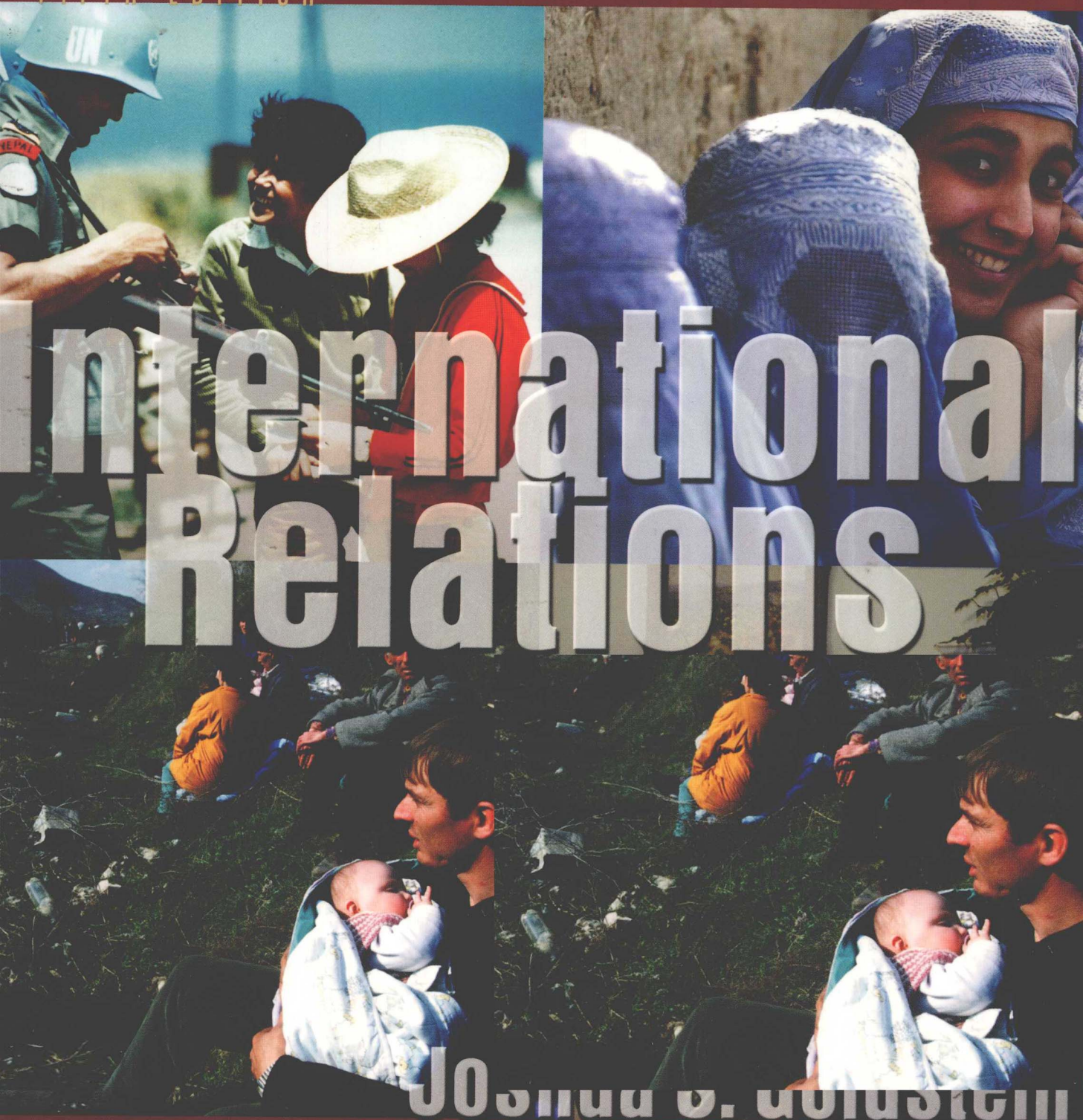
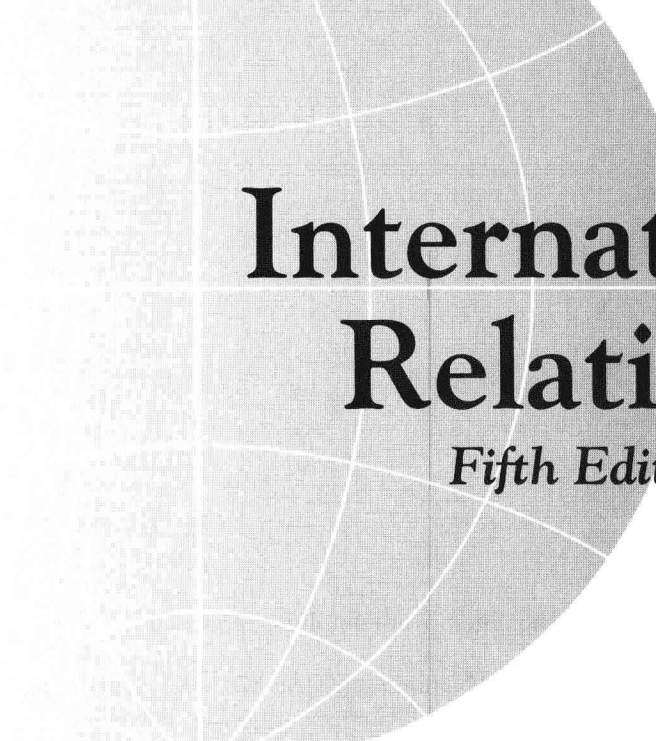


FIFTH EDITION



JOSEPH S. NOLAN



# International Relations

*Fifth Edition*

**Joshua S. Goldstein**  
*American University, Washington, D.C.*



New York San Francisco Boston  
London Toronto Sydney Tokyo Singapore Madrid  
Mexico City Munich Paris Cape Town Hong Kong Montreal

# To my family

Vice President and Publisher: Priscilla McGeehon

Executive Editor: Eric Stano

Development Manager: Lisa Pinto

Development Editor: Barbara A. Conover

Senior Marketing Manager: Megan Galvin-Fak

Supplements Editor: Teresa Ward

Media Supplements Editor: Patrick McCarthy

Production Manager: Donna DeBenedictis

Project Coordination, Text Design, and Electronic Page Makeup: Elm Street Publishing Services, Inc.

Cover Designer/Manager: Wendy Ann Fredericks

Cover Photos: top left: UN peacekeepers, Lebanon, 1978, © United Nations; top right: Women in and out of burqa, Kabul, Afghanistan, November 2001, © Emmanuel Dunand/AFP/Corbis; bottom left: Albanian refugees driven from Kosovo, April 1999, © Roger Leymoine/Getty Images; bottom right: Bush-Putin summit at the White House, November 2001, © Mark Wilson/Getty Images

Photo Researcher: PhotoSearch, Inc.

Manufacturing Buyer: Al Dorsey

Printer and Binder: Quebecor World/Taunton

Cover Printer: The Lehigh Press, Inc.

For permission to use copyrighted material, grateful acknowledgment is made to the copyright holders on pp. 69, 559–560, which are hereby made part of this copyright page.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Goldstein, Joshua S., 1952–

International relations / Joshua S. Goldstein.—5th ed.  
p.cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-321-08875-1 (pbk.)

1. International relations. I. Title.

JZ1242 .G65 2003

327—dc21

2002072953

Copyright © 2003 by Joshua S. Goldstein

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the publisher. Printed in the United States.

Please visit our website at <http://www.ablongman.com/goldstein> or [www.internationalrelations.net](http://www.internationalrelations.net)

ISBN 0-321-08875-1

2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10—QWT—05 04 03 02



# Preface

The attacks of September 11, 2001, changed both world politics and everyday lives. But it is not true that they “changed everything.” Most basic principles and institutions of international relations remain, some stronger than ever. This edition sorts out the broad-ranging effects of the war on terrorism in the context of the changing world order that has evolved over the decade since the Cold War ended. In many respects, the post–September 11 world order accelerates trends already underway in the 1990s, from heightened interdependence to unprecedented U.S. military dominance. In other ways, however, the new realities diverge from previous patterns.

Among many effects, the war on terrorism has focused college students on international relations, especially in the United States. The attacks shattered many Americans’ assumption of safety from distant international conflicts and wars. Since the first edition (1994), this textbook has said: “In an interdependent world, the United States may find increasingly that global problems like terrorism cannot be kept at a distance.” That sentence remains, but the tense has changed. Now that Americans are finally paying more attention to world affairs, I hope this textbook can help a generation to develop knowledge and critical thinking in order to find its voice and place in the evolving world order.

The rules of world politics are being rewritten in large and small ways as the post–Cold War era continues to unfold. Students, professors, and policy makers alike are rethinking the subject of international relations. 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 superpower arms race. Relations among states remain central to the rules of world politics, but substate and supranational actors and processes are having influence through new avenues as well. Global telecommunications, multinational business networks, terrorism, 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.

Often the first comment I hear from colleagues who have used this book in their classes is that “the students like it.” The reason students like it, I believe, is that it makes accessible such an interesting subject. In this edition, full-color photos and illustrations increase that accessibility. As with the last edition, students can also use a range of interactive learning resources on a multifaceted Website and a companion Atlas CD-ROM. I hope that the new pedagogical possibilities of information technologies will allow students with different learning styles to excel and help instructors and students work together in new ways.

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 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. This book does not allow the conceptual apparatus of the field to obscure the real people who make up international relations and those whose lives are at stake.

## Changes in the Fifth Edition

This edition focuses on the war on terrorism and the far-reaching reverberations of the 2001 terrorist attacks. A new boxed feature in each chapter analyzes the “Changing World Order” as played out across the range of IR subfields. In a bound-in section of Op Ed articles, various U.S. writers discuss America’s responses to the attacks. The world-order topics of the first four editions—on the Middle East, the former Yugoslavia, China, and the information revolution—also remain in this edition. This fifth edition also gives more explicit attention to theories of “globalization,” which I continue to treat primarily as a “global level of analysis” throughout the text.

This edition adds full color to the photos, figures, maps, and page design. Color helps students both to master complex details (such as the overlapping European organizations on p. 458) and to connect emotionally with photos that embody key points in the text.

Events since September 2001 represent in many ways a continuation of trends over the past decade, in which the post–Cold War era began taking form. The decade overall shows some deep trends that are often overlooked in the chaos of day-to-day international events—notably the trend toward a more peaceful world, with lower military spending, fewer and smaller wars, and growing international cooperation in both security and economic relations. Even with the “war footing” of some countries since September 2001, the world is far more peaceful overall than during the Cold War.

The information revolution continues to affect the interstate system. Changes in information technologies and advances in human knowledge are beginning to profoundly reshape such core IR concepts as power, sovereignty, and national identity. Military forces and the conduct of war are undergoing a revolution centered on the information revolution, while global trade and investment also change rapidly. “Information Revolution” boxes throughout the text explore the impact of the information revolution on IR and pose critical-thinking questions. Marginal icons show links onto the World Wide Web and to this book’s companion CD-ROM, the Microsoft® Encarta® Interactive World Atlas.

This edition updates the examples, cases, photos, and theoretical puzzles. The quantitative data are also updated, usually to 2000 or 2001. Because the data are changing rapidly, students deserve to have access to the most recent available numbers. Notable changes in recent years included UN peacekeeping forces (back up after a sharp decrease), military forces and spending (also rising after a decline), comparative financial positions (North America up; Asia up and down; Russia down), third world debt (up), foreign aid (rising after a sharp cutback), and AIDS (way up).

## 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. This 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 concepts—easier to grasp when linked with pictures. Thus, the book uses color photographs extensively to illustrate important points. Photo captions reinforce main themes from each section of the text and link them with the scenes pictured.

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. At various points in the text, conclusions are left open-ended to let students reason their way through an issue. The questions at the end of each chapter are designed to engage students in thinking critically about the contents of the chapter.

The use of quantitative data also encourages critical thinking. Basic data, presented simply and appropriately at a global level, allow students to form their own judgments and to reason through the implications of different policies and theories. 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, updated for this fifth edition, suggest further reading on various topics. Unless otherwise noted, they are not traditional source notes. (Also, to save space in the notes, major university names refer to their university presses, which is not a correct research paper style.) Each chapter ends with questions on thinking critically, a chapter summary, a list of key terms, and a reminder to try the practice tests on the text's Companion Website.

## Companion Website

Instructors and students are invited to this book's Companion Website at [www.internationalrelations.net](http://www.internationalrelations.net) or [www.ablongman.com/goldstein](http://www.ablongman.com/goldstein) on the World Wide Web. This online course companion provides a wealth of resources for both students and instructors using *International Relations, Fifth Edition*. The site includes a custom search feature and self-loading links to the Microsoft® Encarta® Interactive World Atlas CD-ROM. Students will find chapter summaries, practice tests, interactive exercises tied to the "Information Revolution" boxes in the text, role-playing simulations, Web links that are referenced by marginal icons in the book, and more. Instructors will have access to the instructor's manual, downloadable visuals from the text, and teaching links, and they can take advantage of Syllabus Manager, an easy-to-use tool that allows instructors to put their courses online. Find the site at [www.internationalrelations.net](http://www.internationalrelations.net) (not .com) or through the publisher's home page at [www.ablongman.com/goldstein](http://www.ablongman.com/goldstein).

## 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). Parts One and Two, although convenient for organization, overlap substantively and theoretically, as noted in several places. 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 and the roles of sub-state actors in shaping IR. Chapter 5 introduces the main sources of international conflict, including ethnic, territorial, and economic conflicts, and terrorism. 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 study of international organizations also bridges international security topics with those in international political economy.

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 IPE 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 and population growth expand 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 brief postscript—reflects on the book's central themes and encourages critical thinking about the future.

## Supplements

### *Available for Qualified College Adopters*

#### **Instructor's Manual/Test Bank**

Written by Robert Breckinridge, this resource includes chapter overviews, learning objectives, lecture outlines, teaching suggestions, ideas for student projects, and key words, in addition to numerous multiple-choice, short answer, map, and essay questions.

#### **Transparencies**

This acetate package is composed of 35 images drawn from the text.

#### **TestGen EQ Computerized Testing Program**

This flexible, computerized testing system includes all of the test items in the printed test bank. Instructors can easily edit, print, and expand item banks. Tests can be printed in several formats and include figures such as graphs and tables. The program also includes the Quizmaster EQ program, which allows students to take tests on computers rather than in printed form. Quizmaster EQ is available in a hybrid platform to accommodate both Macintosh and Windows formats.

#### **Instructor's Guide to Using the Microsoft® Encarta® Interactive World Atlas CD-ROM**

Written by Philip Meeks of Creighton University, this new resource provides numerous tips and strategies on how professors can best use the Microsoft® Encarta® Interactive World Atlas CD-ROM in conjunction with this book.

## *Available for Students*

### **Microsoft® Encarta® Interactive World Atlas CD-ROM**

This multimedia CD-ROM maps every corner of the world, providing 1.2 million place names, 192 country home pages, 7,000 articles, and thousands of interactive videos and images. This CD-ROM, which is available bundled with the book at a steep discount, offers a Map Gallery, Geography Quizzes, a Statistics Center, World Tours, and a Dynamic Multimedia Map. Much of this information is referenced in the text through icons that appear in its margins.

### **Student Guide and Workbook to accompany the Microsoft® Encarta® Interactive World Atlas CD-ROM**

Written by Philip Meeks of Creighton University, this new booklet provides exercises that help students utilize the Microsoft® Encarta® Interactive World Atlas CD-ROM in their courses. Engaging activities that can be used with the book help students with geography, statistics, and other areas that will help them get the most out of their international relations course.

### **Longman Atlas of War and Peace**

Adapted from the work of Dan Smith, director of the International Peace Institute, introduced by James N. Rosenau of George Washington University, and edited by Joshua S. Goldstein, this series of pedagogical maps and explanations offers a nontraditional approach to cartography: how nations compare to one another in such terms as military spending, ethnic strife, control of natural resources, and internal conflicts. The atlas is available as a stand-alone item or at a discount when packaged with *International Relations*.

## **Acknowledgments**

Many scholars, colleagues, and friends have contributed ideas that ultimately influenced the five editions of this book. I owe a special debt to Robert North, who suggested many years ago that the concepts of bargaining and leverage could be used to integrate IR theory across four levels of analysis. For help with military data issues, I thank Randall Forsberg. For suggestions, I thank Gerald Bender, my colleagues at American University, and the students in my world politics classes. Thanks to Peter Howard, Briana Saunders and Anca Pusca for research assistance. The following reviewers made many useful suggestions:

Philip Baumann, *Moorhead State University*  
 Robert G. Blanton, *University of Memphis*  
 Robert E. Breckinridge, *Mount Aloysius College*  
 Brian Champion, *Brigham Young University*  
 Gregory A. Cline, *Michigan State University*  
 Myles Clowers, *San Diego City College*  
 Cynthia Combs, *University of North Carolina at Charlotte*  
 Paul D'Anieri, *University of Kansas*  
 Patricia Davis, *University of Notre Dame*  
 Elizabeth DeSombre, *Colby College*  
 June Teufel Dreyer, *University of Miami*  
 Larry Elowitz, *George College and State University*  
 George Emerson, *Miami Dade Community College*  
 Mark Everingham, *University of Wisconsin—Green Bay*  
 Jonathan Galloway, *Lake Forest College*  
 Marc Genest, *University of Rhode Island*



Deborah J. Gerner, *University of Kansas*  
Emily O. Goldman, *University of California, Davis*  
Vicki Golich, *California State University, San Marcos*  
Robert Gregg, *School of International Service, American University*  
Wolfgang Hirczy, *University of Houston*  
Piper Hodson, *Saint Joseph's College*  
Steven W. Hook, *University of Missouri*  
Ted Hopf, *University of Michigan*  
Zohair Husain, *University of South Alabama*  
Akira Ichikawa, *University of Lethbridge*  
Matthias Kaelberer, *University of Northern Iowa*  
Joyce Kaufman, *University of Maryland at College Park*  
John Keeler, *University of Washington*  
Michael Kelley, *University of Central Arkansas*  
Jane K. Kramer, *University of Oregon*  
Mark Lagon, *Georgetown University*  
William Lamkin, *Glendale Community College*  
Wei-Chin Lee, *Wake Forest University*  
Renée Marlin-Bennett, *School of International Service, American University*  
James Meernick, *University of North Texas*  
Karen Mingst, *University of Kentucky*  
Richard Moore, *Lewis-Clark State College*  
Layna Mosley, *University of Notre Dame*  
John W. Outland, *University of Richmond*  
Salvatore Prisco, *Stevens Institute of Technology*  
David Rapkin, *University of Nebraska at Lincoln*  
Edward Rhodes, *Rutgers University*  
Leonard Riley, *Pikes Peak Community College*  
Henry Schockley, *Boston University*  
Paul Vicary, *Florida International University*  
Thomas J. Volgy, *University of Arizona*  
David Wilsford, *School of International Service, American University*

The errors, of course, remain my own responsibility.

*Joshua S. Goldstein*

# 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 taking place in world politics have made the writing of this textbook an exciting project. May you enjoy your own explorations of this realm.

*J. S. G.*

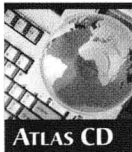
## A Note on Nomenclature

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 are 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 Iran and Iraq in the 1980s is called the Iran-Iraq War (not the "Gulf War" as some called it at the time). The country of Bosnia and Herzegovina is generally shortened to Bosnia (with apologies to Herzegovinians). The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is called Macedonia. The People's Republic of China is referred to as China. The former Zaire is now Democratic Congo. Elsewhere, country names follow common usage, dropping formal designations such as "Republic of." The two U.S. Presidents Bush are referred to as Bush (senior) and Bush (junior).

www.  
internationalrelations.net

Students are invited to use the learning resources at this book's Companion Website. There, you may take practice tests, follow hot links onto the Web, explore the implications of the information revolution for international relations, and take in multimedia explorations from this book's companion CD-ROM, the Microsoft® Encarta® Interactive World Atlas. To use these learning resources, just go to [www.internationalrelations.net](http://www.internationalrelations.net) (not .com) or [www.ablongman.com/goldstein](http://www.ablongman.com/goldstein), and enter the page number from this book where an icon appears, to automatically bring up the indicated materials.

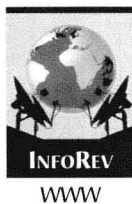
### A Key to Icon Usage



**Atlas CD** This icon marks concepts and examples in the text that are illustrated through maps and multimedia presentations on the Microsoft® Encarta® Interactive World Atlas CD-ROM, available for a small charge with new copies of this textbook. After installing the Atlas, follow the Atlas CD icons through this book's Website to bring up self-loading images from the CD-ROM on your computer. You can quickly download to your computer a folder with all the Atlas CD links to use the Atlas CD while offline. The first link (p. 3) calls up a map of earth from space. The "+" button (bottom left) zooms in. You can zoom in from space to a municipal map of Jerusalem. The "hand" cursor moves the map frame (hold mouse button while moving the hand cursor). Click a country for maps, photos, articles, statistics, and Microsoft's Web links. Click place names for maps. The "find" box (upper left) toggles the pinpointer on and off.



**Web Link** This icon marks topics for which this book's Companion Website has links to the most important World Wide Web sites on a topic or theme. Critical-thinking questions accompany each of these links, so that students are inspired to think analytically about the information they encounter. Responses to those critical-thinking questions can be e-mailed directly to the instructor.



**The Information Revolution** These boxes in each chapter pose critical-thinking questions about the effects on IR of rapid changes in information technology. To explore these questions, go to this book's Companion Website, follow the indicated links, and then return to the Companion Website to tie together what you have learned.

#### ONLINE PRACTICE TEST

Take an online practice test at  
[www.internationalrelations.net](http://www.internationalrelations.net)

- ☐ A
- ☐ B
- ☒ C
- ☐ D

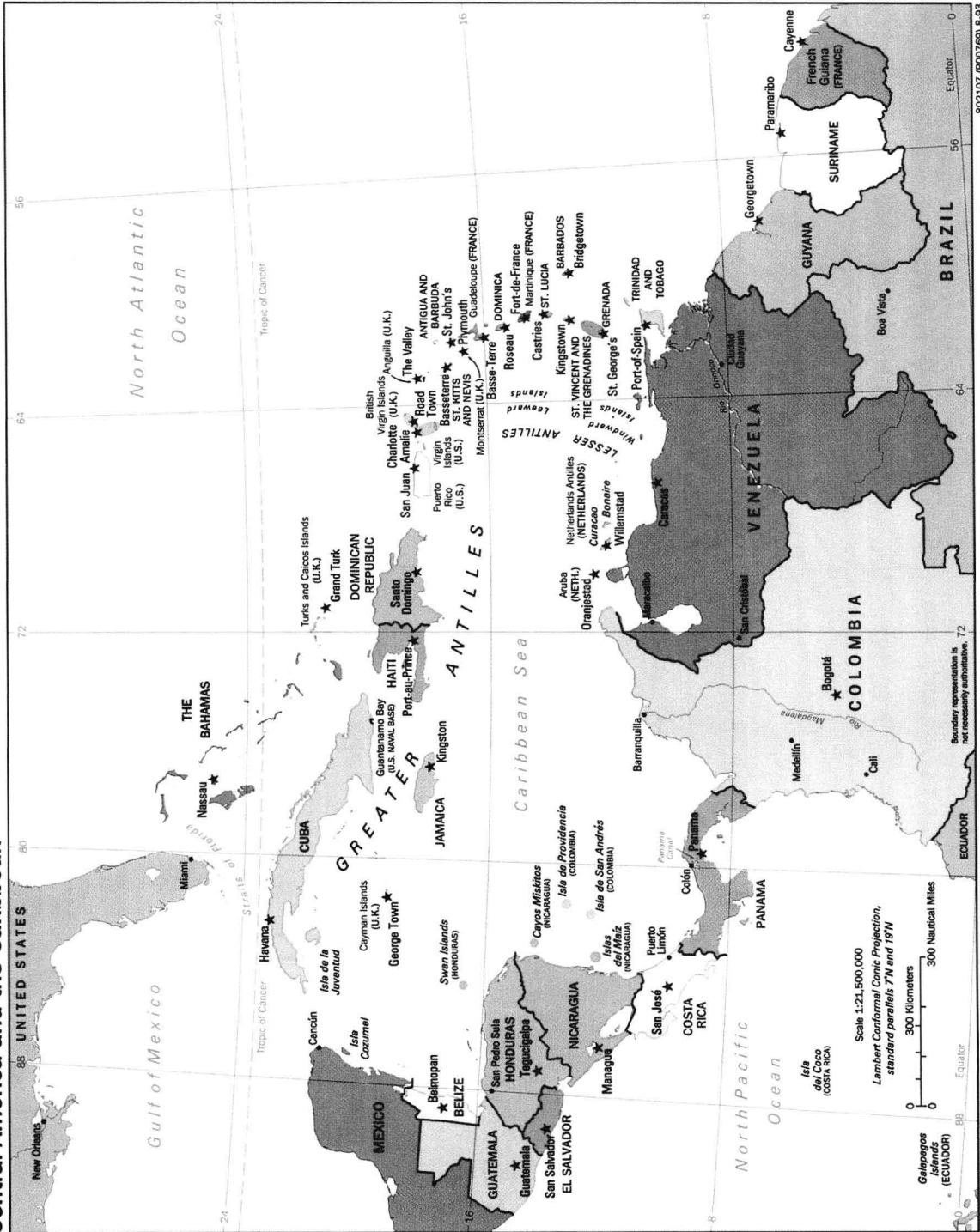
**Online Practice Tests** This icon at the end of each chapter reminds you to take a practice test at [www.internationalrelations.net](http://www.internationalrelations.net). Get your score and learning tips to improve your weak areas.

## North America





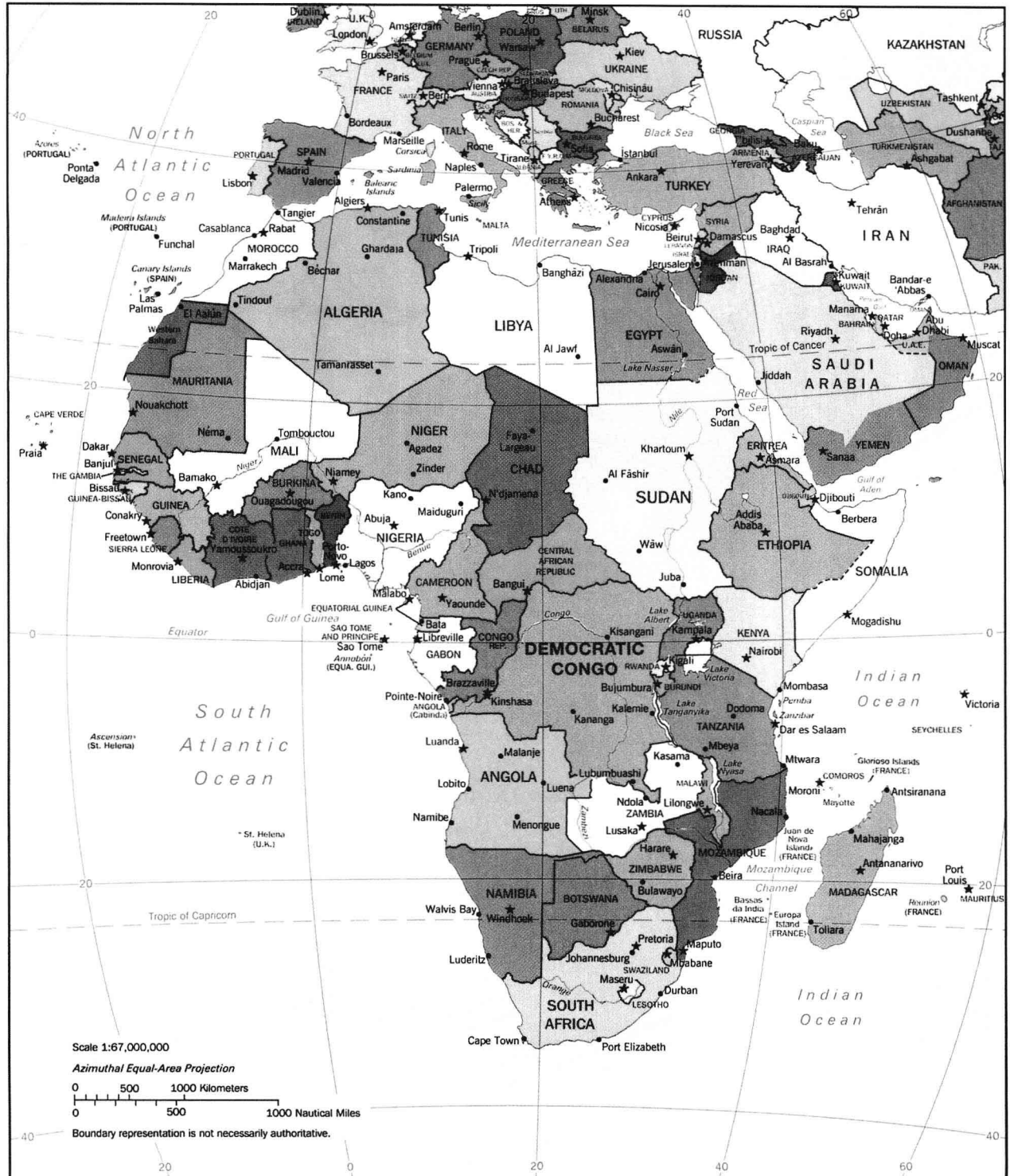
# Central America and the Caribbean



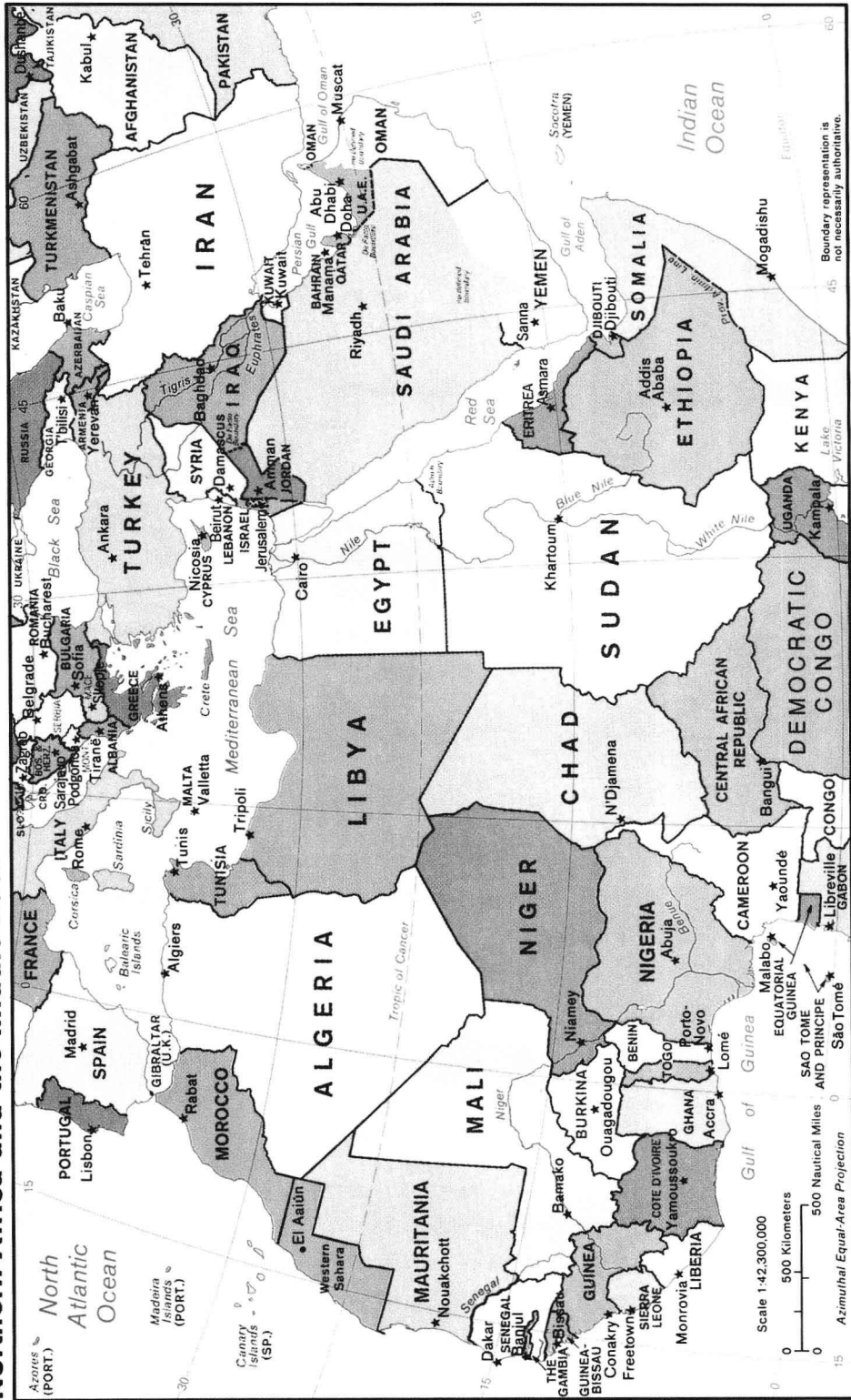
# South America



## Africa



# Northern Africa and the Middle East





## Europe



802377 (R01083) 5-95