

International Relations

fourth edition



Joshua S. Goldstein

International Relations

Fourth Edition

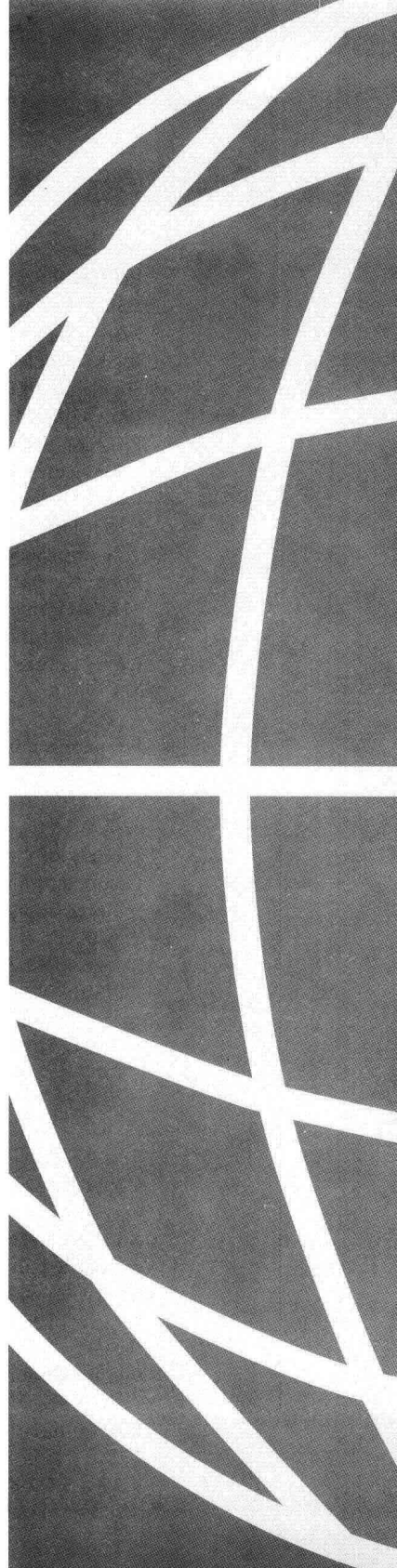
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To my family

Publisher: Priscilla McGeehan
Senior Acquisitions Editor: Eric Stano
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Project Coordination, Text Design, and Electronic Page Makeup: Elm Street Publishing Services, Inc.
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Cover Photos: *Top*: Paula Bronstein © Liaison Agency, Inc.; *right*: Franco Silvi © AFP/Corbis; *bottom*: Paulo Whitaker © Archive Photos
Photo Researcher: Barbara J. Scott
Manufacturing Buyer: Al Dorsey
Printer and Binder: R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company/Crawfordsville
Cover Printer: The Lehigh Press, Inc.

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Goldstein, Joshua S., 1952–

International relations / Joshua S. Goldstein ; with the assistance of Louis F. Cooper.—4th ed.
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-321-07061-5

1. International relations. I. Title.

JZ1242.G65 2001

327—dc21

00-030964

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ISBN 0-321-07061-5

2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10—DOC—03 02 01 00



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. I am thrilled that, as this book moves online with this edition, students now have available a range of interactive learning resources on a multifaceted Web site 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.

In the 1990s, 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 substate 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.

Companion Web Site

Instructors and students are invited to this book’s Companion Web site at www.internationalrelations.net or www.awl.com/goldstein on the World Wide Web. This online course companion provides a wealth of resources for both students and instructors using

International Relations, Fourth Edition. The site includes a custom search feature, self-loading links to the Microsoft® Encarta® Interactive World 2000 Atlas CD-ROM, and a link to ebookcity.com, where the Internet version of the text can be purchased. 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 (not .com) or through the publisher’s home page at www.awl.com/goldstein.

Changes in the Fourth Edition

This edition marks the new century with a new focus on the impact of the information revolution on the interstate system. In the coming years, changes in information technologies and advances in human knowledge will profoundly reshape such core IR concepts as power, sovereignty, and national identity. Military forces and the conduct of war are being reshaped by the information revolution, as are global trade and investment. New “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 2000.

This is also a time to reflect on the past decade, in which the post–Cold War era took form. The framework of the first edition of this book (1992) held up well to those unfolding developments. New trends are developing rapidly around the world, however, and this edition (finished early in 2000) provides new perspective on the decade. In some ways, change slowed down after the mid-1990s; for example, few states joined the UN. 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 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.

This edition updates the examples, cases, photos, and theoretical puzzles accordingly. I have retained the original world-order emphases of the first three editions on the Middle East, the former Yugoslavia, and China.

The quantitative data have been updated, usually to 1999. 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, students deserve to have access to the most recent available numbers. Notable changes in the late 1990s included UN peacekeeping forces (way down), military forces and spending (down), comparative financial positions (North America up; Asia up and down; Russia way down), third world debt (up), foreign aid (down), 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 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. 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, updated for this fourth edition, suggest further reading on various topics. Unless otherwise noted, they are not traditional source notes. 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 Web site.

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 substate actors in shaping IR. 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.

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 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. Available in a hybrid platform to accommodate both Macintosh and Windows formats.

Instructor's Guide to the Microsoft® Encarta® Interactive World Atlas 2000 CD-ROM

Written by Colleen Driscoll of Villanova 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® World Atlas CD-ROM

This multimedia CD 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, 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 Workbook for the Microsoft® Encarta® Interactive World Atlas 2000 CD-Rom

Written by Colleen Driscoll of Villanova University, this new booklet provides exercises that help students utilize the Microsoft® Encarta® Interactive World Atlas 2000 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

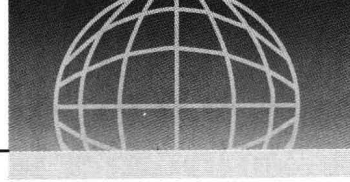
Many scholars, colleagues, and friends have contributed ideas that ultimately influenced the four editions of this book. I owe a special debt to Robert North, who suggested many years ago that the concepts of bargaining and leverage could be used to integrate IR theory across four levels of analysis. The fourth edition benefited from the assistance

of Louis Cooper (glossary, footnote updates, and other points) and Brad Hamrlik (data tables). For help with military data issues, I thank Randall Forsberg, Ted Postel, David Wright, and William Grimmett. For suggestions, I thank Gerald Bender, Maria Green Cowles, Laura Drake, my colleagues at American University, and the students in my world politics classes. The following reviewers made many useful suggestions:

Philip Baumann, *Moorhead State University*
 Robert E. Breckinridge, *Mount Aloysius College*
 Gregory A. Cline, *Michigan State University*
 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*
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 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*
 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 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."

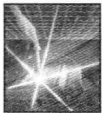
Students are invited to use the learning resources at this book's Companion Web site. There, you may take practice tests, follow quick-links onto the web, explore the implications of the information revolution for international relations, and take in multimedia explorations from this book's companion CD-ROM, the Microsoft® Encarta® Interactive World Atlas 2000. To use these learning resources, just go to www.internationalrelations.net (not .com) or www.awl.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

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 2000 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. 3) 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

Web Link This icon marks topics for which this book's Companion Web site 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 Web site, follow the indicated links, and then return to the Companion Web site to tie together what you have learned.

☐ A

☒ B

☐ C

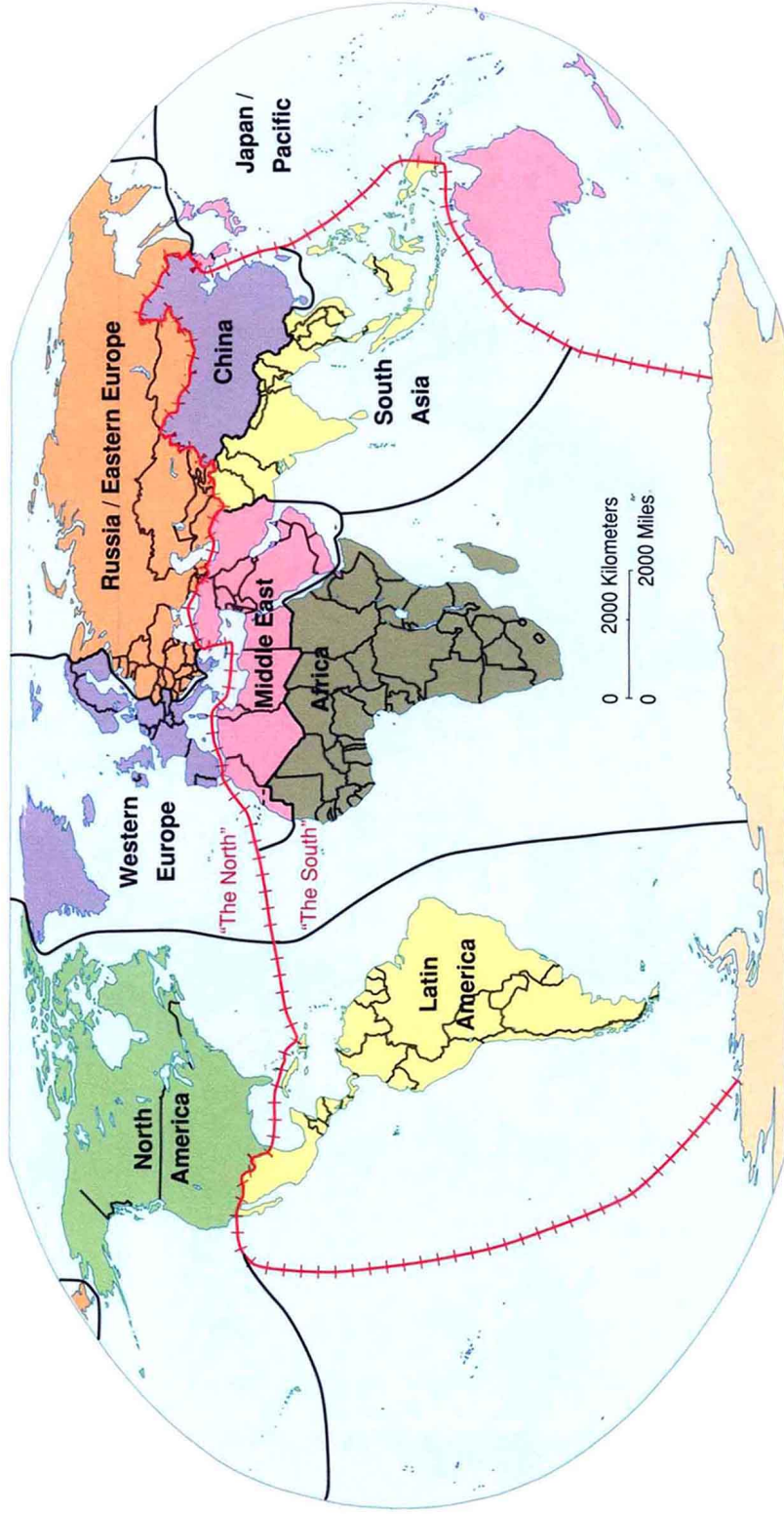
☐ D

ONLINE PRACTICE TEST

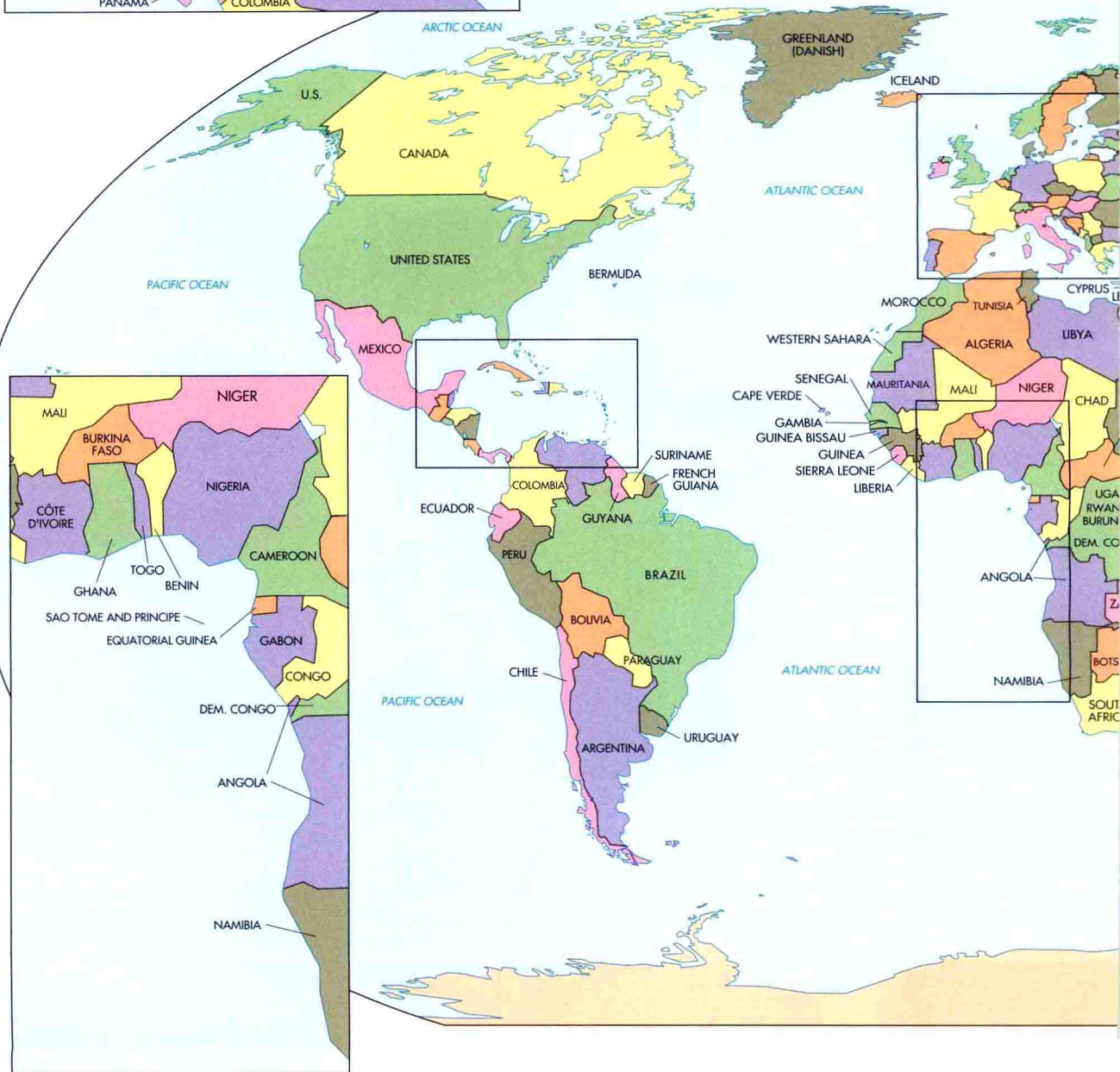
Take an online practice test at
www.internationalrelations.net

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

Nine Regions of the World



World States and Territories





This map illustrates the current and potential membership of European countries in NATO. The legend defines the following categories:

- NATO members, pre-1999 (France not militarily integrated):** Dark green.
- Joined NATO, 1999:** Light green.
- Leading candidates for next round:** Blue with diagonal stripes.
- Want to join:** Solid blue.
- Boundary of former USSR:** Red line.
- Boundary of former Warsaw Pact:** Orange line.

Geographical features include the Arctic Circle, North Sea, Atlantic Ocean, Mediterranean Sea, and Black Sea. Major cities and countries labeled include Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Germany, Poland, Czech Rep., Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, Ireland, United Kingdom, Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Austria, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia-Montenegro, Macedonia, Albania, Moldova, Ukraine, Belarus, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Russia. A scale bar indicates distances in kilometers (0 to 400) and miles (0 to 400).

Note: All countries on map are members of NATO'S Partnership for Peace program except Switzerland, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Serbia & Montenegro.

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China's Neighborhood



North America

