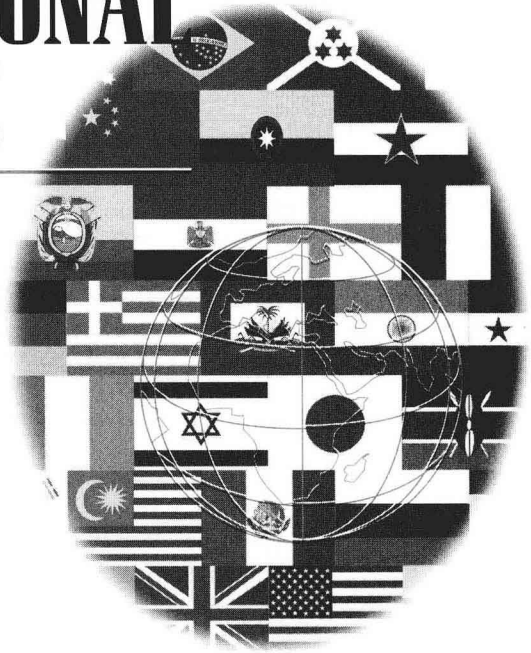


ESSENTIALS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS



KAREN MINGST

ESSENTIALS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS



Karen Mingst

entucky



W • W • Norton & Company

New York • London

*The text of this book is composed in Fairfield with the
display set in Rundfunk and Benguiat Gothic.*

Editor: Roby Harrington

Project Editor: Traci Nagle

Editorial Assistant: Sarah Caldwell

Associate Managing Editor: Jane Carter

Production Manager: Ruth Dworkin

Text Design: Jack Meserole

Art and Maps: John McAusland

Cover Design: Calvin Chu

Composition: UG

Manufacturing: Maple-Vail Book Manufacturing Group

Copyright © 1999 by W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.

All rights reserved

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

First Edition

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Mingst, Karen A., 1947–

Essentials of international relations / Karen Mingst.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-393-97287-9 (pbk.)

1. International relations. I. Title.

JZ1305.M56 1998

327—dc21

98-16951

W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 500 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10110

<http://www.wwnorton.com>

W. W. Norton & Company Ltd., 10 Coptic Street, London WC1A 1PU

2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

PREFACE

In the fall of 1995 Roby Harrington, the director of the college department at Norton, appeared at my door to talk about an idea for a series of textbooks in international relations. He believed that faculty were “clamoring for smart, short textbooks with a clear sense of what’s essential and what’s not.” The plan was to offer faculty short, provocative books from which they could pick and choose to build their reading lists. I was asked to write the overview book based on that seminal idea. He thought that, because I had taught the introductory international relations course at several large public universities, I might have insight into students’ knowledge and their needs, as well as an eye for how to present the material. Jack Snyder, the general editor of the series, signed on to write the book on nationalism; he was joined by Stephen Krasner writing on international political economy, John Mearsheimer on power, and Bruce Russett on international institutions. Richard Harknett came on board to create a website for the series.

Having to think about how to present the rich and complex subject of international relations in a text of only two hundred fifty pages was a challenging and enlightening task—challenging, of course, because we academics always want to say more, not less, about our favorite topics, and enlightening because being forced to make difficult choices about what topics to address strengthened my belief in what the roots of the discipline are. I felt strongly about beginning with a discussion of the history of international relations, so that students can understand why we study the subject and how current scholarship is always informed by what has preceded it. This discussion leads naturally into Chapter 2,

which traces the history of the state and the international system. The theoretical framework is presented in Chapter 3, which lays out the levels of analysis and the three schools of thought—liberalism, realism, and Marxism. I chose to organize the book around these three theories because they provide the interpretive frameworks for understanding what is happening in the world. Each of the next three chapters is devoted to one of the levels of analysis—the international system, the state, and the individual. Chapters 7 and 8 focus on two topics that underlie all interactions between states—security and economics. The final chapter explores the ways in which countries try to work together through international organizations to resolve or prevent conflict.

Once I had established the organization of the book, I grappled with how to present the various topics concisely yet thoroughly. I soon realized that the effective use of visual tools would make the difference. Points made in the text are reinforced with tables, figures, and boxes. Each chapter opens with a set of central questions that not only alert students to key topics discussed in the chapter, but also get students thinking—*questioning*—as political scientists do. Theory often scares students, especially in an introductory course. To make it more palatable, the text's "Theory in Brief" boxes break theory down to its basic parts, so that students can more easily grasp and remember the material. "In Focus" boxes are used to reinforce concepts presented in the text, from historical events to complex ideas, like collective security. In addition, maps are used throughout the text to help students locate the countries and regions discussed.

In addition to the pedagogical support provided in the text, students will benefit from a sophisticated and pedagogically driven website providing study help. The site features interactive quizzes, chapter summaries, and a searchable glossary, as well as case studies and role-playing material. An added resource for instructors is a test bank of multiple-choice and essay questions.

Writing this book proved to be a more rewarding experience than I had ever envisioned. I was able to reflect on what has worked in my teaching and what has not. I had to pick and choose the material, knowing that a "smart, short textbook" could never include everything or please everyone. Much of the reward came from working closely with individuals, each thoroughly professional: Roby Harrington, who read and commented on each chapter at several stages; Sarah Caldwell, who

also commented on and corrected subsequent drafts, devised art presentations, and guided me through the production process; and Traci Nagle, whose extensive copyediting deflated my ego but made a better book. At several junctures Craig Warkentin, then a graduate student at the University of Kentucky and now a newly minted Ph.D., provided valuable research assistance. He has also written the accompanying test bank. To my colleagues who provided extensive comments during the review process—Bill Chittick (University of Georgia), Sumit Ganguly (Hunter College), Neil Richardson (University of Wisconsin), Dale Smith (Florida State University), and Nina Tannenwald (Brown University)—I owe special thanks.

Writing, while ultimately rewarding, is not always fun. While writing this book, I became involved in two other research projects, each of which took me in different directions. Other diversions encroached on my time, particularly teaching and serving as department chair, with all its headaches and crises. And my other hat—mother of two teenagers and wife of a free-spirited individual—means that time is precious and encouragement imperative. I have been fortunate to receive both.

KAREN MINGST

Lexington, KY
June 1998

CONTENTS

List of Maps	xi
Preface	xiii

Approaches to International Relations	1	1
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN DAILY LIFE	1	
APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	3	
<i>Traditional Approaches: Diplomatic History and Philosophy</i>	3	
<i>The Behavioral Revolution</i>	8	
<i>Alternative "Critical" Approaches</i>	12	
IN SUM: MAKING SENSE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	14	
WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?	15	

The Historical Context of Contemporary International Relations	18	2
THE PRE-WESTPHALIAN WORLD	19	
<i>Greece and the City-State "System" of Interactions</i>	19	
<i>Rome: Governing of an Empire</i>	20	
<i>The Middle Ages: Centralization and Decentralization</i>	22	
<i>The Late Middle Ages: Developing Transnational Networks</i>	24	

THE EMERGENCE OF THE WESTPHALIAN SYSTEM	27
EUROPE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY	30
<i>The Aftermath of Revolution: Core Principles</i>	31
<i>Peace at the Core of the European System</i>	31
<i>Balance of Power</i>	34
<i>The Breakdown: Solidification of Alliances</i>	37
THE INTERWAR YEARS AND WORLD WAR II	39
THE COLD WAR	42
<i>Origins of the Cold War</i>	43
<i>The Cold War as a Series of Confrontations</i>	47
<i>The Cold War as a Long Peace</i>	54
THE POST-COLD WAR ERA	56
IN SUM: LEARNING FROM HISTORY	58

3	Contending Perspectives: How to Think about International Relations Theoretically	60
	THINKING THEORETICALLY	60
	THEORY AND THE LEVELS OF ANALYSIS	63
	LIBERALISM AND NEOLIBERAL INSTITUTIONALISM	66
	REALISM AND NEOREALISM	70
	MARXISM: THE RADICAL PERSPECTIVE	79
	THEORY IN ACTION: ANALYZING THE GULF WAR	83
	IN SUM: SEEING THE WORLD THROUGH THEORETICAL LENSES	86

4	The International System	89
	THE NOTION OF A SYSTEM	89
	THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM ACCORDING TO LIBERALS	90

THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM ACCORDING TO REALISTS	92
<i>Polarity</i>	92
<i>Stratification</i>	97
<i>Homogeneity and Heterogeneity</i>	99
<i>How the International System Changes</i>	100
THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM ACCORDING TO MARXISTS	102
ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM AS A LEVEL OF ANALYSIS	104
IN SUM: FROM INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM TO STATE	107

The State

109 **5**

THE STATE AND THE NATION	110
CONTENDING CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF THE STATE	112
<i>The Liberal View of the State</i>	112
<i>The Realist View of the State</i>	112
<i>The Marxist View of the State</i>	113
<i>Contrasting the Liberal, Realist, and Marxist Views</i>	114
THE NATURE OF STATE POWER	115
<i>Natural Sources of Power</i>	115
<i>Tangible Sources of Power</i>	118
<i>Intangible Sources of Power</i>	119
USING STATE POWER	120
<i>The Art of Diplomacy</i>	120
<i>Economic Statecraft</i>	123
<i>The Use of Force</i>	126
<i>Game Theory</i>	127
MODELS OF FOREIGN-POLICY DECISIONMAKING	131
<i>The Rational Model</i>	131
<i>The Bureaucratic/Organizational Model</i>	133
<i>The Societal Model</i>	136

OUTCOMES OF FOREIGN POLICY: INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL DETERMINANTS?	138
CHALLENGES TO THE STATE	139
IN SUM: THE STATE AND CHALLENGES BEYOND	140

6 The Individual 143

FOREIGN-POLICY ELITES: INDIVIDUALS WHO MATTER	144
<i>The Impact of Elites: External Conditions</i>	145
<i>The Impact of Elites: The Personality Factor</i>	147
<i>Individual Decisionmaking</i>	150
<i>Information-Processing Mechanisms</i>	152
PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS	155
MASS PUBLICS	158
<i>Elites and Masses: Common Traits</i>	159
<i>The Impact of Public Opinion on Elites</i>	160
<i>Mass Actions by a Leaderless Public</i>	161
IN SUM: HOW MUCH DO INDIVIDUALS MATTER?	162

7 War and Strife 165

APPROACHES TO MANAGING INSECURITY	166
<i>Liberal Approaches</i>	167
<i>Realist Approaches</i>	173
THE CAUSES OF WAR	180
<i>The Individual: Realist and Liberal Interpretations</i>	181
<i>State and Society: Liberal and Marxist Explanations</i>	182
<i>The International System: A Realist and Marxist Interpretation</i>	184
<i>The Case of Yugoslavia</i>	185
TYPES OF WARFARE	189
<i>General War</i>	190
<i>Limited War</i>	190

Civil War 190

Terrorism 190

NEW THREATS TO INTERNATIONAL SECURITY 193

IN SUM: INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, OLD AND NEW 193

International Political Economy 195

8

CONTENDING THEORETICAL APPROACHES 197

Realism: Statism or Mercantilism 197

Economic Liberalism 198

Radicalism: Marxist and Dependency Alternatives 200

KEY CONCEPTS IN LIBERAL ECONOMICS 202

THE POLICY DEBATES IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL
ECONOMY 205

The New International Economic Order: Liberalism vs. Radicalism 205

Trading Blocs: Liberalism vs. Statism 208

THE ROLE OF INSTITUTIONS IN ECONOMIC-POLICY
DEBATES 216

The Bretton Woods Institutions 216

Multinational Corporations 222

Nongovernmental Organizations 225

IN SUM: ECONOMIC CONVERGENCE AND POLICY
DIVERGENCE 228

The Quest for Global Governance 230

9

TRADITIONAL LIBERAL APPROACHES 231

International Law 231

International Organizations 237

REALIST VIEWS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND
ORGANIZATION 252

THE MARXIST VIEW OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND
ORGANIZATION 254

TOWARD A BROADER VIEW OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE	255
<i>Nongovernmental Organizations</i>	255
<i>Transgovernmental Coalitions</i>	257
<i>Transnational Communities of Experts</i>	258
<i>International Regimes</i>	259
PUTTING THE PIECES OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE TOGETHER	260
IN SUM: TOWARD A NEW ERA OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	262
 Glossary	 265
 Index	 277

MAPS

Africa, 1998	xvii
Asia, 1998	xviii
Europe, 1998	xix
Latin America, 1998	xx
Greece, c. 450 B.C.	20
The Roman Empire, c. 117 A.D.	21
The Three Empires of the Early Middle Ages	23
Europe, c. 1360	25
Europe, c. 1648	29
Europe, c. 1815	32
Europe, 1878	35
Europe, 1914	38
Europe, 1939	41
Europe during the Cold War	43
The Middle East, 1998	53
U.N. Peacekeeping Operations, 1995	179
The Former Yugoslavia, 1995	186
Expansion of the European Union, 1952–95	212

APPROACHES TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

1

- *How does international relations affect you in your daily life?*
- *What are the major approaches used to study international relations?*
- *How have history and philosophy influenced the study of international relations?*
- *What is the behavioral revolution?*
- *What alternative approaches have begun to challenge traditional and behavioral approaches? Why?*

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN DAILY LIFE

Reading a daily newspaper and listening to the evening national news make us aware of international events far away from our everyday lives. But these events—bombings in Israel, starvation in Somalia, a summit meeting in Moscow, steep fluctuations in the value of the Japanese yen, and intense competition for investment opportunities in Vietnam—may seem to most of us to be distant and unrelated to our own lives.

Yet these seemingly remote events quickly can become both highly related and personally salient to any or all of us. Those bombings killed visiting students from your university; your sibling or your uncle was called into active duty in the National Guard to deliver food to Somalia; the price of the new computer or television set you want has plummeted because of the favorable dollar-yen exchange rate; Vietnam, once

the symbol of protest and pain for your parents' generation, is now a hotly contested terrain for your employer's investment dollars. A slight change of the story line immediately transforms events "out there" to matters of immediate concern. Buyers of quality carpets and clothing learn that those goods often are produced by children in faraway lands, just as Mexican workers recognize that U.S. trade laws may affect their ability to provide food for their families.

Historically, international activities such as these were overwhelmingly the results of decisions taken by central governments and heads of state, not by ordinary citizens. Increasingly, however, these activities involve different actors, some of whom *you* directly influence. In all likelihood, you, too, will be participating in international relations as you travel to foreign lands, purchase products made abroad, or work for a multinational corporation headquartered in another country. You may be a member of a nongovernmental organization—Amnesty International, the Red Cross, or Greenpeace—with a local chapter in your community or at your college. With your fellow members around the globe, you may try to influence the local, as well as the national and international, agenda. Your city or state may be actively courting foreign private investment, competing against both neighboring municipalities and other countries. These activities can directly affect the job situation in your community, creating new employment possibilities or taking away jobs to areas with cheaper wages. As a businessperson, you may be liberated or constrained by business regulations—internationally mandated standards established by the World Trade Organization to facilitate the movement of goods and commerce across national borders.

Thus the variety of actors in international relations includes not just the 185 states recognized in the world today, and their leaders and government bureaucracies, but also municipalities, for-profit and not-for-profit private organizations, international organizations, and you. **International relations** is the study of the interactions among the various actors that participate in international politics, including states, international organizations, nongovernmental organizations, subnational entities like bureaucracies and local governments, and individuals. It is the study of the behaviors of these actors as they participate individually and together in international political processes.

How, then, can we begin to study this multifaceted phenomenon called international relations? How can we acquire the descriptive

knowledge to understand why bombings occur in Israel, why the Somali people experienced such massive food shortages, what the agenda was during the latest summit meeting in Moscow, what structural factors account for the fluctuations of the Japanese yen, and why the once war-ravaged economy of Vietnam will become the investment bonanza of the twenty-first century?

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Scholars use three major types of approaches in studying international relations: traditional, behavioral, and alternative. These approaches emerge out of different academic disciplines and require us to use different methods of study.

Traditional Approaches: Diplomatic History and Philosophy

Answers to some of the questions of international relations traditionally have been found in history and philosophy. Without any historical background, many of today's key issues are incomprehensible. History tells us that the bombings in Israel are part of a dispute over territory between Arabs and Jews, a dispute with origins in biblical times, and modern roots tracing to the establishment of Israel in 1948. The most immediate origins of the Somali famine of the early 1990s can be found in the breakdown of central authority after the overthrow of President Siad Barre in 1991, after which rival warlords, with weapons from both Soviet and American Cold War stockpiles, vied for power, using food as one weapon of war. Yet periodic famine has been a fact of life in Somalia for centuries, as oral traditions recount. The Moscow summit meeting is one example of an approach to conducting diplomacy developed since World War II, although the specific issues discussed at a given meeting depend on a host of factors. The fluctuations in the value of the Japanese yen can be attributed, in part, to the very loosely regulated banking system in that country. Finally, those investing in Vietnam are hoping that country will duplicate the success of the newly industrializing countries (NICs) of Asia—South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and

Singapore—whose rapid economic growth in the 1980s and 1990s was engineered by government policies favoring exports.

Thus, history provides a crucial background for the study of international relations. History has been so fundamental to the study of international relations that there was no separate international relations subdiscipline until the early twentieth century in the United States. Before that time, in both Europe and the United States, international relations was simply diplomatic history.

History invites its students to acquire detailed knowledge of specific events, but it also can be used to test generalizations. Having deciphered patterns from the past, students of history can begin to explain the relationship among various events. For example, having historically documented the cases when wars occur and described the patterns leading up to war, the diplomatic historian can search for explanations for, or causes of, war. The ancient Greek historian Thucydides (c. 460–401 B.C.) in *History of the Peloponnesian War*, uses this approach. Distinguishing between the underlying and the immediate causes of wars, Thucydides finds that what made that war inevitable was the growth of Athenian power. As that city-state's power increased, Sparta, Athens's greatest rival, feared its own loss of power. Thus, the changing distribution of power was the underlying cause of the Peloponnesian War.¹

Many scholars following in Thucydides' footsteps use history in similar ways. But those using history must be wary. History may be a bad guide; the "lessons" of Munich and Allied appeasement of Germany before World War II or the "lessons" of the war in Vietnam are neither clear-cut nor agreed upon. And periodically, fundamental changes in actors and in technology can make history obsolete as a guide to the present or the future.

Traditional approaches to international relations also incorporate classical and modern philosophy. Much classical philosophizing focuses on the state and its leaders—the basic building blocks of international relations—as well as on method. For example, the ancient Greek philosopher Plato (c. 427–347 B.C.) in *The Republic* concludes that in the "perfect state" the people who should govern are those who are superior in the ways of philosophy and war. Plato calls these ideal rulers "philosopher-kings."² While not directly discussing international relations, Plato introduces two ideas seminal to the discipline: class analysis and dialectical reasoning, both of which are bases for later Marxist