CHINA'S BOUNDARY TREATIES AND FRONTIER DISPUTES

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WAR PEACE, and INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

THIRD EDITION

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WAR, PEACE, and INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

This book is for my beloved wife Rena

אַשָּׁת־חַיִל מִי יִמְצָא

Preface to the Third Edition

War, and the threat of war, again occupy a central place on the agenda of American politics. During the months when this edition was being prepared, American soldiers were engaged in conflict for the first time since the Vietnam War. Massive campaigns by peace activists forced politicians to take stands on issues like a nuclear weapons freeze.

At the same time Americans were becoming increasingly aware of the international dimension of domestic problems. Domestic economic health is now seen as closely tied to American performance in world trade. Inflation is seen as partly dependent on decisions made by foreign governments, such as the price of oil. Immigration, legal and illegal, grows as human misery increases in our hemisphere. Pollution transcends national boundaries as power-generating plants in one country produce acid rain in another.

Recent events, thus, have not required a revision of the main theme of this book, that war is a central problem in international politics. This edition merely incorporates new material on recent wars and suggests a new and simpler way of looking at the causes of war. But the latter part of this book has been changed to reflect a greater public interest in economic issues and in how our policy toward other nations affects our

daily lives. As before, I have tried to explain subjects in a non-technical and literate fashion. From such simple beginnings may both knowledgable experts and well-informed citizens grow.

Preface to the First Edition

In writing for beginning students in international relations, I had as my fundamental goal not encyclopedic scope or methodological sophistication but readability. I concentrated on substantive questions because that is what attracted me to the field, not discussions of theory or methods. I've found it takes a high level of interest to sustain a student through courses on theory and methods in international relations. A beginning book should nurture such interest, not exhaust it.

A theme is an important element in a readable book — it's the lack of one that keeps us from reading encyclopedias from cover to cover. This book's theme is the problem of war and what we can do about it. Although specialists debate exactly what topics properly belong in a course on international relations, there is no question that war is a central one. Large nuclear weapons and large defense budgets demonstrate that it is still an important one. In addition to focusing the reader's attention, the theme of war provides a convenient way of introducing many other topics — international law, international organization, defense policy, nationalism, multinational corporations. But these topics are part of a comprehensible pattern, not lists of disparate facts.

For the most part the approach used in the book is the traditional statecentric one. In recent years it has become fashionable to put more emphasis on transnational ties. While not ignoring new trends, I still feel an obligation to present students with a full explanation of the state-centric approach. This approach appears traditional only to those already familiar with the field, not to newcomers. Many basic works, contemporary as well as older ones, were written on the assumption that the most important element of international politics is the relations between states. At the least, students must understand the traditional approach so they can understand what many current writers are reacting against. I am also reluctant to abandon the old approach entirely until transnational ties have proved their strength and durability. We cannot escape the importance of the nation-state until it has indeed passed into oblivion.

The book is designed to introduce beginning students to some basic factual knowledge and some generally accepted theoretical propositions. I have not made a special effort, in a currently fashionable phrase, "to teach students how to think about international relations" — at least, not if that phrase is only a coded way of saying "to teach students what academic specialists are publishing in learned journals." Research today is often published as much for the innovative methods employed as for the significance of results obtained. Most published research supposes the reader has a minimal acquaintance with the basic facts and propositions of the field. To the student without such knowledge, much contemporary research must appear baffling or even forbidding. I assume that methodological sophistication must follow, not precede the basic knowledge presented here. Empirical research and quantitative methods are not deliberately ignored but references to such material are limited to what is relevant.

Of necessity a textbook draws heavily on the work of others. I have tried to indicate the sources of all the information and ideas presented here through the notes at the end of each chapter. These notes also serve as a selected bibliography to which the reader may turn for fuller information on specific topics.

I would like to thank a number of people who were helpful to me in writing this book. Patrick Morgan of Washington State University provided me with a model of light style and solid content in his Theories and Approaches to International Politics. He also read and commented on the manuscript, as did Anne Feraru, Robert Riggs, Robert Russell, Robert Trice, and Steven Spiegel. I found their suggestions helpful, even though I did not accept them all. Art McCurdy, a student at Western Washington State College, helped me in drawing up the table in Chapter 17. The Bureau for Faculty Research of WWSC made its staff available for typing the manuscript.

I am especially grateful to my wife Rena for the time and energy she took from her own professional life to read and comment on the several

drafts of the book. I was fortunate to have an alert and intelligent reader without any training in the field of international relations who could tell me when I was being clear and when I wasn't. For whatever clarity this book has, she deserves as much credit as I.

Rick Boyer of Little, Brown and Company not only got me started on this project but kept me at it by his regular encouragement. Working on this book has been a pleasant experience. I hope the readers enjoy reading it as much as I enjoyed writing it.

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