

second edition



International RELATIONS

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Second Edition



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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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PREFACE

International relations is a compelling subject. The rich complexity of international relationships—political, economic, and cultural—provides a fascinating puzzle to try to understand. The puzzle is not just intellectually challenging; it is also emotionally powerful. It contains numerous human-scale stories in which the subject's grand themes—war and peace, tragedy and triumph, intergroup conflict and community—are played out. International relations is also relevant to our daily lives as never before; today's students will graduate into a global economy in which no nation stands alone.

Above all, the substance of international relations is changing profoundly in the 1990s, right before our eyes. The rules of world politics are being rewritten daily in large and small ways as global society races toward the millennium. Both the Cold War and its end are history. Students, professors, and policy makers alike are rethinking the subject of international relations. They are hungry for information about the new world and for explanations of how it works.

Power still matters, but economic forms of power now rival military ones. Nuclear weapons are still important, but now because of proliferation rather than the super-power arms race. Relations among states remain central to the rules of world politics, but there are substate and supranational actors and processes as well. Global telecommunications, multinational business networks, and transnational ethnic communities are undermining state sovereignty from within, while the nascent supranational authority of the United Nations and the European Union is doing the same from without. The most important global division is now the North-South gap between the world's rich and poor regions, not the East-West cleavage of the Cold War.

At the same time, scholarship in IR has moved in new directions as well—expanding the scope of the field and often creating uncertain boundaries and a jumble of divergent approaches to the subject. Unfortunately for people first approaching the subject, the tangle of ideas, theories, and ever-changing facts is confusing—a problem made worse when old textbooks are “updated” by tacking on chapters to cover new topics. Such was the motivation for a new textbook born in the 1990s.

❖ **Changes in the Second Edition**

The new synthesis laid out in the first edition of this book has held up well to the challenges of the post–Cold War era as it has unfolded over the past few years. Its reception by students has been gratifying. Therefore, the changes in this second edition are not radical. The overall organization of the text has been adjusted in one way in order to better present the various theories with which IR scholars attempt to explain world events: the chapter on alternatives to realism has been moved up front, following the chapter on realism. This chapter, now Chapter 3, presents more fully the main liberal and revolutionary critiques of traditional power politics, including neoliberal institutionalism, feminist theory, postmodernism, and peace studies.

To reinforce the importance of theoretical explanations and to help students think about episodes and cases in a more general and theoretical way, a series of new text boxes has been added under the title “Thinking Theoretically.” Each box shows how a particular issue or case discussed in a chapter can be explained by different theoretical approaches. The boxes link back to the overview of conservative, liberal, and revolutionary theoretical traditions now laid out in Chapter 1. (The previous edition’s boxes, titled “Theory in Practice,” have been incorporated into this edition’s text, where they better contribute to the sequence of ideas presented on each subject.)

World political events have continued to unfold in the past few years, and this second edition updates the examples, cases, photos, and descriptions accordingly. In a world of rapid change, students demand and deserve to learn the status of today’s conflicts, organizations, treaties, and other aspects of international relations. An emphasis on the Gulf War—a key defining event of the post–Cold War era—is retained in this edition. But the conflict in Bosnia has been added as a second recurring example—one that contrasts with the Gulf War in many ways, notably in the efficacy of collective security. This contrast is used (especially in the first few “Thinking Theoretically” boxes) to explore how different theories explain puzzling outcomes. The Bosnia case is especially suitable for exploring the predictive power of theories, since the ultimate outcome of the conflict is still unknown at the time of this writing.

Another kind of updating has been undertaken for this edition: all quantitative data have been revised, using the latest available numbers. The author believes that data, presented simply and appropriately, allow students to form their own judgments and to reason through the implications of different policies and theories. Since the data are changing rapidly in the 1990s—be they numbers of military forces, regional inflation rates, or currency exchange rates—students deserve to have access to the most recent available numbers. This edition also adopts the new method of calculating internationally comparable GDP data based on purchasing-power parity.

❖ Pedagogical Elements

This book's aim is to present the current state of knowledge in IR in a comprehensive and accessible way—to provide a map of the subject covering its various research communities in a logical order.

The map is organized around the subfields of international security and international political economy. These subfields, although separated physically in this book, are integrated conceptually and overlap in many ways. No longer does one set of principles apply to military affairs and another set to economic relations, as was sometimes argued during the Cold War. Using the concepts of power and bargaining to bridge the two subfields, this book connects both subfields to the real world by using concrete examples to illustrate theories.

Many people in the television generation find information—especially abstract theories—easier to grasp when linked with pictures. Thus the book uses photographs extensively to illustrate important points.

In a subject like IR, where knowledge is tentative and empirical developments can overtake theories, critical thinking is a key skill for college students to develop. Narratives and boxes present what is known but leave conclusions open-ended in order to encourage critical thinking. The questions at the end of each chapter are designed to engage students in thinking critically about the contents of the chapter. The role of data in encouraging critical thinking by students has been mentioned. In presenting quantitative information, the text uses global-level data (showing the whole picture), rounds off numbers to highlight what is important, and conveys information graphically where appropriate.

Many people come to the study of IR with little background in world geography and history. The first chapter of this book presents background material on these topics. A historical perspective places recent decades in the context of the evolution of the modern international system. The global orientation of the book reflects the diversity of IR experiences for different actors, especially those in the global South.

Three levels of analysis—individual, domestic, and interstate—have often been used to sort out the multiple influences operating in international relations. This book adds a fourth, the global level. Global-level phenomena such as the United Nations, the world environment, and global telecommunications and culture receive special attention.

IR is a large subject that offers many directions for further exploration. The footnotes in this book, keyed to areas of the text and updated for this second edition, suggest further reading on various topics. Unless otherwise noted, they are not traditional sourcenotes.

❖ Structure of the Book

The overall structure of this book follows substantive topics, first in international security (Part One) and then in international political economy (Part Two).

Chapter 1 introduces the study of IR and provides some of the geographical and historical context of the subject. Chapters 2 and 3 lay out the various theoretical approaches to the subject, focusing primarily on international security but laying the groundwork for later treatments of international political economy as well. The concepts of power and bargaining, developed in Chapter 2, remain central to later discussions. They are augmented, in Chapter 3, by the important concepts of interdependence and collective goods, and by feminist (and other) critiques of realism.

The remaining four chapters of Part One move generally from the individual to the global level of analysis. Chapter 4 examines the foreign policy process, with special attention to U.S. foreign policy. Chapter 5 introduces the main sources of international conflict, including ethnic, territorial, and economic conflicts. The conditions and manner in which such conflicts lead to the use of violence are discussed in Chapter 6, on military force. Chapter 7 shows how international organizations and law, especially the United Nations, have evolved to become major influences in security relations.

The second part of the book similarly moves upward through levels of analysis, from microeconomic principles and national economies through trade and monetary relations, international integration, the environment, and North-South relations. Chapter 8 introduces theoretical concepts in political economy (showing how theories of international security translate into new issue areas), and discusses the most important topic in international political economy, namely, trade relations. Chapter 9 describes the politics of international money, banking, and multinational business operations. Chapter 10 explores the processes of international integration, telecommunications, and cultural exchange on both a regional scale—the European Union—and a global one. Chapter 11 shows how environmental politics expands international bargaining and interdependence both regionally and globally. Chapter 12 addresses global North-South relations, with particular attention to poverty in the third world. Chapter 13 then considers alternatives for third-world economic development in the context of international business, debt, and foreign aid. Chapter 14—a postscript set fifty years in the future—serves as a vehicle for reflection and critical thinking.

❖ Home Page

Faculty and students are invited to visit this book's home page on the World Wide Web, housed at <http://www.american.edu/academic.depts/sis/goldtext>. The home page offers useful teaching tips and content-related web links for each chapter of *International Relations*, Second Edition.

❖ Acknowledgments

Many scholars, colleagues, and friends have contributed ideas that ultimately influenced both editions of this book. I owe a special debt to Robert North, who suggested more than a decade ago that the concepts of bargaining and leverage could be used

to integrate IR theory across four levels of analysis. This second edition benefited from the superb assistance of Burcu Akan and from the suggestions of Jerry Bender, Maria Green Cowles, Randy Forsberg, David Gibbs, Louis Klarevas, Andrew Moravcsik, my colleagues at American University, and the students and section leaders in my World Politics classes.

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TO THE STUDENT

The topics studied by scholars are like a landscape with many varied locations and terrains. This textbook is a map that can orient you to the main topics, debates, and issue areas in international relations. This map divides international relations into two main territories: international security and international political economy. However, these territories overlap and interconnect in many ways. Also, the principles that apply to the interactions of states in security affairs are similar to those that apply to economic relations.

Scholars use specialized language to talk about their subjects. This text is a phrase book that can translate such lingo and explain the terms and concepts that scholars use to talk about international relations. However, IR is filled with many voices speaking many tongues. The text translates some of those voices—of presidents and professors, free-traders and feminists—to help you sort out the contours of the subject and the state of knowledge about its various topics. But ultimately the synthesis presented in this book is the author's own. Both you and your professor may disagree with many points. Thus, this book is only a starting point for conversations and debates.

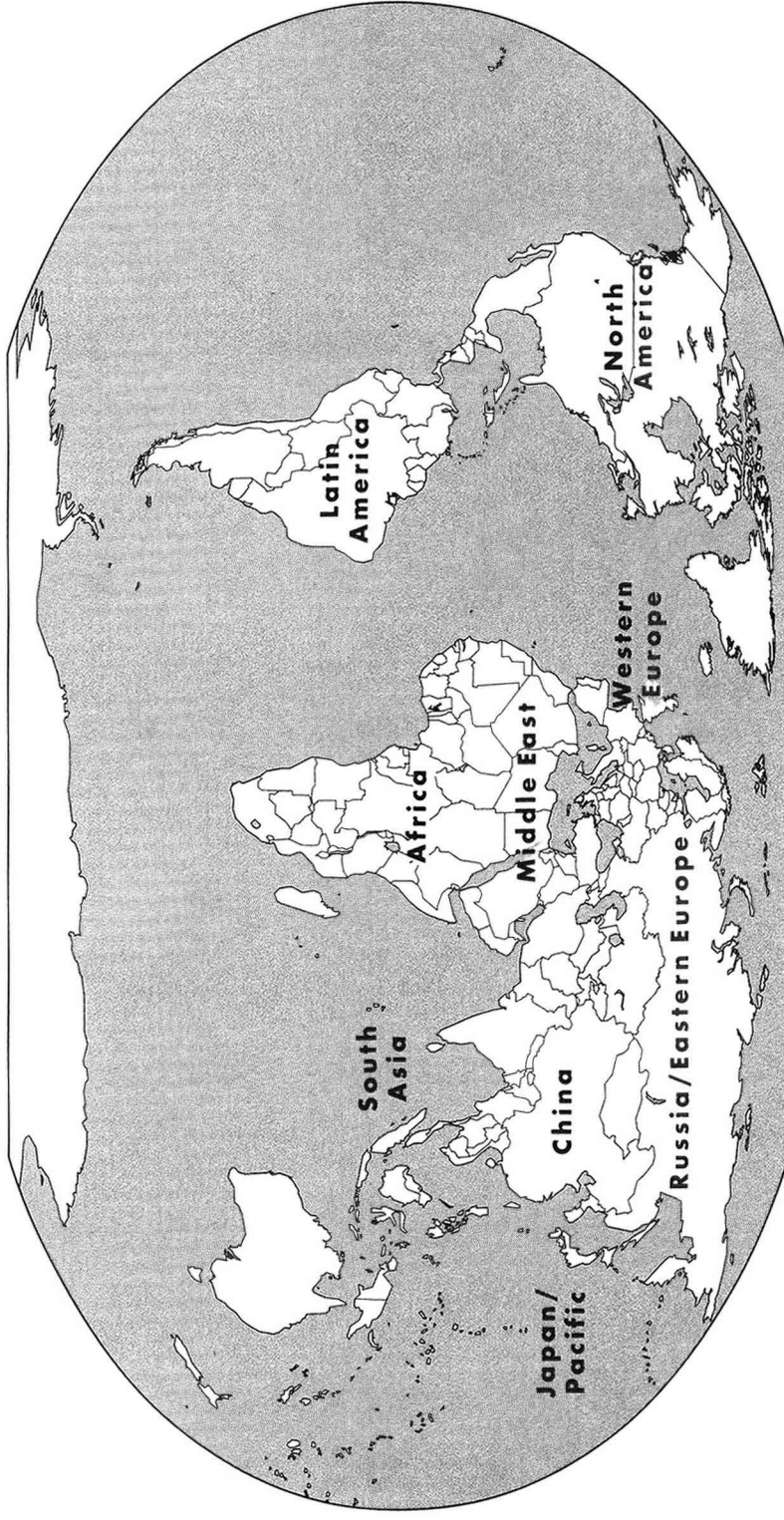
With map and phrase book in hand, you are ready to explore a fascinating world. The great changes in world politics in the past few years have made the writing of this textbook an exciting project. May you enjoy your own explorations of this realm.

J.S.G.

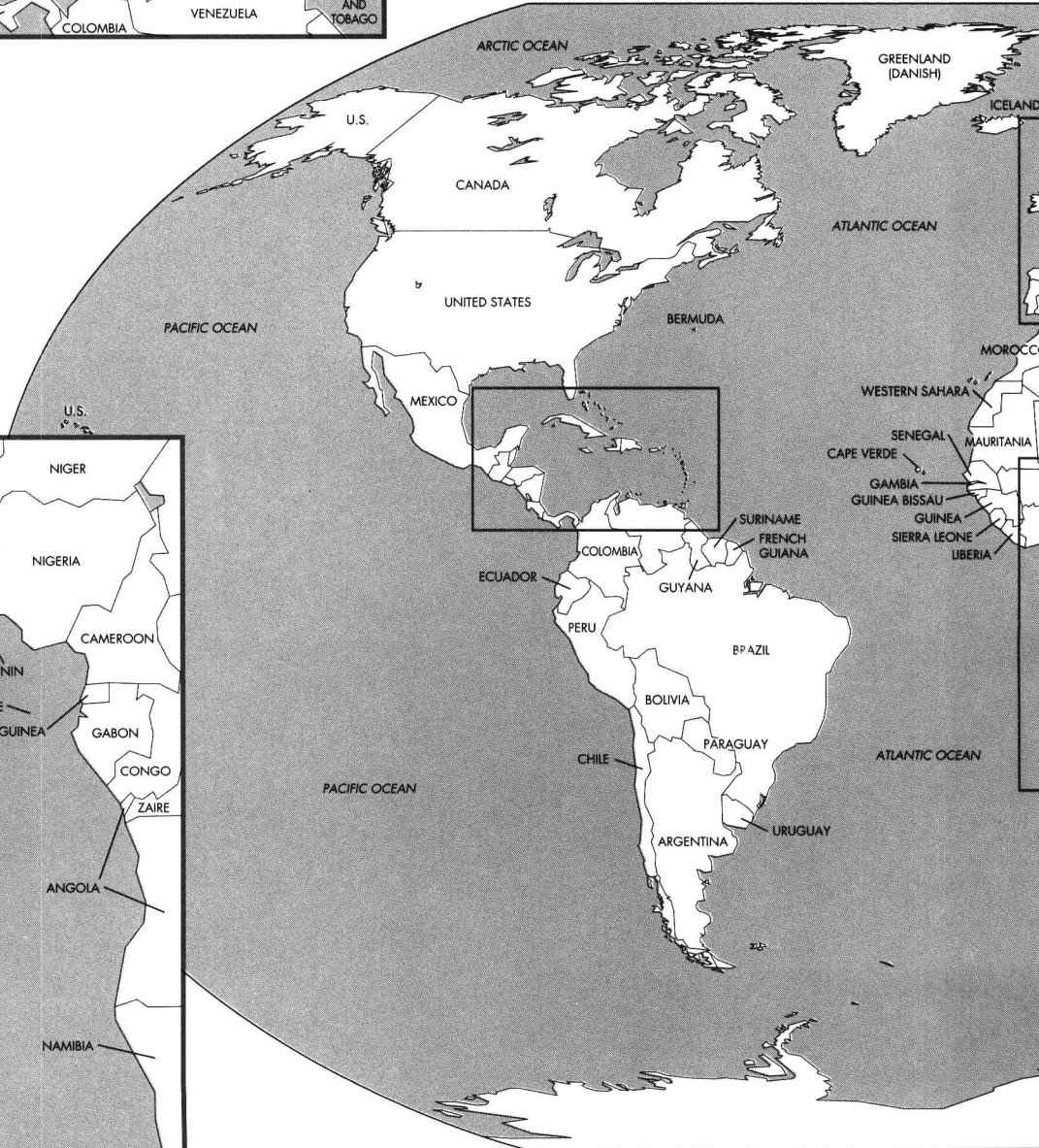
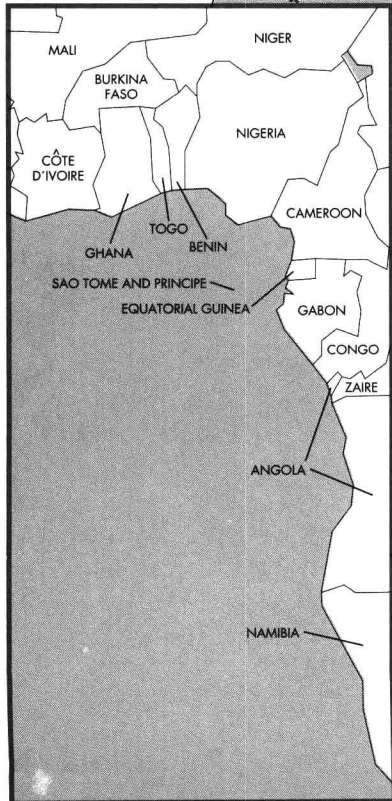
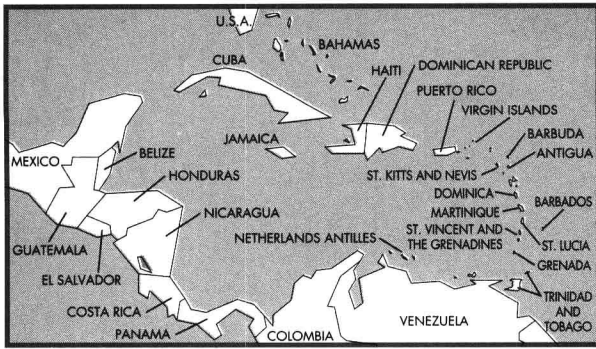
A Note on Nomenclature

In international relations, names are politically sensitive; different actors may call a territory or an event by different names. This book cannot resolve such conflicts; it has adopted the following naming conventions for the sake of consistency. The United Kingdom of Great Britain (England, Scotland, Wales) and Northern Ireland is called Britain. Burma, renamed Myanmar by its military government, is referred to as Burma. Cambodia, renamed Kampuchea by the Khmer Rouge in the 1970s, is called Cambodia. The 1991 U.S.-led multinational military campaign that retook Kuwait after Iraq's 1990 invasion is called the Gulf War. The war between Iraq and Iran in the 1980s is called the Iran-Iraq War (not the "Gulf War," as some called it at the time). The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is generally shortened to "Bosnia" (with apologies to the residents of Herzegovina). The "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" is called Macedonia (despite Greek objections). The People's Republic of China, formally including breakaway Taiwan island, is referred to as China. Elsewhere, country names follow common usage, dropping formal designations such as "Republic of."

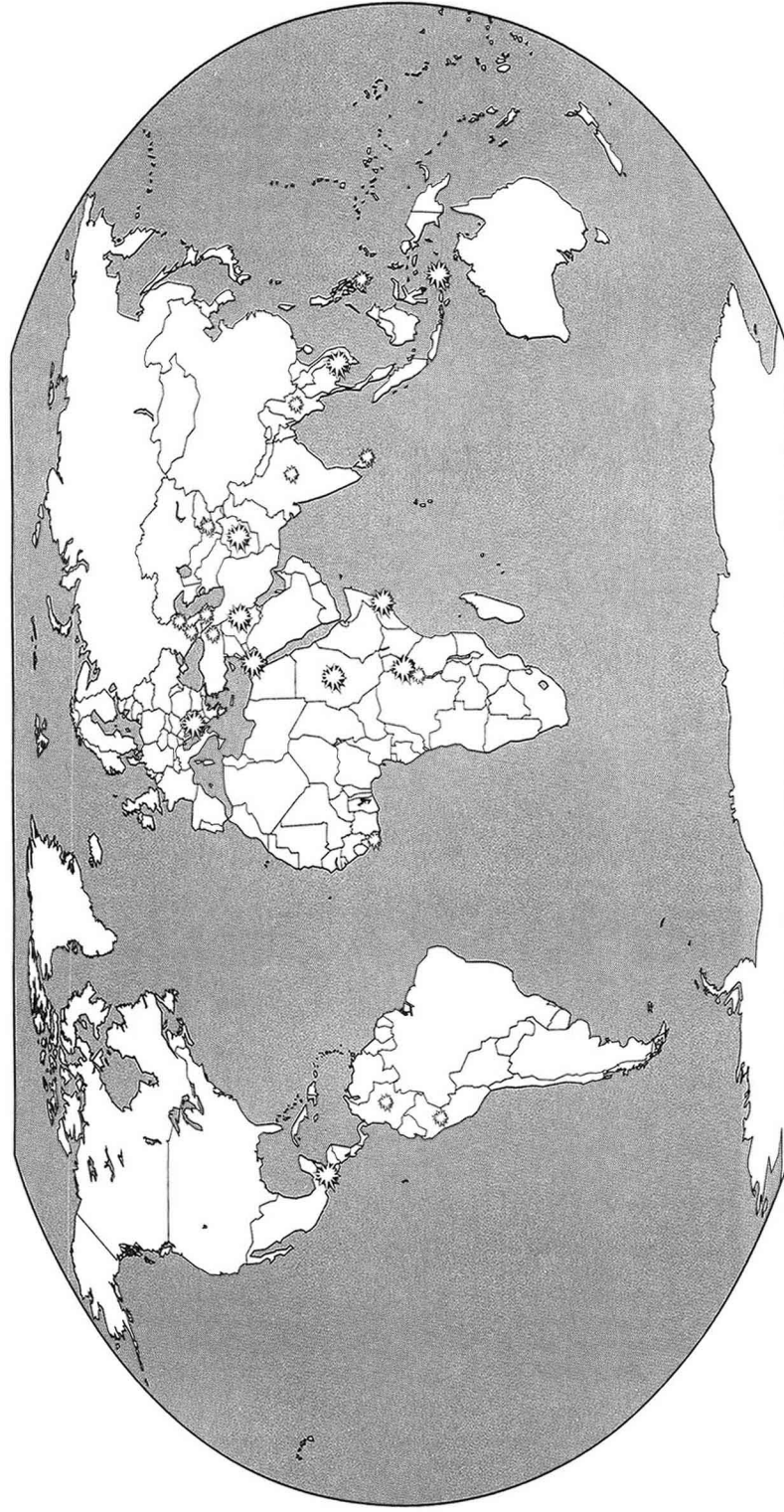
The World from South Perspective



World States and Territories



Wars in Progress, Late 1995



- Estimated deaths to date over 100,000
- Estimated deaths to date under 100,000

Source: Based on data from Center for Defense Information, Washington, D.C.

Nine Regions of the World

