Albania 454
Algeria 42, 65
Alibek, Ken 300
alliances 81
fixed and flexible 509
purpose of 511–512
Allison, Graham 24, 124, 303
ambassadors 241–242
American Economic Association 318
American International Group (AIG) 505
American War of Independence 40, 42, 169
Americas
in 1500 36, 37
decolonization 65
empires 36, 37, 37, 41
European imperialism 41, 45
slavery and slave trade 43–44, 43, 44, 170
Americas Watch 143
Amnesty International 92, 142, 143, 172, 189
anarchy
as cause of war 221–224
constructivism 102–103
realism 11, 79
Angell, Norman 258
Angola 43, 65, 247, 399
Annan, Kofi 166, 455–456, 457
anocratic countries 91
anthrax 298, 301
Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty 283, 284
anti-dumping duties 321, 339
antinuclear movement 64
antiwar movements 262–264
apartheid 103, 103, 143–145, 164, 183, 289, 429
APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) 503, 503, 506, 507
appeasement 52
Arab–Israeli Wars 60, 206–207
Arab nationalism 295
Arab Spring uprisings 225–226, 226, 519–520
Argentina 65, 294, 330, 343, 394, 405
Armenia 63
arms control
biological weapons 300, 301
chemical weapons 299–300, 301
nuclear 282–285, 284
ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) 151, 503
ASEAN plus Three 503
Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) 247–248, 376, 505
Asian Tigers 407
aspiration–reality connections 17
Arab Spring uprisings 519–520
collective security 252–253
dollarization 327
free trade 379–380
Kyoto Protocol 487, 488
Index

liberal visions of economic growth 95–96
official development assistance (ODA) 417, 417
Responsibility to Protect (R2P) 168–169
state-building in Afghanistan 443–444
state preparations for nuclear war 281–282
US foreign policy toward China 118–119
US invasion of Iraq 214
US support for democracy during Cold War 58
al-Assad, Bashar 28, 131, 169, 299, 451
Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) 151, 503
assured destruction capabilities 277–278
see also Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD)
Atlanta Agreement 414
Atlantic Treaty 187
atmosphere, problems of 470–476
acid rain 467, 485
climate change 26–27, 470–476, 471, 472, 473, 474, 481, 492
climate change agreements 26, 117, 151, 186–187, 486–492, 488
ozone depletion 470–471, 476, 485–486
Aum Shinrikyo 297–298, 298, 301, 302
austerity policies 329, 348, 349
Australia 247, 343, 487, 488
Austria 40–41, 50, 52, 87
Austria-Hungary 47, 48, 49
autarky 312, 316
autocratic countries
foreign policy 125–126, 185
international military conflicts and 217–218
media 135
multinational enterprises and 335–336
numbers of 91
autonomy, national 334–335, 344, 371–377, 380–381
Aziz, Tariq 244–245
Aztec Empire 36, 37, 37, 41, 45
B
Bahrain 519
Baker, James 244–245
balance of payments 326
balance of power 38–39, 81, 238–239
model of return to bipolarity 512–516
model of return to multipolarity 508–512
balancing strategies 246–248, 509–510
Ban Ki-moon 447
bandwagoning 248
Bangladesh 473, 473
banks
influence on foreign policy 136–137
international bank loans 322, 411, 412, 413
Baruch, Bernard 55, 296
Baruch Plan 296
Al Bashir, Omar Hassan Ahmad 231
Battle of Britain 54
Battle of Stalingrad 54
battlefield fatalities 204–206, 227, 228
Bay of Pigs operation 61, 134, 212–214
beggar-thy-neighbor policies 51
Beijing Consensus 408–492
Belarus 275, 290
Belize 151
Belgium 43, 48, 54, 87
Belt and Road Initiative 247–248, 376, 505
Berlin Treaty 167
Berlin Wall 6, 6, 62
Bevin, Ernest 261
bilateral environmental agreements 485
bin Laden, Osama 5, 68, 73, 122, 123, 134, 162, 249, 451
biodiversity 481
biofuels 480–481
Biological and Toxic Weapons Convention (BWC)
Bloom, Mia 73
Bolivia 65, 343
Bolton, John 166
Bosnia 22, 164, 168, 524
Brazil 37, 41, 65
carbon dioxide emissions 474, 475
economic development 66, 405, 407–408, 419, 425–427
as emerging economic power 419, 425–427
environmental problems 486
nuclear weapons 294
private financial flows to trade agreements 413
Breitit Woods Conference 259
Breitit Woods system 338, 345–350
Brexit 27, 71, 132–133, 132, 256, 344, 389
BRICS 419–430
Bright, John 257
British Empire 42, 42, 44, 45, 65
Brodie, Bernard 276
Brown, Chris 437
Bulgaria 62, 67, 87, 525
Bull, Hedley 85
bureaucratic politics 126–129, 128
Burma 65
Burundi 165
Bush, George H.W. 16, 125, 134, 244, 261
BWC see Biological and Toxic Weapons Convention (BWC)
C
Cairo Declaration of Human Rights in Islam 172
Cal Cartel 446
caliphate 73–74, 451, 524
Cambodia 228, 229
Cameron, David 131, 132
Cameroon 19
Canada 175, 457
acid rain 467, 485
climate change agreements 487, 488
G-7 350
trade agreements 343, 344, 345, 503
capitalism 11, 27, 88, 90
international military conflicts and 216
capitalist class 97, 98
carbon dioxide emissions 472, 474, 475, 474, 481, 486–492, 488
Cardoso, Fernando Henrique 399, 407–408
Caribbean 42, 43, 448
Carr, E.H. 84, 181
Carter, Jimmy 172
Copyrighted material – 9781352004229
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Castro, Fidel 61, 134, 212, 213–214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalonia 7–8, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic charities 142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic Church 8, 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) 59, 126, 212–214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>centralized states 369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CETA see Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFCs see chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chad 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>challenges to sovereign states 434–463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>capacity of states to retain sovereign control 437–439, 455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future of the state and international responses to 454–459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piracy 447–450, 449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>privatization of war 452–454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>technology 452–454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terrorism 450–452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weak and failed states 440–447, 441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamberlain, Neville 52, 53, 253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chavez, Hugo 520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chechnya 524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chemical weapons 131, 297–302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) 299–300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen Shui-bian 209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheney, Dick 207, 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chertoff, Michael 282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child labor 413–414, 413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile 59, 65, 343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China in 1500 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>air pollution 489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>authoritarian leadership 519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belt and Road Initiative 247–248, 376, 505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bureaucratic politics 128–129, 128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carbon dioxide emissions 474, 475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as centralized state 369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>climate change agreements 488, 489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cold War 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Revolution 227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cyber operations/warfare 305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diplomacy 243–244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as dissatisfied state 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drones 305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East China Sea 69, 372, 373, 513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>economic dependencies on 372, 373, 374, 375, 376–377, 377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>economic development 66, 398, 407, 419, 421–424, 422, 423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as emerging economic power 419, 421–424, 422, 423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as emerging great power 513–516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and European imperialism 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exchange-rate policy 330–331, 329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foreign direct investment (FDI) 504, 505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>globalization and 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Google and 361–362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>human rights 118–119, 172–173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMF voting share 347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>international institutions and 93, 383–384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interwar period 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iron rice bowl guarantee 423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese invasion of 251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leadership learning 140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leadership turnover 141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>media control 135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>multinational enterprises and 336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Korea and 288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuclear weapons 275, 275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poverty reduction 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>power balancing 247–248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rare earth minerals 372, 376–377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rise of and interstate peace 261, 262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) 151, 510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South China Sea 9, 10, 69, 83, 177, 207, 513, 515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast Asia and 83, 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan and 209–210, 513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tribute system 239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US foreign policy toward 69, 83, 118–119, 383, 514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US Treasury bond holdings 329–330, 373, 374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warlords 437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>world economy and 383–384, 385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) 476, 485–486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chona, Mark 242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churchill, Winston 6, 54, 59, 163, 289, 516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>civil defense 280, 280, 281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>civil society 8, 103, 460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peace movements 262–264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see also nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>civil wars 225–226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>civilian deaths 227–228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>climate change and 475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>internationalization of 228–230, 229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lethality of 227–228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secessionist 226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>civilian deaths in wars 206, 227–228, 270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>civilian party-machine form of government 217–218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clans 231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clash of civilizations model 521–528, 523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>class conflict 97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claude, Inis 251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clausewitz, Carl von 123, 245, 276, 280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cleavages in international system 26–28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>climate change 26–27, 470–476, 471, 472, 473, 474, 481, 492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>multilateral agreements 26, 117, 151, 186–187, 492–498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton, Bill 117, 130, 134, 244, 246, 261, 262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton, Hillary 107–108, 118–119, 123, 247, 490–491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cobden, Richard 257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coercion in foreign policy 121–123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coercive diplomacy 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cognitive misers 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cold War 27, 28, 55–64, 499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuban Missile Crisis 60, 61, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>end of 61–64, 104, 141, 498–501, 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>internal wars and 233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as an international order 59–60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuclear arms control 282–283, 284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuclear deterrence 197, 277–281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>origins of 57–58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peace movements 263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>power balancing 247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US support for democracy during 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colgan, Jeff 403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>collective security 50, 103, 249, 250–255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia 343, 445–446, 447, 503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>colonialism 12, 13, 41–45, 98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impacts on development 398–400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>internal wars and 232–233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see also decolonization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>colonies 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>commercial liberalism 89–90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>commitment problem 222–223</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
common external tariffs (CETs) 332
cosmopolitanism 92
corruption 416, 429
Costa Rica 503
covenant of the league of nations 156, 252
costs of war 121–123, 127
COW see correlates of war (COW) project
crime, genocide, and politics 224–225
crime against humanity 22, 163–164
criminal groups see organized crime
critical theory 104–105
see also feminism
croatia 68, 87, 524
cruise missiles 272
cuba 42, 59, 61, 247
Bay of pigs operation 61, 134, 212–214
currencies 327, 328
cuban missile crisis 60, 61, 124
currencies, convertible 361
currency exchange rates 323, 324
currency market interventions 326
currency unions 326–327, 327
current accounts 325–326
customary international law 152
CWC see Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC)
cyber operations/warfare 123, 305
hyper-terrorism 305
Cyprus 87
czech republic 67, 87
czechoslovakia 50, 51, 52, 53, 57, 62, 63, 253
dalcon, Edouard 52
darfur 168, 226, 230–231, 445
dawes plan 50
development 254
institutions 838–384
on climate change agreements 491
comparative advantage 314–315
competing economic blocs 502, 503, 506–507, 507
comprehensive economic and trade agreement (CETA) 345
comprehensive test ban treaty 130
Coen of europe 40–41, 47
conditional cooperation 180
conditionality 346, 349
conditional cooperation 180
comparison of war (COW) project 198–199, 200, 201, 204, 205, 226, 227
corruption 416, 429
developing countries (continued)
  lending by multilateral institutions  410, 411–412, 412, 418–419
market-accepting trade strategies  406–409
market-controlling trade strategies  404–406
official development assistance (ODA)  410, 410, 411–412, 412, 414–418, 415, 417
private financial flows to  410–411, 410, 411, 412, 413–414
reliance on agriculture and raw materials  400–403
resource curse and  401–403
development economic see economic development  human 395–397, 395, 396
Diaz, Porfirio 138
diplomacy 119–120, 240–246, 243
diplomatic immunity 241–242
dirty bombs 303
dissatisfied states 27–28
Doha Round 340, 408, 424, 504
dollar 346–348
dollarization 327, 327
dolphins and tuna fishing 479–480, 484–485
domestic law 154–155
domestic political institutions, international military conflicts and 217–219
domestic regime change, foreign policy and 141–142
Dominican Republic 503
Doyle, Michael 15, 217, 517
drones 303–305, 304
drug cartels 437–438, 438, 446
Dutch East India Company 359
Duterte, Rodrigo 172, 177
dynastic states 36–37

E
Earth Island Institute 484
East China Sea 69, 372, 373, 513
Easterly, William 414–416, 415
Eastern Europe
  Cold War 57–58, 59, 499
  end of Cold War 62, 63, 141, 500
Ebola 302
economic development 392–431
  Beijing Consensus 408–409
  Brazil 66, 405, 407–408, 419, 425–427
  China 66, 398, 407, 419, 421–424, 422, 423
defining 395–397, 396, 397
emerging economic powers 419–430
export-lead growth (ELG) 406–407
fair trade negotiations 408
foreign policy and 137–138
impacts of colonialism on 398–400
import-substituting industrialization (ISI) 404–405
India 66, 398, 405, 407, 419, 422, 424–425
infant-industry protection 318–319, 365–366
international challenges to 398–404
international commodity agreements (ICAs) 406
international commodity cartels 405–406, 406
international finance as path to 410–419, 410, 411, 412
international trade as path to 404–409
lending by multilateral institutions 410, 411–412, 412, 418–419
market-accepting trade strategies 406–409
market-controlling trade strategies 404–406
official development assistance (ODA) 410, 410, 411–412, 412, 414–418, 415, 417
private financial flows 410–411, 410, 411, 412, 413–414
relate levels of 137–138
reliance on agriculture and raw materials 400–403
resource curse and 401–403
Russia 419, 427–429
South Africa 419, 429
economic growth
different experiences of 397–398, 397
liberal visions of 95–96
promoting national 370–371
economic incentives 120–121
economic interdependence 257–260
protecting national autonomy 371–377, 380–381
economic liberalism 363–364
economic nationalism 364–366, 502
economic realism 502
economic sanctions 121, 143–145, 159, 160, 183, 248, 249, 287, 288
economic security 502
economic systems 11, 88–89, 216
economic warfare 244
Economist, The 71, 389
ECSC see European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)
Ecuador 65, 327
EEC see European Economic Community (EEC)
EEZs see Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZs)
Egypt 42, 44, 66, 450–451, 519, 520
Einstein, Albert 270
Eisenhower, Dwight D. 127–128, 218
El Salvador 328, 503
elections, foreign policy and 131–134
elephant curve 387, 388
ELG see export-led growth (ELG)
elite actors 102, 103–104, 188–189
Elstain, Jean Bethke 106
embassies 241–242
emerging economic powers 419–430
Brazil 419, 425–427
China 419, 421–424, 422, 423
India 419, 422, 424–425
Russia 419, 427–429
South Africa 419, 429
empires 35–37, 36, 41–45
end of history 522
enduring questions 17–19
English School of International Relations 85–86
Enloe, Cynthia 105
environmental and natural-resource problems 464–495
acid rain 467, 485
bilateral agreements 485
biodiversity loss 481
biofuels 480–481
climate change 26–27, 470–476, 471, 472, 473, 474, 481, 492
climate change agreements 26, 117, 151, 186–187, 486–492, 488
deforestation 468–470, 469, 480–481, 481, 482, 484
democratization and 483–484
dolphins and tuna fishing 479–480, 484–485
fresh water contamination 476–477
management of 482–493
multilateral approaches 485–492
negative externalities 466–467
oil pollution in oceans 477–478
overfishing 477, 478–479, 480
ozone depletion 470–471, 476, 485–486
tragedy of the commons 468–470
unilateral responses 484–485
whale hunting 479
Environmental Defense Fund 484
environmental determinism 475–476
environmental organizations 92, 142, 483, 484–485
Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), US 486
environmental standards, multinational enterprises and 334–335, 344
Erdogan, Recep Tayyip 172
Escobar, Pablo 446
Estonia 49, 63, 67, 87, 488
Ethiopia 52, 251–252, 252
ethnic cleansing 164, 208, 524
ethnic identity, wars and 208, 230, 231
euro 5, 68, 326–327, 327, 343–344, 348
Europe
in 1500 36–37
Concert of Europe 40–41, 47
dynastic states 36–37
emergence of state system 38–41
imperialism 12, 13, 41–45, 98
populism 70–71, 389, 531
postwar economic integration 258–259
see also Eastern Europe; European Union (EU)
European Central Bank (ECB) 344
European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) 255, 259, 343, 382
European Economic Community (EEC) 152, 255, 332–333
European Union (EU) 5, 67–68, 142, 151, 152, 153, 503, 503, 506, 507
Brexit 27, 71, 132–133, 132, 256, 344, 389
economic incentives 120–121
euro/eurozone 5, 68, 326–327, 326, 343–344, 348
human rights 172
interstate peace and 255–256
liberal perspectives 87
member states 67–68, 87
post-modernism 530, 531–532
refugees 388–389, 388
trade 343–344, 507
trade negotiations 344, 345
eurozone 5, 68, 326–327, 326, 343–344, 348
exchange-rate systems 323–330
flexible/floating 323–325, 325, 347
exchange rates 322, 324
Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZs) 174–175, 174, 175, 177, 373
executive branches of government 129–131
export-led growth (ELG) 406–407
extended deterrence 289
external balancing 246
externalities 466–467
extra-state wars 199
incidence of 203–204, 203
lethality of 204, 206
flexible/ floating 323–325, 325, 347
foreign aid see official development assistance (ODA)
foreign direct investment (FDI) 322, 333, 336, 410–411, 411, 412, 413–414, 504, 505
foreign exchange markets 323
foreign policy 114–147
bandwagoning 248
bureaucratic politics and 126–129, 128
capitalist influences on 99
changes in 139–145
coercion instruments 121–123
coercive diplomacy 123
connections to international relations 116–118
covert operations 121–123, 122
cyber operations/warfare 123, 305
diplomacy 119–120, 240–246, 243
domestic regime change and 141–142
economic sanctions 121, 143–145, 159, 160, 183, 248, 249, 287, 288
elections and 131–134
executive and legislative branches and 129–131
government and 137
incentives 120–121
individual level sources of 124–125
individual level sources of change in 139–141
interest groups and 135–137
interests 118
international level sources of 137–138
international level sources of change in 145
leadership turnover and 141, 185–187
military force 123
national leaders and 124–125, 126–127, 134, 139–141
news media and 134–135
non-proliferation strategies and 295
nongovernmental organizations and 142–143
nuclear weapons and 291
persuasion instruments 119–121
power balancing 246–248
propaganda 121, 122
public opinion and 131–134
Index

relative economic development and 137–138
relative national capabilities and 138
state level sources of 125–137
state level sources of change in 141–145
strategy 119–123, 240–248
forests see deforestation
Fortna, Virginia Page 254–255
Fourteen Points speech 49, 50
fracking 405
Framework Convention on Climate Change 486
framing 134–135
France 5, 38–39, 40–41, 207
as centralized state 369
climate change agreements 487, 488
conscription 268–269
decolonization 65
EU membership 87
European Economic Community 332–333
G-7 350
IMF voting share 347
imperialism 41, 42–43, 45
interwar period 50, 51, 52
nuclear weapons 275, 275, 289, 295
populism 389
World War I 47, 48, 49, 50
World War II 53–54, 56
Franco, Francisco 52
Franco–Ottoman military alliance 38, 39
free trade agreements (FTAs) 343–345, 503, 504
Freedom House 172, 429, 518–519, 520–521
French Revolution 40, 42, 169, 225
French Revolutionary Wars 40
fresh water contamination 476–477
Friedman, Thomas 386, 518
Fukuyama, Francis 108
functionalism 91–92
fusion bombs 271

G

Gaddaﬁ, Muammar 168, 226, 519
Gambia 165
garrison states 218
GATT see General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)
GDP see gross domestic product (GDP)
GEF see Global Environmental Facility (GEF)
government procurement 321
Gray, Christine 121
great-power centrism 24–26
great powers 58, 238–239, 247, 512–516
decolonization and 65–66
hegemony 98–99, 187, 239–240
multipolarity 238–239, 508–512
return of great-power politics 67–69
unipolarity 67
world economy and 381–385
see also United Nations Security Council
Greece 525
city-states 18, 20–21, 21
economic crisis 121, 348, 348, 370
EU membership 87
Peloponnesian War 18, 20–21
populism 389
greed, internal wars and 230
greenhouse gas emissions 472, 472, 473–475, 474, 481, 486–492, 488
Greenpeace 92, 136, 143, 484
grievance, internal wars and 230
gross domestic product (GDP) 333, 395–397, 396, 397
glasnost 63
global civil society 103, 460
Global Environmental Facility (GEF) 486
global fracture model 528–532
global governance 349–353
global system see international system
global warming see climate change
globalization 27
backlash against 27, 70–71, 531
challenges of 385–390
inequality and 386–388, 388
interstate peace and 259
liberal perspectives 101
Marxist perspectives 101, 183
two eras of 358–363, 359, 360
good governance 398
Google 361–362
Gorbachev, Mikhail 62–63, 64, 104, 140, 140, 141, 296–297, 427, 501
governance 398
international institutions 349–353
government procurement 321
Gray, Christine 156
great-power centrism 24–26
great powers 58, 238–239, 247, 512–516
decolonization and 65–66
hegemony 98–99, 187, 239–240
multipolarity 238–239, 508–512
return of great-power politics 67–69
unipolarity 67
world economy and 381–385
see also United Nations Security Council
Greece 525
city-states 18, 20–21, 21
economic crisis 121, 348, 348, 370
EU membership 87
Peloponnesian War 18, 20–21
populism 389
greed, internal wars and 230
greenhouse gas emissions 472, 472, 473–475, 474, 481, 486–492, 488
Greenpeace 92, 136, 143, 484
grievance, internal wars and 230
gross domestic product (GDP) 333, 395–397, 396, 397
glasnost 63
global civil society 103, 460
Global Environmental Facility (GEF) 486
global fracture model 528–532
global governance 349–353
global system see international system
global warming see climate change
globalization 27
backlash against 27, 70–71, 531
challenges of 385–390
inequality and 386–388, 388
interstate peace and 259
liberal perspectives 101
Marxist perspectives 101, 183
two eras of 358–363, 359, 360
good governance 398
Google 361–362
Gorbachev, Mikhail 62–63, 64, 104, 140, 140, 141, 296–297, 427, 501
governance 398
international institutions 349–353
government procurement 321
Gray, Christine 156
great-power centrism 24–26
great powers 58, 238–239, 247, 512–516
decolonization and 65–66
hegemony 98–99, 187, 239–240
multipolarity 238–239, 508–512
return of great-power politics 67–69
unipolarity 67
world economy and 381–385
see also United Nations Security Council
Greece 525
city-states 18, 20–21, 21
economic crisis 121, 348, 348, 370
EU membership 87
Peloponnesian War 18, 20–21
populism 389
greed, internal wars and 230
greenhouse gas emissions 472, 472, 473–475, 474, 481, 486–492, 488
Greenpeace 92, 136, 143, 484
grievance, internal wars and 230
gross domestic product (GDP) 333, 395–397, 396, 397
human rights organizations 92, 142, 172, 189  
Human Rights Watch 142, 150, 172, 189  
humanitarian intervention 135–137  
internal wars and 225  
international law and 162–169  
Responsibility to Protect (R2P) 167–169, 440, 457  
sovereignty and 166–168  
weak and failed states 454, 455–457, 456  
Hungary 41, 50, 62, 63, 67, 87, 520  
Huntington, Samuel 522, 523, 526, 527  
Hurricane Katrina 281–282  
Hussein, Saddam 16, 68, 125, 126–127, 160–161, 207, 244–245, 222–223, 244, 287, 289, 525  
hybrid warfare 305  
hydrogen bombs 271  
I  
IAEA see International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)  
ICAs see international commodity agreements (ICAs)  
ICBMs see intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs)  
ICC see International Criminal Court (ICC)  
Iceland 70, 479, 488  
ICJ see International Court of Justice (ICJ)  
ICTR see International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR)  
ICTY see International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY)  
idealism 102  
identities 102  
IGO see intergovernmental organizations (IGOs)  
Ikenberry, G. John 93  
‘illiberal democracy’ 520  
ILO see International Labor Organization (ILO)  
IMF see International Monetary Fund (IMF)  
imperialism 12, 13, 41–45, 98  
import quotas 321  
import-substituting industrialization (ISI) 404–405  
IMT see International Military Tribunal (IMT)  
India 125  
in 1500 36  
British Empire 42  
carbon dioxide emissions 474, 475  
climate change agreements 488, 490–491  
decolonization 65  
economic development 66, 398, 405, 407, 419, 422, 442–425  
as emerging economic power 419, 422, 424–425  
IMF voting share 347  
Kashmir dispute 215, 244, 245, 524  
national economic self-sufficiency 400–401  
nuclear weapons 274, 274, 275, 275, 286, 289, 295  
power balancing 247  
indigenous peoples 45, 400  
individual level of analysis 14–15  
causes of internal wars 230–231  
causes of international military conflicts 210–216  
sources of foreign policy 124–125  
sources of foreign policy change 139–141  
individuals 87, 88  
indigenous peoples 45, 400  
rts of 91  
Indonesia 66, 83, 413  
inequality in 104–108, 221  
globalization and 386–388, 388  
wealth 95–96  
infectious diseases 45  
see also biological weapons  
innocent passage 175  
institutional constraints 217  
institutionalism, neo-liberal 93–94  
inter-communal wars 226  
intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) 272  
interest groups, foreign policy and 135–137  
interests 9, 102, 118  
governmental organizations (IGOs) 6, 153–154  
Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) 473  
internal balancing 246  
internal wars 224–233
Index

causes of 230–233
civilian deaths 227–228
climate change and 475
Cold War and 233
colonialism and 232–233
impact on international peace and security 224–225
incidence of 227, 227
individual level causes of 230–231
international level causes of 232–233
international military conflicts and 224–225, 232
internationalization of 228–230, 229
lethality of 227–228, 228
natural resources and 230–231
state level causes of 231–232
types of 225–227
International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) 189, 222, 293, 294
international bank loans 323, 411, 411, 412, 413
international bonds 411, 411, 412
International Campaign to Ban Landmines 143, 143, 184
International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty 457
international commodity agreements (ICAs) 406
international commodity cartels 405–406, 406
International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination 171
International Court of Justice (ICJ) 19, 155
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 171
International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 171
International Criminal Court (ICC) 164–166, 231, 248–249
International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) 164
International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) 22, 164
international economics see international political economy (IPE)
international financial flows 410–419
lending by multilateral institutions 410, 411–412, 412, 418–419
official development assistance (ODA) 410, 410, 411–412, 412, 414–418, 415, 417
private 410–411, 410, 411, 412, 413–414
international financial institutions 345–349
international governance 349–353
international institutions 91–92, 154
China and 93, 383–384
environmental 485–492
financial 345–349
governance 349–353
interstate peace and 248–256
neo-liberal institutionalism 93–94
trade 151, 338–345
International Labor Organization (ILO) 414
international law 91–92, 148–191, 151
biological and chemical weapons 299–300, 301
compared to domestic law 154–155
constructivist perspectives 183–184, 188–189
custodial 152
human rights 169–173
humanitarian intervention 162–169
International Criminal Court (ICC) 164–166, 231, 248–249
international tribunals 163–164
interstate peace and 248–256
liberal perspectives 178–181, 185–187
Marxist perspectives 182–183
oceans and waterways 173–177, 174, 175, 176
realist perspectives 181–182, 187–188, 249–250
Responsibility to Protect (R2P) 167–169
statutory 152
theoretical perspectives on effectiveness of 184–189, 249–250
theoretical perspectives on existence of 178–184
types of 151–152
war initiation 156–162
international level of analysis 15–16
causes of internal wars 232–233
causes of international military conflicts 221–224
sources of foreign policy 137–138
sources of foreign policy change 145
international military conflicts 196–224
anarchy and 221–224
civilian deaths 206, 270–271, 270
climate change and 475
democratic peace theory and 15, 90, 217–219, 516–521
domestic political institutions and 217–219
economic systems and 216
gender inequality and 221
immediate causes of 206–210
incidence of 199–204, 200, 201, 203
individual level causes of 210–216
internal wars and 224–225, 232
international law and 156–162
international level causes of 221–224
lethality of 204–206, 205, 270–271, 270
misperceptions and 211–212
motivated biases and 212
national leaders and 210–216
nationalism and 220–221
over-optimism and 214–215
public opinion and 133–134
as self-defense 162
state level causes of 216–221
stress and 211
types of 197–198
underlying causes of 206, 210–224
International Military Tribunal for the Far East 163–164
International Military Tribunal (IMT) 163–164, 163
International Monetary Fund (IMF) 68, 70, 142, 181, 345–349, 418–419
international monetary theory 322–330
currency unions 326–327, 327
dollarization 327, 328
flexible/floating exchange-rate systems 323–325, 325, 347
international organizations 150
constructivist perspectives 183–184, 188–189
formal and informal 154
liberal perspectives 178–181, 185–187
Marxist perspectives 182–183
realist perspectives 181–182, 187–188
theoretical perspectives on effectiveness of 184–189
theoretical perspectives on existence of 178–184
types of 152–154
see also intergovernmental organizations (IGOs);
nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)
international political economy (IPE) 310–355
economic liberalism 363–364
economic nationalism 364–366, 502
financial institutions 345–349
governance institutions 349–353
international monetary theory 322–330
international trade theory 312–322
multinational enterprises and 331–337
trade institutions 338–345
see also market–state relationships
international portfolio investments 322, 411, 411, 412, 413
international relations 2–30
aspiration–reality connections 17
cleavages in international system 26–28
connections to foreign policy 116–118
enduring questions 17–19
fundamental actors in 7–9
future of see models of future international system
great-power centrisim 24–26
levels of analysis 13–17
multiple perspectives 23–29
past–present connections 19–22
theoretical foundations 9–13
theory–practice connections 12–13
International Seabed Authority 174
international system 15–16, 32–75
cleavages in 26–28
Cold War 55–64
contemporary 67–74
decolonization 65–66, 66
emergence of Western European state system 38–41
European imperialism 12, 13, 41–45, 98
formation of 38–46
future of see models of future international system
globalization and 70–71
international distribution of power and 238–240
international terrorism and 71–74
interwar period 50–52, 250–253
Non-Aligned Movement 66–67
peaceful change problem 84
power transitions 83–84
return of great-power politics 67–69
Westphalian state system 39, 40, 166, 167
world in 1500 35–37, 35
World War I 46–50, 49
World War II 53–55, 56
international trade see trade international trade institutions 151, 338–345
International Trade Organization (ITO) 339–340
international tribunals 163–164
International Union for the Conservation of Nature 142
International Whaling Commission (IWC) 479
internationalism 139–140
internationalization of civil wars 228–230, 229
interstate peace 236–265
bandwagoning 248
civil society and 262–264
collective security 50, 103, 249, 250–255
democratic peace theory 15, 90, 217–219, 516–521
diplomacy 240–246
economic interdependence and 257–260
European Union and 255–256
hegemonic peace 239–240
internal wars and 224–225
international community of democracies 260–262
international distribution of power and 238–240
international law and institutions 248–256
League of Nations and 250–253
multinational enterprises and 336–337
peace movements 262–264
power balancing 246–248
state strategies for achieving 240–248
transnational mechanisms for 257–264
United Nations and 253–255
interstate wars 197–198
civilian deaths 206, 270–271, 270
incidence of 199–201, 200
internal wars and 224–225, 232
lethality of 204–206, 205, 270–271, 270
interwar period 50–52, 250–253
intra-firm trade 334
intranational trade 507
invisible hand 364
IPCC see Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC)
Iran 28, 59, 68, 145, 520
covert operations 122, 123
cyber operations/warfare 305
economic sanctions against 68, 121, 287
nuclear agreement 68, 120, 121, 287
nuclear weapons 68, 120, 121, 123, 276, 277, 287
Strait of Hormuz 121, 176–177, 176
Stuxnet attack against 123, 305
Iran–Iraq War 28, 225, 299
Iraq 28, 50, 168
chemical weapon use 299
economic sanctions against 249
First Gulf War 16, 67, 69, 125, 126–127, 160–161, 207, 244–245
ISIS (Islamic State) 8, 73–74, 301–302, 451, 524, 529
nuclear weapons 161, 222–223, 287, 289, 293, 294
weapons of mass destruction (WMD) 161, 213, 222–223, 287, 289, 293, 294, 299
Ireland 87, 121
Irish Republican Army 450
Iron Curtain 6, 59
iron rice bowl guarantee 423
ISI see import-substituting industrialization (ISI)
ISIS (Islamic State) 8, 73–74, 225, 301–302, 451, 524, 525, 529
Islam, human rights 172
isolationism 56
Israel 28, 123, 208, 343
Arab–Israeli Wars 60, 206–207
cyber operations/warfare 305
as modern state 529, 530
nuclear weapons 275, 275, 276, 277, 286, 289, 295
Italy 41
in 1500 37
diplomacy 240
as dissatisfied state 27
EU membership 87
Index

Italy (continued)
  European Economic Community 331–332
  G-7 350
  IMF voting share 347
  imperialism 43
  interwar period 50, 51, 52, 251–252, 252
  invasion of Abyssinia 52, 251–252, 252
  World War I 47, 48
  World War II 54
  ITO see International Trade Organization (ITO)
  IWC see International Whaling Commission (IWC)

J

Japan 80
  in 1500 35
  biological weapon use 300
  carbon dioxide emissions 474
  chemical weapon use 299
  climate change agreements 488
  diplomacy 243–244
  as dissatisfied state 27
  East China Sea 69, 372, 373, 513
  economic development 365, 407
  economic nationalism 365–366
  and European imperialism 44–45
  G-7 350
  IMF voting share 347
  imperialism 45
  International Military Tribunal for the Far East 163–164
  interwar period 51, 52, 251
  invasion of China 251
  Meiji Restoration 45
  nuclear attacks on 54, 263, 270–272, 270
  nuclear weapons 289
  organized crime 437
  post-modernism 531–532
  power balancing 247
  rare earth minerals 372, 376–377, 377
  rice farming 318, 319
  Tokyo sarin gas attack 297–298, 298, 301
  trade negotiations 345
  US oil embargo against 219
  US Treasury bond holdings 374
  whale hunting 479
  World War II 54, 270–272, 270, 299, 382
  Jervis, Robert 279, 281
  Johnson, Dominic 215
  Johnson, Lyndon 53
  Jordan 65
  jus ad bellum 156–162

K

Kaliningrad 209, 210
  Kambanda, Jean 164
  Kant, Immanuel 90, 260, 517
  Kashmir 215, 244, 244, 245, 524
  Kaunda, Kenneth 242
  Kazakhstan 275, 290, 510
  Keane, John 460
  Keck, Margaret 143
  Kellogg-Briand Pact 51
  Kennan, George 57
  Kennedy, John F. 59, 61, 212–214
  Kenya 7, 71
  Keohane, Robert 106
  Khan, Abdul Qadeer 287, 290
  Khrushchev, Nikita 61
  Kim Jong-Un 28, 123, 287, 288
  Kindleberger, Charles 338, 384
  Kirshner, Jonathan 136–137
  Kissinger, Henry 242, 296, 297
  Kline, Harvey F. 446
  Korean War 57, 60
  Kosovo 134–135, 168, 208, 455, 456
  Krueger, Anne O. 318, 319
  Kursd 168, 299
  Kuwait 67, 125, 126–127, 160, 207, 244, 245
  Kyoto Protocol 26, 117, 486–488, 488
  Kyrgyzstan 510

L

labor policies, multinational enterprises and 335–336
land degradation
  biodiversity loss 481
  deforestation 468–470, 469, 480–481, 481, 482, 484
  landmines 143, 143, 184
  Lasswell, Harold 218
  Latvia 49, 63, 67, 87
  Law of the Sea Treaty 151, 152, 173–177, 447
  leadership
    learning 139–141
  life expectancy 395–397, 396
  Libya 43, 168–169, 225–226, 289–290, 294, 519
  Lisbon Treaty 152
  learning 103
  by national leaders 139–141
  Lebanon 50, 65, 71, 327, 520
  legislative branches of government 129–131
  Lemkin, Raphael 163
  Leng, Russell 125
  Lenin, Vladimir 12, 48, 98, 182, 216
  levels of analysis 13–17
  causes of internal wars 230–233
  causes of international military conflicts 210–224
  sources of foreign policy 124–138
  sources of foreign policy change 139–145
  Levy, Jack 518
  liberalization 11, 86–94
  assumptions 86–89
  on China and international institutions 93, 384
  on climate change agreements 491
  commercial 89–90
  compared to other traditions 110–111, 110
  cosmopolitanism 92
economic 363–364
  on effectiveness of international law 185–187
  on end of Cold War 501
  on existence of international law 178–181
  functionalism 91–92
  on future of BRICS 420–421
  on future of the nation-state 461
  on G-20 policy agenda 352
  on humanitarian intervention 167
  on market–state relationships 363–364
  neo-liberal institutionalism 93–94
  propositions 89–92
  on purpose of alliances 511–512
  on rise of China 261, 262
  on sources of change in world politics 109
  transnationalism 92
  on United Nations 255
  on why states forego nuclear weapons 291
  Korea 275, 290, 510
  Korea and international law 185–187
  Krueger, Anne O. 318, 319
  Kursd 168, 299
  Kyoto Protocol 26, 117, 486–488, 488
  Kyrgyzstan 510

L

labor policies, multinational enterprises and 335–336
land degradation
  biodiversity loss 481
  deforestation 468–470, 469, 480–481, 481, 482, 484
  landmines 143, 143, 184
  Lasswell, Harold 218
  Latvia 49, 63, 67, 87
  Law of the Sea Treaty 151, 152, 173–177, 447
  leadership
    learning 139–141
  turnover 141, 185–187
  world economy and 384–385
  see also national leaders
  League of Nations 50, 52, 65, 130, 139, 142, 156, 170, 182, 249,
  250–253, 263
List, Friedrich 365
Lithuania 49, 63, 67, 87
lobbying 99, 100, 136
Locarno Accords 50–51
Locke, John 91
Lockhart, Clare 458
lootable wealth 230
Lula da Silva, Luiz Inácio 426
Luxembourg 54, 87, 332–333

M
Maastricht Treaty 152
MacArthur, Douglas 163
McDonald’s theory of war 518
MAD see Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD)
Maginot Line 53
al-Majid, Ali Hassan 299
Malaysia 83, 413, 506
Mali Empire 36
Malta 87
Mandela, Nelson 60
Malta
Marian Mammal Preservation Act (MMPA), US 484
market-accepting trade strategies 406–409
market-controlling trade strategies 404–406
market–state relationships 356–391
contemporary 385–390
economic liberalism 363–364
economic nationalism 364–366, 502
globalization 358–363, 359, 360, 385–390
great powers 381–385
leadership and 384–385
market-accepting trade strategies 406–409
market-controlling trade strategies 404–406
Marx, Karl 95
Marxism 11, 94–101, 97
assumptions 96–99
compared to other traditions 110–111, 110
on economic sanctions against South Africa 144–145
on existence of international law 182–183
on future of the nation-state 461
on market–state relationships 366–367
propositions 99–101
on sources of change in world politics 109
on underlying causes of war 216
May, Theresa 107
Maya Empire 36
MDGs see Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)
Mearsheimer, John 93, 262
Médicins Sans Frontières 446
media framing 413
Meiji Restoration 428
Melen dialogue 41, 312
mercantilism 41, 312
Mercosur 343, 507
Merkel, Angela 107
Mexico 37, 37, 42, 330
oeconomic development 405, 407
organized crime 437–438, 438
trade agreements 343, 344, 503
MDIs see militarized interstate disputes (MDIs)
Milanovic, Branko 387, 388
militarized interstate disputes (MDIs) 198, 201–202, 201, 202, 218
military force, as coercive foreign policy instrument 123
military–industrial complexes 218
Mill, John Stuart 169
Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) 416, 418
Milosevic, Slobodan 164, 208, 456
Mine Ban Treaty 184
missile defense systems 63, 278, 281, 283, 284, 295
Missile Technology Control Regime 295
mixed interests 179–180
mode of production 96
models of future international system 496–533
clash of civilizations 521–528, 523
democratic peace 516–521
geo-economic competition 498–508
global fracture 528–532
return to bipolarity 512–516
return to multipolarity 508–512
modern world 529–531, 529
modernization 86–87, 88, 89
monetary theory see international monetary theory
Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer 485–486
moral hazard 419
Morgenthau, Hans 25–26, 106
Morocco 43, 434
mortality rates 418
Mozambique 43, 65, 399
Mubarak, Hosni 519
Mughal dynasty 36
multilateral environmental cooperation 485–492
multinational enterprises (MNEs) 8, 331–337
autocratic countries and 336–337
child labor 413–414, 413
codes of conduct 413–414
foreign direct investment (FDI) 413–414
importance to world economy 332–334, 333
interstate peace and 336–337
national autonomy and 334–335, 344
multiple perspectives 23–29
multipolarity 238–239
model of return to 508–512
Munich Agreement 52
Munich Analogy 53
Museveni, Yoweri 165
Muslim Brotherhood 8, 450–451, 520
Muslim civilization 522–526, 523
Mussolini, Benito 52, 54, 217, 251–252
Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) 60, 277, 278, 279–281, 282–285

N
NAFTA see North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)
Nagasaki 54, 270–272
Nagin, Ray 282
NAM see Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)

NAM
Index
NAM
Index

Nasser, Gamal 295
nation-states 7–8, 532
see also states
national autonomy 334–335, 344, 371–377, 380–381
national champions 405
national leaders 7
foreign policy and 124–125, 126–127, 134, 139–141
international military conflicts and 210–216
learning by 139–141
misperceptions of 127, 211–212
over-optimism of 214–215
public opinion and 134
stress 211
turnover 141, 185–187
national perspectives 24
National Resources Defense Council 274
national treatment 333
national wealth, internal wars and 231–232
nationalism 65, 84, 92, 531
as cause of war 220–221
economic 364–366, 502
nations 7–8
NATO see North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
natural resources 504
internal wars and 230–231
international military conflicts and 206–207
reliance on for development 400–403
resource curse 401–403
see also environmental and natural-resource problems; oil and natural gas
Nazi–Soviet Non-Aggression Pact 53
NDB see New Development Bank (NDB)
negative externalities 466–467
Nehru, Jawaharlal 401
neo-liberal institutionalism 93–94
neocolonialism 183
Nestlé Corporation 411
Netherlands 41, 43, 54, 87, 332–333
New Development Bank (NDB) 420, 426
New International Economic Order (NIEO) 409
New START Treaty 284, 285
New York Philharmonic Orchestra 242
news media, foreign policy and 134–135
Nexon, Daniel 441
NGOs see nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)
Nicaragua 59, 247, 503
Nicolson, Harold 240
NIEO see New International Economic Order (NIEO)
Nigeria 19, 402, 403
nitrogen oxides 467, 485
Nixon, Richard 242, 347
Nixon shock 347
Nobel Peace Prize 5, 143, 172, 184, 446, 447
Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) 66–67
non-combatant deaths 206, 227–228, 270–271, 270
non-proliferation strategies 293–297
non-state actors 8
extra-state wars 199
organized crime 437–438, 438, 442, 446
piracy 447–450, 449
terrorism see terrorism
warlords 437–438, 442
weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and 297–298, 301–303, 439, 452–454
see also challenges to sovereign states
non-tariff barriers (NTBs) 320–321, 322, 339
nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) 153, 460
environmental organizations 92, 142, 483, 484–485
foreign policy and 142–143
human rights and 92, 142, 172
peace movements 262–264
norm entrepreneurs 183–184, 189
normative change 103
normative constraints 218
North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) 343, 344, 503, 503, 506, 507, 508
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) 5, 151, 184
Cold War 57, 59, 81, 82
humanitarian intervention 168–169, 208, 455, 456
peace movements 187, 188, 500
North Korea
economic sanctions against 159, 160, 249, 288
Korean War 57, 60
nuclear weapons 28, 69, 123, 243–244, 275, 275, 277, 286, 287, 288, 289, 294
Olympic Games 242
propaganda 121, 122
Six-Party Talks 243–244, 288
North Vietnam 59, 247
see also Vietnam War
Northern Alliance 444
Norway 54, 175, 479, 488
NPT see Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)
NSG see Nuclear Suppliers’ Group (NSG)
NTBs see non-tariff barriers (NTBs)
nuclear club 274–275, 275
nuclear deterrence 197, 275–285, 289, 292
nuclear disarmament campaigns 263
nuclear firestorm 273, 273
nuclear freeze 64, 283
Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) 120, 151, 152, 181–182, 189, 284, 293–294
nuclear revolution 275–285
Nuclear Security Project 296
Nuclear Suppliers’ Group (NSG) 294–295
Nuclear Utilization Theorists (NUTS) 279–281
nuclear weapons 268, 269–285, 293
antinuclear movement 64
arms control 282–285, 284
assured destruction capabilities 277–278
blast effect 273
civil defense 280, 280, 281
compared with chemical and biological weapons 300–301
current capabilities 274–275, 275
 dangers of proliferation 292–293
delivery of 272
deterrence 197, 275–285, 292
dirty bombs 303
effects of 270–275, 270, 273, 274
extended deterrence 289
fallout effect 273
first-strike capabilities 277–278
giving up 289–290
Iran 68, 120, 121, 123, 276, 277, 287
Iraq 161, 222–223, 287, 289, 293, 294
lethality of 270–271, 270, 273–274, 274
Manhattan Project 270
Index

missile defense systems 63, 278, 281, 283, 284, 295

Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) 60, 277, 278, 279–281, 282–285

non-proliferation strategies 293–297

non-state actors and 302–303

North Korea 28, 69, 123, 243–244, 275, 276, 286, 287, 288, 289, 294

nuclear attacks on Japan 54, 263, 270–272, 270

obtaining nuclear capability 285–287


proliferation 285–297

proposals for nuclear-free world 296–297

second-strike capabilities 277, 278

state preparations to fight nuclear war 279–282, 280

states’ reasons for wanting or foregoing 288–291

terrorism and 302–303

thermal effect 273, 273

nuclear winter 273

Nunn–Lugar program 294

Nunn, Sam 296, 297

Nuremberg Trials 163–164, 163

NUTS see Nuclear Utilization Theorists (NUTS)

O

Obama, Barack 68, 117, 124–125, 131, 134, 141, 169, 186, 287, 295, 304, 444, 520, 527

objectives 9

oceans and waterways

dolphins and tuna fishing 479–480, 484–485

fresh water contamination 476–477

international law 173–177, 174, 175, 176

oil pollution 477–478

overfishing 477, 478–479, 480

whale hunting 479

ODA see official development assistance (ODA)

Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) 273

official development assistance (ODA) 410, 410, 411–412, 412, 414–418, 415, 417

oil and natural gas 62, 121, 127, 207, 504

Brazil 425

oil spills 477–478

OPEC 405–406, 406, 408

resource curse 401–403

Russia 371, 372, 428

Olympic Games 242, 242, 369

Oman 176–177, 176

OPEC see Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)

open regionalism 507

Opium Wars 44

opportunity costs 313, 314, 315, 315, 315, 316

Orban, Viktor 520

Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) 299

Organization of African Unity 183

Organization of Islamic Conference 172

Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) 405–406, 406, 408

organized crime 8, 437–438, 438, 442, 446

Orthodox Christian civilization 522–526, 523

Orwell, George 55

OTA see Office of Technology Assessment (OTA)

Ottawa Treaty 184

Ottoman Empire 36, 38, 39, 41, 42, 44, 50

overfishing 477, 478–479, 480

Oxfam 142

ozone depletion 470–471, 476, 485–486

P

Paine, Thomas 169

Pakistan 125

covert operations 122, 122
decolonization 65
democracy 520
drone attacks on 304

Kashmir dispute 215, 244, 244, 245, 524


Taliban 199, 224–225

Palestine 50, 520

Palmerston, Lord 247, 509

Panama 327, 343, 503

Pape, Robert 73, 452

Paraguay 343

Paris Agreement on Climate Change 26, 117, 151, 186–187, 488–489, 492

Partial Test Ban Treaty 282–283

past–present connections 19–22

cost of interest over political regimes 207–208

diplomacy 243, 243

economic systems 88–89

evolution of United Nations 157–158

globalization 360, 360

Munich Analogy 53

national economic self-sufficiency 400–401

overfishing 478–479

piracy 448

proposals for nuclear-free world 296–297

regional economic blocs 506–507, 507

trade-dispute settlement 340–341

US executive and legislative branches 130–131

patriotism 220

Pax Romana 239

Pax Sinica 239

payments, balance of 326

PCA see Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA)

peace see interstate peace

peace movements 262–264

Peace of Westphalia 39, 40, 167, 241

peaceful change problem 84

peacekeeping operations 158, 158, 231, 254–255, 254

peacemaking 254

Pearl Harbor 54, 145

Peloponnesian War 18, 20–21

perestroika 63

Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) 155, 177

Perry, Matthew 44–45

Perry, William 296, 297

personal envoys 242

personality 124–125

persuasion in foreign policy 119–121

Peru 37, 65

Philippines 42, 59, 60, 65, 177, 247, 413

Physicians for Social Responsibility 263

Pipes, Richard 280

piracy 447–450, 449

Plaza Agreement 350

Copyrighted material – 9781352004229
plutonium 286
Poland 50, 51, 57
climate change agreements 488
democracy 520
end of Cold War 62, 63
EU membership 67, 87
populism 389
refugees 388–389
World War II 53, 206
policy disagreements, international military conflicts and 208
policy instruments 9
Poliburo Standing Committee, China 128, 128, 129
political lobbying 99, 100, 136
political psychology 125
political regimes
foreign policy and 141–142
international military conflicts and 207–208
pollution
fresh water contamination 476–477
oil pollution in oceans 477–478
ozone depletion 470–471, 476, 485–486
see also climate change
pollution havens 335
Polonoroeste project, Brazil 486
populism 70–71, 341, 389, 531
portfolio investments 322, 411, 411, 412, 413
Portugal 41–43, 45, 65, 87, 121, 399
positive illusions 215
post-modern world 530, 531
poverty reduction 70, 418
poverty trap 416
Powell, Colin 445
power
balance of 38–39, 81, 238–239, 508–516
changes in relative 145
international distribution of 238–240
power balancing 246–248
soft 509–510
power transitions 83–84
PPF see production possibilities frontier (PPF)
PPP see purchasing power parity (PPP)
pre-modern world 529, 530, 531
Prebisch, Raúl 404
price inflation 329
Prisoner’s Dilemma 179–180, 179, 223
private financial flows 410–411, 410, 411, 412, 413–414
private information problem 222
privatization of war 452–454
problem-solving theory 104–105
procurement, government 321
production possibilities frontier (PPF) 313, 313
progress 87, 89
proliferation 305
non-proliferation strategies 293–297
nuclear weapons 285–297
propaganda 40–41, 47
proxy wars 60
Prussia 40–41, 47
public opinion 120
foreign policy and 131–134
Pugwash Conferences 263
purchasing power parity (PPP) 422
Putin, Vladimir 28, 68–69, 172, 427, 428, 519
Q
Qatar 120, 396
R
R2P see Responsibility to Protect (R2P)
race to the bottom 335–336
racial equality 183
radiological dispersal devices 303
rally ‘round the flag effect 134
Ramesh, Shri Jairam 490–491
rare earth minerals 372, 376–377, 377
Reagan Doctrine 59
Reagan, Ronald 63–64, 140, 279, 283, 296–297, 486
realism 11, 78–86
assumptions 79–80
on China and international institutions 93, 384
on climate change agreements 491
compared to other traditions 110–111, 110
economic nationalism 364–366, 502
on economic sanctions against South Africa 144
on effectiveness of international law 187–188, 249–250
on end of Cold War 501
English School 85–86
on existence of international law 181–182
on future of BRICS 420
on future of the nation-state 461
on G-20 policy agenda 352
on humanitarian intervention 166–167
propositions 80–84
on purpose of alliances 511–512
on return to multipolarity 508
on rise of China 261, 262
on sources of change in world politics 109
unitary-actor assumption 211, 216, 219
on United Nations 255
on why states forego nuclear weapons 291
refugees 173, 225, 388–389, 388, 475
regime change, foreign policy and 141–142
Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) 505
regional economic blocs 502, 503–504, 503, 506–507, 507
regional trade agreements (RTAs) 343–345, 503, 504
regulatory chill 335
Reinsurance Treaty 47
relations of production 96
relative gains 82–83, 103, 365, 378–379
relative national capabilities 138
relative power, changes in 145
resource curse 401–403
Responsibility to Protect (R2P) 167–169, 440, 457
revolution 97–98
Reykjavik Summit 296–297
Rhinelband Crisis 52
Rhodesia 65
Ricardo, David 312, 364
Rice, Condoleezza 519–520
right of transit through straits 175–177, 176
right to go war 156–162
Rodrik, Dani 88–89, 387
Roman Empire 239, 239
Romania 62, 67, 87, 525
Roosevelt, Franklin 59
Roosevelt, Franklin D. 139–140, 170, 253, 258, 260–261, 270
Rosecrance, Richard 336
Ross, Michael 403
Rouhani, Hassan 287
Rousseff, Dilma 426–427
Roy, Olivier 73
Rudra, Nita 336
Ruhr Crisis 50
‘rum triangle’ trade 43, 43
Russell, Bruce 15, 517
Russia 12, 40–41
annexation of Crimea 28, 69, 196
authoritarian leadership 519
climate change agreements 488
cyber operations/warfare 123, 305
diplomacy 243–244
as dissatisfied state 28
economic dependencies on 371, 372
economic development 419, 427–429
economic sanctions against 249
as emerging economic power 419, 427–429
Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZs) 175
G-8 350
Georgia and 68–69, 428
health issues 428
human rights 172–173
hybrid warfare 305
IMF voting share 347
imperialism 44, 45
nuclear arms control 283–285, 284
nuclear weapons 274–275, 275
oil and natural gas 371, 372, 428
post-Cold War period 68–69, 370
private financial flows to 413
revolutions 12, 48, 98
Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) 151, 510, 510
Ukraine and 28, 69, 371
World War I 47, 48
see also Soviet Union
Rwanda 164, 168, 228, 457

Sachs, Jeffrey 416
Sagan, Scott 215, 292
Said, Edward W. 527
SALT see Strategic Arms Limitation
Treaties (SALT)
sanctions see economic sanctions
Santos, Juan Manuel 446, 447
SAP see structural adjustment
programs (SAP)
sarin gas 297–298, 298, 301
Saudi Arabia 71, 72, 347
Schlesinger, Arthur 212
Schlieffen Plan 47, 48, 49
Schmidt, Helmut 502
Scotland 7
Scott, Joan 107
scramble for Africa 12, 13
SDGs see Sustainable Development
Goals (SDGs)
secessionist civil wars 226
second-strike capabilities 277, 278
security
collective 50, 103, 249, 250–255
economic 502
internal wars and 224–225
post-modern world 531–532
realism and 79–80
Security Council see United Nations
Security Council
security dilemmas 28, 81
Selassie, Haile 252
self-determination 56
sensitivity 373
September 11 terrorist attacks 5, 20, 25, 68, 162, 450, 451, 524
Serbia
ethnic cleansing 164, 208, 524
Kosovo 134–135, 168, 208, 455, 456
Srebrenica 22, 164
World War I 47, 48
Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) 151, 510, 510
Sharif, Nawaz 244
Shinseki, Eric 196, 212
Shultz, George 140, 296, 297
Sikkink, Kathryn 143
Simmons, Beth 154
Singapore 83, 247, 343, 407
Singer, J. David 13
Singer, Max 528
Sino-centric civilization 522–526, 523
Six-Party Talks 243–244, 288
Skocpol, Theda 232
slavery and slave trade 43–44, 43, 44, 170
Slovakia 67, 87
Slovenia 68, 87, 488
Smith, Adam 89–90, 95, 257, 312, 363–364, 364
Smoot-Hawley Tariff 19–20, 51, 384
Snyder, Jack 80, 521
socialization 103
socioeconomic classes 96–97
SOEs see state-owned enterprises (SOEs)
soft balancing 509–510
Somalia 66, 168, 448, 454, 529
Songhai Empire 36
Sony 123
South Africa
apartheid 103, 103, 143–145, 164, 183, 289, 429
economic dependencies on 375–376
economic development 419, 429
economic sanctions against 143–145
as emerging economic power 419, 429
health issues 429
International Criminal Court and 165
nuclear weapons 275, 289
Truman and Reconciliation Commission 164
South China Sea 9, 10, 69, 83, 177, 207, 513, 515
South Korea
democratization 336
diplomacy 243–244
economic development 66, 394, 407
economic nationalism 365–366
Korean War 57, 60
nuclear weapons 289
Olympic Games 242
private financial flows to 413
trade agreements 343
South Ossetia 68–69, 428
South Sudan 226, 444–445
Southeast Asia, China and 83, 177
sovereignty 7, 150
to challenges to see challenges to
sovereign states
humanitarian intervention and 166–168
Westphalian state system 39, 40, 166, 167, 437–439, 441
Soviet Nuclear Threat Reduction
Act, US 294
Soviet Union 7, 12, 48
biological weapons 300
Cold War 55–64, 499
collapse of 61–64, 62, 67, 498–501
communism 57, 97, 101
dissatisfied state 27
economic reform 62–63, 427
interwar period 52
leadership learning 140
leadership turnover 141
nuclear arms control 282–283, 284
nuclear weapons 60, 271, 274–275, 277, 280
power balancing 247
proxy wars 60
World War II 53, 54, 55, 56, 206
Spain
Catalonia 7–8, 8
decolonization 65
EU membership 87
imperialism 41
interwar period 52
terrorist attacks on 72
specialization and trade 315–317, 315, 320
sphere of influence 58
Srebrenica 22, 164
Sri Lanka 65
stabilization programs 418
Stalin, Joseph 52, 53, 57, 58
START see Strategic Arms Reduction Treaties (START)
state level of analysis 15
causes of internal wars 231–232
causes of international military conflicts 216–221
sources of foreign policy 125–137
sources of foreign policy change 141–145
state-owned enterprises (SOEs) 422
statecraft 9
states 7–8
bandwagoning 248
bipolarity 58, 238–239, 247, 512–516
centralized and decentralized 369
challenges to see challenges to sovereign states
conflicts between see international military conflicts
dissatisfied 27–28
distribution of power among 238–240
English School and 85–86
failed see weak and failed states
foreign policy see foreign policy
future of the state 459–462
hegemony 98–99, 187, 239–240
liberalism and 88
managing domestic and international relations 368–370
markets and see market–state relationships
multipolarity 238–239, 508–512
peace between see interstate peace
power balancing 246–248, 509–510
preparations to fight nuclear war 279–282, 280
rationality of 79, 80
realism and 79–80, 81–84
reasons for wanting or foregoing nuclear weapons 288–291
right of self-defense 162
right to go to war 156–162
sovereignty see sovereignty
strategic culture 103–104
unipolarity 67
weak see weak and failed states see also international system
statutory international law 152
Stimson, Henry 272
Strait of Hormuz 121, 176–177, 176
Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties (SALT) 283, 284
Strategic Arms Reduction Treaties (START) 283–285, 284
strategic culture 103–104
Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) 63
strategies 9
economic development 404–409
foreign policy 119–123, 240–248
non-proliferation 293–297
structural adjustment programs (SAP) 349, 418
Stuxnet 123, 305
Sub-Saharan African civilization 522–526, 523
submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs) 272
Sudan 168, 226, 230–231, 444–445
Sudetenland 52
sulfur dioxide 467, 485
supply curves 324, 324
supranational organizations 153–154
Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 418
Sweden 87, 487, 488
Syria 28, 50
Arab Spring uprisings 519, 520
chemical weapon use 131, 299
civil war 131–132, 168, 169, 173, 299, 451, 520
ISIS (Islamic State) 8, 73–74, 225, 301–302, 451, 524, 525, 529
nuclear weapons 208, 295
refugees 388–389
Tariffs 19–20, 51, 259, 320, 333, 339
taxation 380–381
technological changes
news media and 135
productivity and 401
technologies of warfare 266–307
biological weapons 298, 300–301, 302
chemical weapons 131, 297–302
cyber operations/warfare 123, 305
drones 303–305, 304
historical evolution of warfare 268–269
hybrid warfare 305
non-state actors and 297–298, 301–303, 439, 452–454
nuclear weapons see nuclear weapons
terms of trade 316
territorial disputes, international military conflicts and 209–210
territorial seas 174, 176–177, 176
terrorism 8, 71–74, 72, 225, 450–452
to-terrorist 305
drone attacks on terrorists 304
motivation for 72–73, 451–452
September 11 attacks 5, 20, 25, 68, 162, 450, 451, 524
war on 5, 73–74, 304
weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and 297–298, 301–303
Thailand 83, 413
Thatcher, Margaret 108, 137
tories of international relations 9–13, 76–113
on China and international institutions 93, 383–384
on climate change agreements 491
comparing traditions 11, 108–111, 110
constructivism see constructivism
critical theory 104–105
on economic sanctions against South Africa 144
on effectiveness of international law 184–189, 249–250
on end of Cold War 501
English School 85–86
on existence of international law 178–184
feminism see feminism
on future of BRICS 420–421
on future of the nation-state 461–462
on G-20 policy agenda 352–353
on humanitarian intervention 166–167
liberalism see liberalism
Marxism see Marxism
realism see realism
on rise of China 261, 262
on sources of change in world politics 109
on United Nations 255
on why states forego nuclear weapons 290–291
theory–practice connections 12–13
Cold War nuclear strategies 279–280
democratic ‘lock-in’ argument 186–187
foreign aid and economic development in Africa 415, 415
Franco–Ottoman military alliance 39
influence of bankers on foreign policy 136–137
international law and institutions 249–250
purpose of alliances 511–512
rationality of states 80
specialization versus protectionism 319
state sovereignty 455
tragedy of the commons and deforestation 469–470
unitary-actor assumption 219
thermonuclear bombs 271
Third World 66–67
Thirty Years War 38–39, 197, 241
Thoreau, Henry David 169
Thucydides 18, 20–21, 79
Thugut, Baron 207
Thurow, Lester 502
Tickner, Ann 107, 108
tied aid 414
Tokugawa Shogunate 35, 44–45
Tokyo Round 339
total war 197
TPP see Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP)
trade 312–322
anti-dumping duties 321, 339
comparative advantage 314–315
consumption and production 313
democratization and 336
export-led growth (ELG) 406–407
fair trade negotiations 408
free in principle, not practice 379–380
gains from 315–317, 315, 317
import quotas 321
international commodity agreements (ICAs) 406
international commodity cartels 405–406, 406
international trade institutions 151, 338–345
 interstate peace and 257–260
intra-regional 507, 507
liberalization 70, 189, 259
market-accepting trade strategies 406–409
market-controlling trade strategies 404–406
multinational enterprises and 333–334, 333
non-tariff barriers (NTBs) 320–321, 332, 339
opportunity costs 313, 314, 315, 315, 315, 316
as path to development 404–409
slowing of growth of 342–343, 342
Smoot-Hawley Tariff 19–20, 51, 384
tariffs 19–20, 51, 259, 320, 332, 339
trade agreements 343–345, 503, 504
Voluntary Export Restraints (VERs) 321, 333
tragedy of the commons 468–469
Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) 344
Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) 344
transit passage 175–177, 176
transnational business 100
transnational corporations (TNCs)
see multinational enterprises (MNEs)
transnational peace mechanisms 257–264
economic interdependence 257–260
international community of democracies 260–262
peace movements 262–264
transnationalism 92
treaties 151–152, 151
Treaty of Rome 152
Treaty of Tlatelolco 294
Trinity test 270
Triple Alliance 47
Triple Entente 47
tropical deforestation 468–470, 469, 480–481, 481, 482
Trudeau, Pierre 138
Trujillo, Rafael 59
Truman Doctrine 57, 58, 59
Truman, Harry S. 57, 127–128, 130, 253, 258, 271
Truth and Reconciliation Commissions 164
TTIP see Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP)
tuna fishing and dolphins 479–480, 484–485
Tunisia 43, 519
Turkey 44, 48, 49, 407
see also Ottoman Empire
U
U Thant 61
UAVs see Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs)
Uganda 165
Ukraine 28, 69, 196, 275, 290, 371, 510
unacceptable damage 277
UNDP see United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
UNICEF 413–414
unilateral environmental efforts 484–485
unipolarity 67
unitary-actor assumption 211, 216, 219
United Kingdom 40–41
Brexit 27, 71, 132–133, 132, 256, 344, 389
chemical weapon use 300
climate change agreements 487, 488
Corn Laws 257
Czechoslovakia and 253
decolonization 65
English School 85–86
EU membership 27, 71, 87
executive and legislative branches 131
G-7 350
hegemonic peace 240
IMF voting share 347
imperialism 42, 44, 45, 65
interwar period 50, 51, 52, 253
Index

United Kingdom (continued)
  nuclear arms control  282–283
  nuclear weapons  275, 275, 289
Opium Wars  44
peace movements  262–263
populism  71, 389
power balancing  247
Scotland  7
Second Gulf War  161, 196
terrorist attacks on  72, 450
trade  257–258
world economy and  381
World War I  47, 48, 49, 50
World War II  53, 54, 55, 56
United Nations Atomic Energy Commission  296
United Nations Charter  152,
  156–160, 162, 454
United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea  151, 152,
  173–177, 447
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)  395, 416,
  486
United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP)  486
United Nations General Assembly  157, 158, 168, 170, 171, 253, 457
United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights  171
United Nations Human Rights Commission  170–171
United Nations Human Rights Council  142, 171, 171
United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF)  413–414
United Nations Security Council  253
economic sanctions  159, 249, 288
First Gulf War  67, 160–161, 244
humanitarian intervention  167, 168, 169, 454
Iranian nuclear deal  120
liberal perspectives  255
membership of  157, 158, 253
peacekeeping operations  254
realist perspectives  255
resolutions  160
Second Gulf War  161
veto power  253
war initiation and  156, 159–162
United Nations (UN)  34, 56, 61, 150
evolution of  157–158
human rights  170–171
interstate peace and  253–255
liberal perspectives  255
members of  157–158
peacekeeping operations  158, 158, 231, 254–255, 254
realist perspectives  255
Responsibility to Protect (R2P)  167–169, 440, 457
war initiation and  156–162
United States  28
acid rain  467, 485
Afghanistan and  5, 68, 123, 162, 199, 304, 443–444, 457–458
agricultural protectionism  379–380
Bay of Pigs operation  61, 134, 212–214
biological weapons  300
bureaucratic politics  126–128
carbon dioxide emissions  474, 475
climate change agreements  26, 487, 489, 490–491
coercive diplomacy  123
Cold War  55–64
covered operations  122–123, 122
cuban Missile Crisis  60, 61, 124
cyber operations/wware  123, 305
as decentralized state  369
decolonization  65
diplomacy  242, 243–244
dolphins and tuna fishing  484–485
drones  304, 304
Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZs)  174, 175
exective and legislative branches  129–131
extended deterrence  289
First Gulf War  16, 67, 69, 125,
  126–127, 160–161, 207, 244–245
foreign holders of Treasury bonds  329–330, 373, 374
foreign policy toward China  69, 83, 118–119, 383, 514
fracking  405
free trade in principle, not practice  379–380
G-7  350
hegemonic peace  240
human rights  170, 172
humanitarian intervention  168–169
Hurricane Katrina response  281–282
imperialism  42, 45
International Criminal Court and  165, 166
International Monetary Fund and  346–347, 347
interlationalism  139–140
interwar period  50, 51, 52
isolationism  56
Law of the Sea Treaty and  173
leadership learning  139–140
leadership turnover  141, 185–187
League of Nations and  130, 251
military defense systems  63, 283, 284, 295
national economic self-sufficiency  400–401
nuclear arms control  282–285,
  284
nuclear attacks on Japan  54, 263,
  270–272, 270
nuclear weapons  60, 270–272,
  275, 277, 279–281, 289
Nunn–Lugar program  294
oil embargo against Japan  219
organized crime  437
peace movements  262–263
populism  71, 389, 531
post-Cold War period  67, 68, 69
power balancing  247
preparations to fight nuclear war  279–282
propaganda  121
proposals for nuclear-free world  296–297
proxy wars  60
Second Gulf War  16, 53, 68, 72,
  161, 196, 207–208, 214,
  222–223, 263–264
September 11 terrorist attacks  5,
  20, 25, 68, 162, 450, 451, 524
Smoot-Hawley Tariff  19–20, 51,
  384
support for democracy during Cold War  58
terrorist attacks on  5, 20, 25, 68,
  71–72, 162, 450, 451, 524
trade  258–259
trade agreements  343, 344, 503
unipolarity  67
Vietnam War  5, 25, 53, 60, 65,
  133, 263
war on terrorism  5, 73–74, 304
world economy and  381–383,
  384–385
World War I  48–49, 50
World War II  54, 145
Universal Declaration of Human Rights  170, 172
Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs)  303–305, 304
uranium 286
Uruguay 343
Uruguay Round 340, 504
USSR see Soviet Union
utility 313
Uzbekistan 510

V
Venezuela 520
VERs see Voluntary Export Restraints (VERs)
Versailles Treaty 49–50, 52, 130, 142
vested interests 90
veto players 185
Vietnam 59, 83
Vietnam War 5, 25, 53, 60, 65, 133, 263
visas 5–6
Voice of America (VOA) 120
Voluntary Export Restraints (VERs) 321, 333
vulnerability 373

W
Waltz, Kenneth 13, 106, 292, 512
war
civil see civil wars
extra-state see extra-state wars
general 197
hegemonic 197
inter-communal 226
internal see internal wars
international see international military conflicts
interstate see interstate wars
limited 198
privatization of 452–454
proxy 60
secessionist 226
technologies of see technologies of warfare
total 197
war crimes 22, 163–165, 225
war on terrorism 5, 73–74, 304
warlords 437–438, 442
Wars of German Unification 246
Warsaw Pact 59, 62, 247
Washington Arms Conference Treaty 299
Washington Consensus 70, 88–89, 349, 408
water resources 476–480
dolphins and tuna fishing 479–480, 484–485
fresh water contamination 476–477
oil pollution in oceans 477–478
overfishing 477, 478–479, 480
whale hunting 479
weak and failed states 66–67, 231–232, 434–463, 441
Afghanistan 442–444, 443
capacity of states to retain sovereign control 437–439, 455
Colombia 445–446, 447
humanitarian intervention 454, 455–457, 456
international responses to 454–459
piracy and 447–450, 449
privatization of war and 452–454
Sudan and South Sudan 444–445
technology and 452–454
terrorism and 450–452

Wealth of Nations (Smith) 95, 257
weapons of mass destruction (WMD)
biological weapons 298, 300–301, 302
chemical weapons 131, 297–302
Iraq 161, 213, 222–223, 287, 289, 293, 294, 299
non-state actors and 297–298, 301–303, 439, 452–454
nuclear weapons see nuclear weapons
Weber, Max 437
Weeks, Jessica L. 217–218
Weimar Republic 50, 51, 142
Western civilization 522–526, 523
Westphalian state system 39, 40, 166, 167, 437–439, 441
whale hunting 479
Wildavsky, Aaron 528
William II, Emperor of Germany 47, 49
Williams, Jody 143, 143, 184
Wilson, Woodrow 49, 50, 130, 139, 250, 251, 263
WMD see weapons of mass destruction (WMD)
Wolffowitz, Paul 196, 212
women
under-representation of 107–108
subordination of and clans 231
see also feminism; gender inequality
workers’ rights, multinational enterprises and 334–335, 344
World Bank 70, 142, 345, 414, 416, 429, 486
World Economic Forum 429
World Systems Theory 399
World Trade Organization (WTO) 68, 70, 151, 152, 261, 339, 340–341, 343, 408, 504
World War I 46–50, 49, 140, 142, 197
chemical weapons 297, 298, 300
lethality of 204
peace movements 262–263
technology 269
World War II 51, 53–55, 56, 140, 142, 145, 197, 198
biological weapons 300
chemical weapons 299
civilian deaths 206, 270–271, 270
Holocaust 170, 206
international tribunals 163–164
lethality of 204, 206, 270–271, 270
nuclear attacks on Japan 54, 263, 270–272, 270
technology 269
world economy and 382
World Wildlife Fund 142
Worldwatch Institute 142
Wright, Robert 452, 453
WTO see World Trade Organization (WTO)

X
Xi Jinping 128–129, 128, 129, 141, 172, 383, 513, 519

Y
Yanukovych, Viktor 196
Yeltsin, Boris 63, 283
Yemen 455, 519
Yugoslavia 50, 66, 164, 524

Z
Zambia 242
Zartman, I. William 440
Zedillo, Ernesto 318, 319
Zimbabwe 65, 520
zone of peace 260
Zuma, Jacob 429