

Mark R. Amstutz

*International Conflict  
and  
Cooperation*

*An Introduction to World Politics*





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Mark R. Amstutz  
*Wheaton College*

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## ACRONYMS

ABM	antiballistic missile
CBW	chemical and biological weapons
CFE	conventional armed forces in Europe
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CITES	Convention on the International Trade of Endangered Species
COMECON	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
CTB	comprehensive test ban
EC	European Community
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
ECSC	Economic Coal and Steel Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EMS	European Monetary System
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
G-7	Group of Seven
G-77	Group of Seventy-seven
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
HDI	human development index
HSI	human suffering index
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICBM	intercontinental ballistic missile
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IFC	International Finance Corporation
IGO	international governmental organization
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INF	intermediate nuclear forces
IPE	international political economy

ISA	International Seabed Authority
LDC	less developed country
LIC	low-intensity conflict
MAD	mutual assured destruction
MFN	most favored nation
MIRV	multiple independently targeted reentry vehicle
MNC	multinational corporation
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Association
NAM	nonaligned movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	nongovernmental organization
NIC	newly industrialized country
NIEO	new international economic order
NPT	nonproliferation treaty
OAS	Organization of American States
OUA	Organization of African Unity
ODA	official development assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PQLI	physical quality of life index
SALT	strategic arms limitations talks
SDI	strategic defense initiative
SDR	special drawing rights
SLBM	submarine-launched ballistic missile
SOP	standard operating procedures
START	strategic arms reduction talks
UN	United Nations
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNCLOS	United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNEF	United Nations Emergency Force
UNEP	United Nations Environment Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WHO	World Health Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization
WTO	Warsaw Treaty Organization

# PREFACE

This text seeks to introduce college students to world politics—a field sometimes called international relations (IR). The text does this in five ways.

## Goals

First, it *seeks to stimulate interest in foreign affairs*. If students are to develop an understanding of IR, they must have an interest in the foreign policies of states and a concern for the problems and issues of global society. Interest and imagination must precede knowledge. As a result, a major aim of this study is to excite interest in global affairs. The nineteenth-century Scottish writer Thomas Carlyle once observed that “The best effect of any book is that it excites the reader to self-activity.”

One of the ways that the text seeks to accomplish this objective is through case studies and historical illustrations. The text focuses on international disputes, not only because conflict is an indispensable element of politics, but also because it evokes human interest. To a significant degree, the drama of world politics lies in the expression, management, and resolution of global conflict. Some of the disputes examined include the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Persian Gulf war, the Cuban missile crisis, the Falkland Islands war, the Beagle Channel dispute, and the Iraq-Iran war.

Second, the text *introduces the principal elements of international relations*. The field of IR comprises numerous subelements, including theories of world politics, foreign policy decision making, international law, international organization, national security policy, international political economy, and comparative foreign policy. While this study does not cover every IR subfield, it provides a comprehensive introduction to the major elements of world politics.

Third, the text *presents key concepts and theories of international relations*. Concepts are tools used for simplifying social reality. They include notions such as power, balance of power, deterrence, integration, and international system. Theories are explanations of reality based upon recurring patterns of behavior. International relations theories range from general systemic theories rooted in historical analogies to empirical theories that can be either confirmed or rejected through verification. Both concepts and theories are essential in analyzing world politics since they provide the tools necessary for analyzing foreign policy behavior and assessing the underlying structures and processes of global society. In addition to concepts and theories, the text illuminates different traditions or perspectives that have influenced IR analysis.

Fourth, the text *emphasizes an understanding of, and an appreciation for, the orientations, values and goals of foreign societies*. Global politics involves the pursuit of common goals and the clash of conflicting values and interests among different states. Although citizens normally tend to identify with the interests and values of the country to which they belong, developing an understanding of, and empathy for, other countries' goals and orientations is important in analyzing global politics. Ideally, the study of IR should encourage students to develop a more empathetic, cosmopolitan outlook.

Finally, the text *highlights some of the major issues and problems of global society*. To a significant degree, the study of world politics is a selective and analytical study of history, with theories and concepts providing the skeleton of global society and modern historical knowledge providing its flesh. By necessity, the descriptive elements of this text must be brief and selective, focusing on events since the end of World

War II. Two major systemic conflicts of the postwar era are examined—the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union, and the so-called North-South conflict between the developed and developing nations. Moreover, the text examines three major contemporary global problems—the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, Third World poverty, and environmental protection.

## Organization

The text has five major sections. Part I (chapter 1) defines the nature of politics and compares politics in domestic and international societies. In addition, it presents alternative approaches to the analysis of international relations. Part II (chapters 2–6) examines the context of world politics, focusing on the nature of global actors, essential features of the international community, and conflict and cooperation within that community. Chapters 5 and 6 examine two systemic conflicts that have dominated post-World War II international relations—the East-West dispute and the North-South conflict. Part III (chapters 7–12) examines key elements of global politics, focusing on the nature and implementation of foreign policy, the nature and role of power, ethics, and force, and the problem of war. Part IV (chapters 13–16) assesses the processes and institutions that facilitate global order. The key topics addressed in this section include the nature and impact of international economic relations, the nature and role of diplomacy, and the role of international law and international organizations in promoting global stability. Finally, part V (chapters 17–19) explores three major global issues in the contemporary international community: weapons proliferation, Third World poverty, and the management of global resources.

The author recommends reading the chapters in sequence. But other alternatives are also possible. For example, some instructors may wish, after covering chapters 2 and 3 on state and nonstate actors and the nature of global society, to explore the theoretical and conceptual topics in parts III and IV. Others may wish to cover similar thematic materials together—such as international economic issues in chapters 5, 13, and 19 and the role of power and force in global politics in chapters 9, 11, and 17.

An important element of the text are the annotated bibliographies (Recommended Readings) at the end of the chapters. Since a goal of the text is to stimulate student interest in global affairs, the short bibliographies provide a suggested reading list for those wishing to explore more fully the IR field.

## Approach

An introductory text must be more than a collection of relevant facts, definitions, and concepts. Rather, it must provide a simplified, but not simplistic, vision of a particular field of study. In order to integrate successfully the different theoretical and substantive elements of a discipline, an author must begin with an approach or perspective based on key organizing assumptions. The approach used here is eclectic, building on the traditions of realism, idealism, and interdependence.

The framework has four key elements. First, *it gives priority to the behavior of states*. As a result, the individual and collective foreign policy behavior of nation-states are emphasized throughout the text. Global politics is, of course, deeply influenced by other international actors, such as international non-governmental associations, multinational corporations, and religious and political international movements. But notwithstanding the growing functional interdependence and the increasing porosity of national boundaries, states remain the key actors of the international community because they are its ultimate decision makers. Moreover, since global intergovernmental institutions are underdeveloped, the promotion of the global common good continues to depend on the individual and collective actions of states.

Second, *the text emphasizes the quest for national security*. The priority of national security is rooted in the absence of authoritative institutions that can guarantee the territorial integrity and political independence of states. Since each state is ultimately responsible for its own security and economic well-being, governments rely upon their own military and economic resources to promote and defend their interests. Governments are, of course, concerned with promoting many different interests, including economic expansion, protection and promotion of human rights, and the management of global resources. But because the existence and territorial security of states is not assured in the international society, security is the most important national concern—more important than economic growth, political ideology, or international legal principles. In Susan Strange's words, national security "takes priority over all other claims on state policy."<sup>1</sup>

Third, *the text highlights the role of cooperation and conflict in global society*. The development and maintenance of human communities requires cooperation among its members. Without common interests and shared commitments, community life is impossible. As

a result, a major theme of this study is the development and maintenance of functional interdependence and international cooperation. But since conflict is an inevitable result of all individual, group, and state relations, the development of stable and just political communities requires the management and resolution of conflict. Because of the importance of cooperation and conflict management in the development of stable and just political communities, this text describes and assesses global politics from a cooperation/conflict management perspective.

Fourth, *this text emphasizes the role of ethics in international politics*. Although politics is often approached solely as a struggle for power, moral values are a key dimension of politics. Moreover, not only are the behaviors of state and nonstate actors influenced by moral judgments, but the issues and problems of global society are partly defined and assessed in moral terms. For example, moral values are essential in addressing such global issues as war, the status of refugees, Third World poverty, weapons proliferation, and environmental protection. The text does not provide answers to issues such as these, but rather, seeks to illustrate the nature and role of ethical analysis in defining and responding to such global challenges.

It is, of course, much easier to imagine a better world than to understand existing global realities. Since the contemporary international system is characterized by problems such as war, hunger, international economic inequalities, and global pollution, some may be tempted to dream of a better world without comprehending present structures and existing conditions. While imagining a more just global society is relatively easy, knowledge of the major political, economic, social, and cultural forces and structures operating in the contemporary international system is indispensable in developing and implementing reforms that will help establish a more stable and just global society.

This text is both descriptive and prescriptive, empirical and normative. From the realist perspective it describes the role of power and force in global society; from the perspective of idealism, it calls attention to ethical judgments in the quest for greater peace and justice. While knowledge of the former is essential to an understanding of global society, idealism is equally important, for as the Bible admonishes us, "Where there is no vision, the people perish."<sup>2</sup>

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In preparing this text, I have benefitted from the ideas, suggestions, encouragement, and inspiration of many scholars, colleagues, and friends.

First, I want to thank the students in my International Relations course for helping to inspire and sustain this project. Their probing questions, reflective comments on draft chapters, and high expectations for conceptual clarity, comprehensiveness, and intellectual coherence in analyzing IR in the untidy post-Cold War era have contributed immeasurably to my own thinking.

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