

Third Edition

# International Relations



**Joshua S. Goldstein**

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**LONGMAN**

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# Preface

“The students like it.” This is usually the first comment I hear from colleagues who have used this book in their classes. The reason students like it, I believe, is that it makes accessible such an interesting subject. 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 numerous 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, despite its theoretical orientation, does not allow the conceptual apparatus of the field to obscure the real people who make international relations and those whose lives are at stake.

In the 1990s, as global society raced toward the millennium, the rules of world politics were rewritten in large and small ways—a process that is continuing. 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 sub-state and supranational actors and processes are having influence through new avenues as well. Global telecommunications, multinational business networks, 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. Unfortunately for students first approaching the subject, the tangle of ideas, theories, and ever-changing facts is confusing—a problem made worse when old textbooks are “updated” by tacking on chapters to cover new topics. Such was the motivation for a new textbook born in the 1990s.

## Changes in the Third Edition

The framework laid out in the First Edition of this book (1992) has held up well to the challenges of the post–Cold War era as it has unfolded over the decade. The changes in this Third Edition therefore polish rather than reshape the material: A glossary has been added in this edition, as have more photos and maps.

New trends are developing rapidly around the world, however, and this edition (finished early in 1998) allows perspective on the decade. In some ways, change slowed down after the mid-1990s; for example, in this edition there are no new UN member states to add. In other arenas, however, change seems to be accelerating as the post–Cold War era proceeds. For example, economic globalization is shaking up established patterns and creating surprises like the 1997 Asian financial collapse. The late-decade perspective also re-

veals 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 better arms control treaties.

This edition updates the examples, cases, photos, and theoretical puzzles accordingly. I have retained the original emphasis on the Gulf War and Bosnia—two key defining conflicts of the post–Cold War era—and added new material on China and the Middle East, which I expect to be the areas of greatest interest in the coming years.

The quantitative data have been updated, usually to 1997. 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. Since the data are changing rapidly in the 1990s, students deserve to have access to the most recent available numbers. Notable changes since the last edition include UN peacekeeping forces (way down), military forces and spending (down), comparative financial positions (North America up; Asia down), third world debt (up), and foreign aid (down).

## 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. The photo program is thus integral to the pedagogy and not just decorative (although I have tried to make it beautiful), and this edition expands the number of photos.

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. Narratives and boxes present what is known but leave conclusions open-ended in order to encourage critical thinking. The questions at the end of each chapter are designed to engage students in thinking critically about the contents of the chapter. The role of data in encouraging critical thinking by students has been mentioned. In presenting quantitative information, 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, comprehensively updated for this Third Edition, suggest further reading on various topics. Unless otherwise noted, they are not traditional source notes.

## 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, with special attention to U.S. foreign policy. Chapter 5 introduces the main sources of international conflict, including ethnic, territorial, and economic conflicts. 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 new 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 expands 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 postscript set 50 years in the future—serves as a vehicle for reflection and critical thinking.

## Home Page

Faculty and students are invited to visit this book's home page on the World Wide Web, located at <http://www.american.edu/academic.depts/sis/goldtext>. The home page offers content-related Web links and factual updates for each chapter of *International Relations*, Third Edition. A faculty area provides teaching resources such as guides for using supplemental readers or videos, sample exam questions, and ideas for classroom simulations.

## Supplements

### *Available for Qualified College Adopters*

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

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

#### **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. Available in Macintosh and Windows formats.

### *Available for Students*

#### **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 do 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 three editions of this book. I owe a special debt to Robert North, who suggested more than a decade ago that the concepts of bargaining and leverage could be used to integrate IR theory across four levels of analysis. The Third Edition benefited from the superb assistance of Elizabeth Kittrell, Louis Cooper, and Kris Comeaux. For help with military data issues, I thank Randall Forsberg, Ted Postel, David Wright, and William Grimmatt. For suggestions, I thank Gerald Bender, William Kincade, my other colleagues at American

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The errors, of course, remain my own responsibility.



# 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.

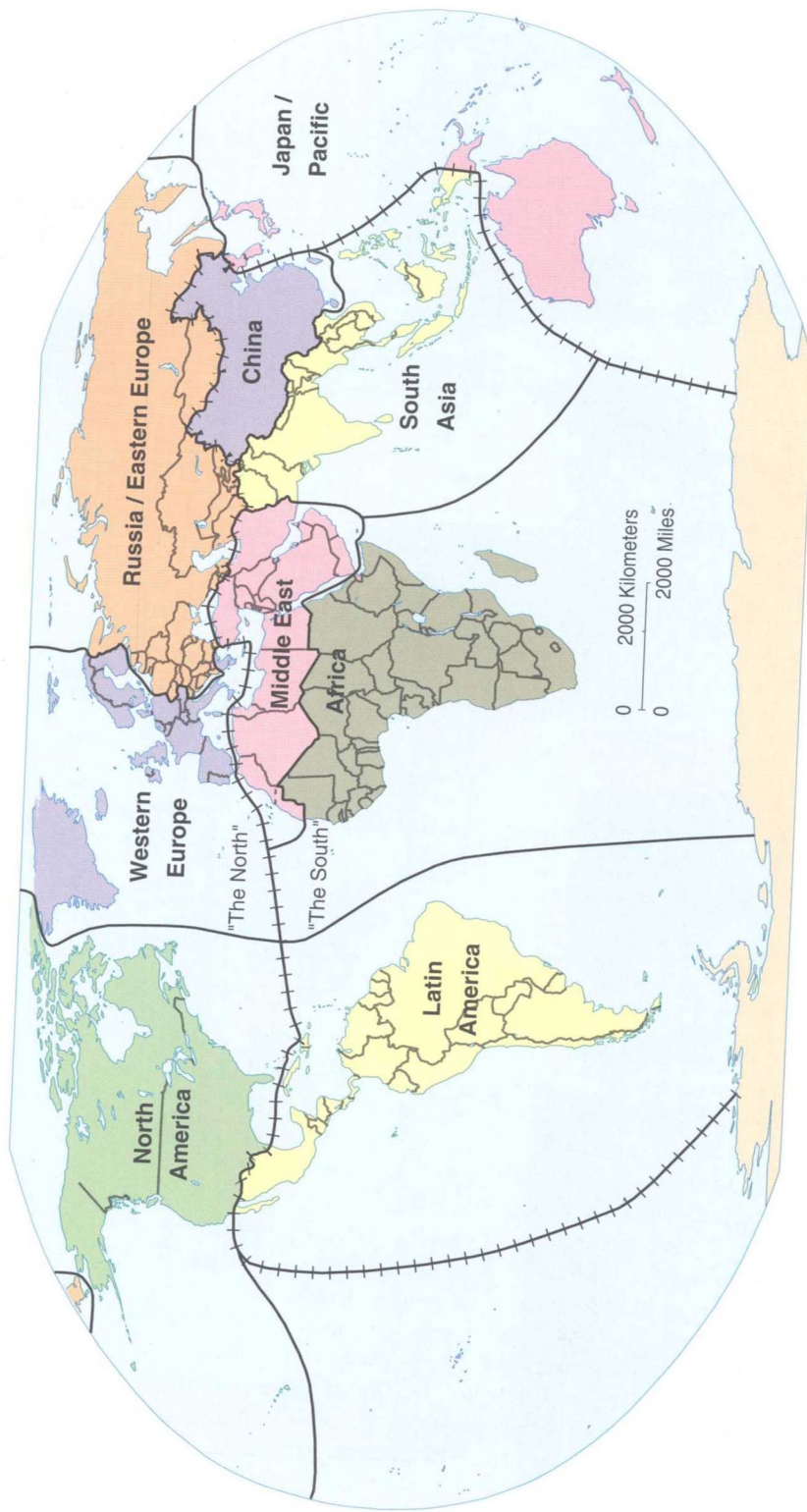
With map and phrase book in hand, you are ready to explore a fascinating world. The great changes in world politics in the past few years have made the writing of this textbook an exciting project. May you enjoy your own explorations of this realm.

J. S. G.

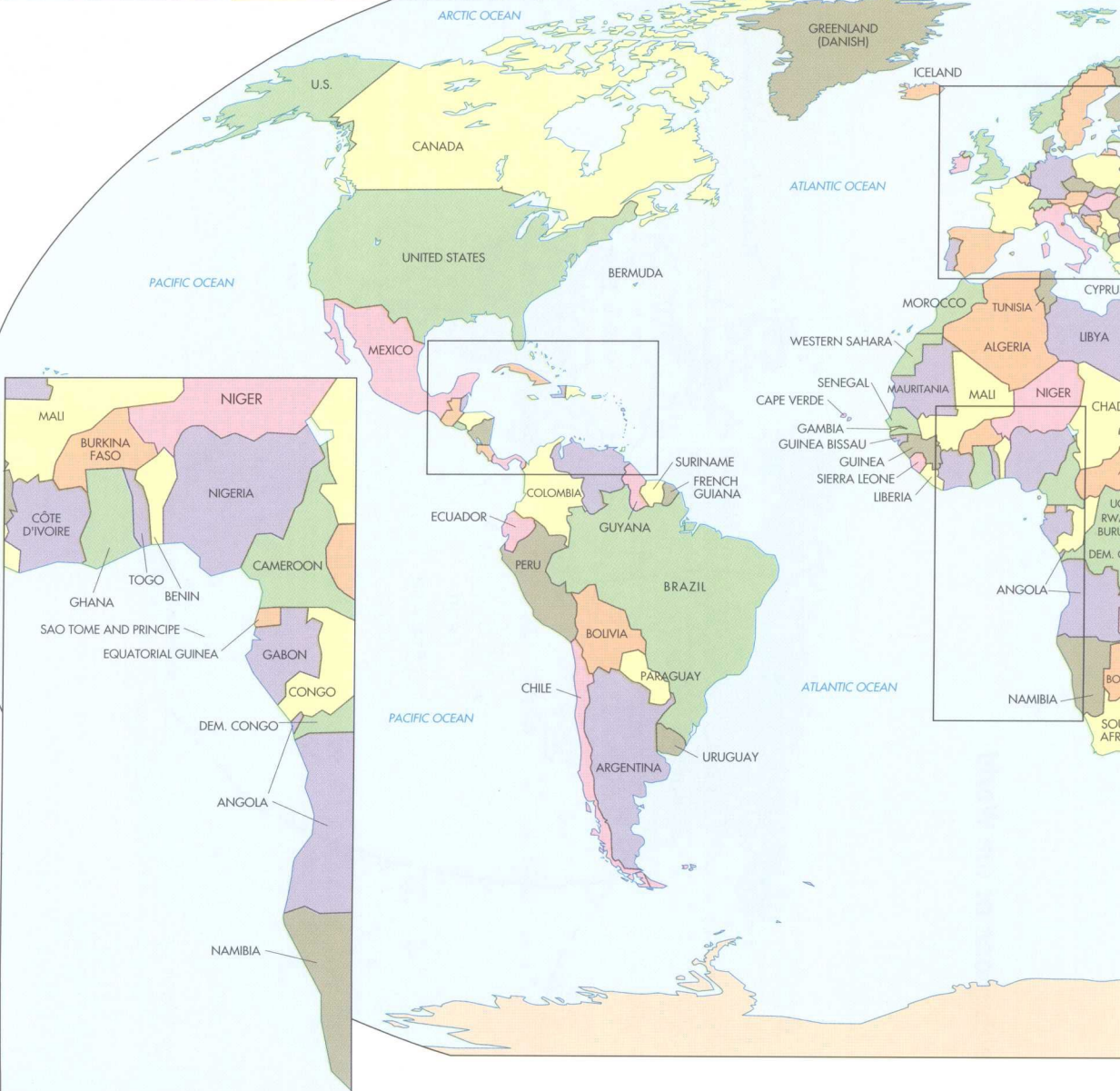
## A Note on Nomenclature

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 is 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 (despite Greek objections). The People's Republic of China is referred to as China. Zaire has been renamed Democratic Congo since the last edition. Elsewhere, country names follow common usage, dropping formal designations such as "Republic of."

## Nine Regions of the World



## World States and Territories







# NATO Expansion





China's Neighborhood



# North America





# Central America and the Caribbean



Scale 1:35,000,000  
Azimuthal Equal-Area Projection

0 250 500 Kilometers  
0 250 500 Nautical Miles

Boundary representation is not necessarily authoritative.

Stanley  
Falkland Islands (Islas Malvinas)  
(administered by U.K., claimed by Argentina)

South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands  
(administered by U.K., claimed by Argentina)

South Georgia and the  
South Sandwich Islands  
(administered by U.K.,  
claimed by Argentina)