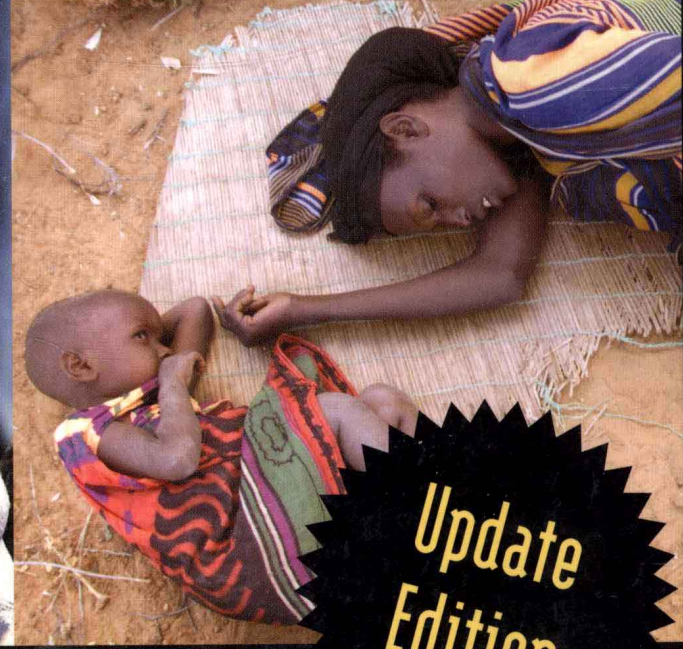
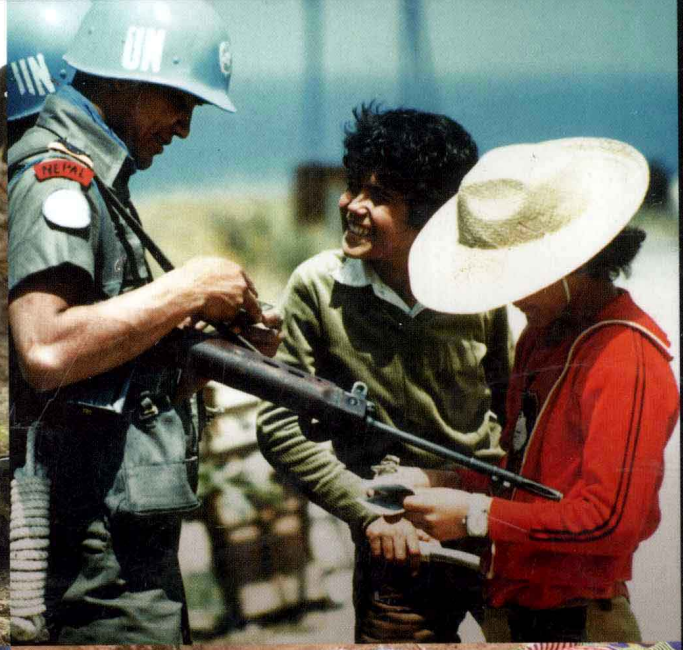


# INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

BRIEF SECOND EDITION



*Update  
Edition*

Joshua S. Goldstein



**Update Edition**

# International Relations

*Brief Second Edition*

**Joshua S. Goldstein**



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# Preface

This update edition of the brief version of *International Relations* focuses on the occupation and remaking of Iraq as well as the ongoing war on terrorism in Afghanistan and worldwide. Iraq is the central front of the war on terrorism, according to both President Bush and Osama bin Laden. (Of course, U.S. cities could become the central front on a moment's notice.) In the view of supporters, the U.S. make-over of an odious dictatorship into a democracy at the heart of the Arab world will lay a foundation for regional progress and peace, undermining the support given to radicals like bin Laden. To critics, Iraq is a quagmire where U.S. troops will die for years in a mission impossible based on mistaken assumptions about Iraq's culture and politics. To international public opinion and most great powers, the war in Iraq demonstrates a broader U.S. "unilateralism," if not outright arrogance, in pursuing American interests on the world stage. Overlaid on these disputes are U.S. domestic politics. Whatever its substantive merits, the war in Iraq creates a social-science experiment whose outcome will help us better understand how the world works.

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.

The rules of world politics are being rewritten in large and small ways as the post-Cold War era continues to unfold. 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.

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. 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. Even with the Iraq war, the overall trend is

toward a more peaceful world, with fewer and smaller wars and growing international cooperation in both security and economic relations. Despite the daily skirmishes in Iraq, the world was far more peaceful in 2003 than during the Cold War or the 1990s. With each new edition of this textbook, the list of wars in progress shrinks (see p.211).

In other ways, the new realities diverge from previous patterns. For instance, the increased U.S. military spending modestly reverses the previous trend of declining military spending. And the apparent arrival of North Korea as the world's ninth state to possess nuclear weapons brings us face-to-face with unsettling new potentials.

The information revolution continues to affect international relations. 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" icons throughout the text indicate web-based content that explores the impact of the information revolution on IR and poses critical-thinking questions. Other marginal icons show links onto the World Wide Web and to this book's companion CD-ROM, the Microsoft® Encarta® Interactive World Atlas. These information technologies let students with different learning styles excel and let instructors and students work together in new ways.

Terrorism and the war in Iraq have increased college students' interest in international relations, especially in the United States. Now that young Americans are paying more attention to international 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.

## Changes in the Update Edition

This edition focuses on terrorism and the U.S.-led occupation of Iraq. It also emphasizes nuclear weapons proliferation, now that North Korea has emerged as the world's ninth nuclear-armed state while Iran and Libya suspended their nuclear programs. It extends the discussions of Islamic politics in several chapters, assesses the stalled world trade talks, and describes the expansion of the European Union and NATO into Eastern Europe.

This edition updates the examples, cases, photos, and theoretical puzzles. The quantitative data are also updated, usually to 2002 or 2003. Because the data are changing rapidly, students deserve to have access to the most recent available numbers. The updated photos, figures, and maps help students both to master complex details and to connect emotionally with photos that embody key points in the text.

## 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 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 the long edition are here moved to the book's Website (under "Student Resources," "Supplemental Readings").

## Companion Website

Instructors and students are invited to this book's Companion Website at [www.IRtext.com](http://www.IRtext.com) 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*, Brief Second 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, extensive selected readings keyed to page numbers in the text, 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.IRtext.com](http://www.IRtext.com) or through the publisher's home page at [www.ablongman.com/goldstein](http://www.ablongman.com/goldstein).

## Supplements

### *Available for Qualified College Adopters*

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

Written by Robert Breckinridge of Mount Aloysius College, 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 based on Goldstein's *International Relations*, Fifth Edition, is composed of 51 tables, figures, and maps drawn from the text.

#### **TestGen EQ CD-ROM**

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. It is available in a hybrid platform to accommodate both Macintosh and Windows formats.

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

Written by Phil 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 maps every corner of the world, providing thousands of interactive maps in 21 different styles, 1.2 million place names, 192 country home pages, 10,000 articles, and thousands of videos and images. This CD, 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. (To order the text and discount CD package, give ISBN 0-201-77407-0 to your bookstore.)

#### **Student Workbook for the Microsoft® Encarta® Interactive World Atlas CD-ROM**

Written by Bernard-Thompson Ikegwuoha, this 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 allow them to 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*.

### **New Signet World Atlas**

From Penguin-Putnam, this pocket-sized yet detailed reference features 96 pages of full-color maps, plus statistics, key data, and much more. Available for 60 percent off the retail price when ordered packaged!

### **Research Navigator and Research Navigator Guide**

Research Navigator is a comprehensive website comprised of three exclusive databases of credible and reliable source material for research and for student assignments: (1) EBSCO's ContentSelect Academic Journal Database, (2) the *New York Times* Search by Subject Archive, and (3) "Best of the Web" Link Library. The site also includes an extensive help section. The Research Navigator Guide provides your students with access to the Research Navigator website and includes reference material and hints about conducting online research. Free to qualified college customers when packaged.

### **Discount Subscription to Newsweek Magazine**

For more than 80 percent off the regular price, students can receive 12 issues of *Newsweek* magazine delivered to their doors when they order with the discount subscription card packaged with this text.

### **Writing in Political Science, Second Edition, by Diane E. Schmidt**

This book takes students step-by-step through all the aspects of writing for political science courses with an abundance of samples from actual students; 10 percent discount when packaged with the text.

## **Acknowledgments**

Many scholars, colleagues, and friends have contributed ideas that influenced the various editions of this book. I owe a special debt to the late 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, and to Stephen Kucinski for hayfield views. The following reviewers made many useful suggestions:



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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 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.

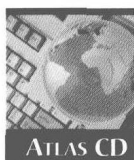
*J. S. G.*

## 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 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."

Students are invited to use the learning resources at this book's Companion Website. There, you may take practice tests, follow quick-links onto the web, explore the implications of the information revolution for international relations, find Selected Readings, 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.IRtext.com](http://www.IRtext.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. In the electronic version of the book, all the icons are "hot" and take the user directly to the relevant Web or CD resources.

## 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 Web site 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. 1) calls up a map of earth from space. The "+" button (bottom left) zooms in. The "hand" cursor moves the map frame (hold mouse button while moving hand). 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.



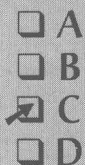
**Web Link** This icon marks topics for which this book's Companion Website has links to the most important World Wide Web sites on a topic or theme. Critical thinking questions accompany each of these links so that students are inspired to think analytically about the information they encounter. Responses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



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

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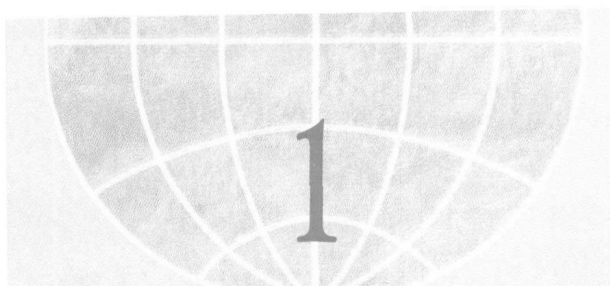
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# Understanding International Relations

## CHAPTER OUTLINE

### The Study of IR

### Actors and Influences

### History

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## THE STUDY OF IR

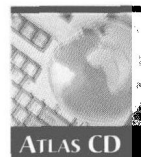
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Our world is large and complex. International relations is a fascinating topic because it concerns peoples and cultures throughout the world. The scope and complexity of the interactions among these groups make international relations a challenging subject to master.

Strictly defined, the field of **international relations (IR)** concerns the relationships among the world's governments. But these relationships cannot be understood in isolation. They are closely connected with other actors (such as international organizations, multinational corporations, and individuals); with other social structures (including economics, culture, and domestic politics); and with geographical and historical influences. IR is a large subject that overlaps several other fields.

The purpose of this book is to introduce the field of IR, to organize what is known and theorized about IR, and to convey the key concepts used by political scientists to discuss relations among nations. This first chapter defines IR as a field of study, introduces the actors of interest, and reviews the geographical and historical contexts within which IR occurs.

**IR and Daily Life** Sometimes international relations is portrayed as a distant and abstract ritual conducted by a small group of people such as presidents, generals, and diplomats. This is not accurate. Although leaders do play a major role in international affairs, many other people participate as well. College students and other citizens participate in international relations every time they vote in an election or work on a



Afro-Eurasia  
from Space;  
Zoom In  
Map

*What Is  
This? The  
Atlas CD  
icon means  
that maps,  
photos,  
videos, or  
articles are  
available on  
the  
Microsoft  
Encarta  
World Atlas  
(see p. xii).*