

ESSENTIALS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

SEVENTH EDITION



KAREN A. MINGST

IVAN M. ARREGUÍN-TOFT

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RELATIONS

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UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

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W. W. NORTON & COMPANY
NEW YORK • LONDON

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Composition: Westchester Publishing Services
Manufacturing: Transcontinental

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Mingst, Karen A., 1947– author. | Arreguín-Toft, Ivan M.
Title: Essentials of international relations / Karen A. Mingst, University of Kentucky,
Ivan M. Arreguín-Toft, Boston University.
Description: Seventh edition. | New York : W. W. Norton & Company, [2017] | Includes
bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2016013756 | ISBN 9780393283402 (pbk.)
Subjects: LCSH: International relations.
Classification: LCC JZ1305 .M56 2016 | DDC 327—dc23 LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2016013756>

W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 500 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10110
wnorton.com
W. W. Norton & Company Ltd., Castle House, 75/76 Wells Street, London W1T 3QT

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PREFACE

Brief textbooks are now commonplace in International Relations. This textbook was originally written to be not only smart and brief, but also, in the words of Roby Harrington of W. W. Norton, to include “a clear sense of what’s essential and what’s not.” We are pleased that this book’s treatment of the essential concepts and information has stood the test of time.

This seventh edition of *Essentials of International Relations*, published more than fifteen years after the first, preserves the overall structure of earlier editions. Students need a brief history of international relations to understand why we study the subject and how current scholarship is informed by what has preceded it. This background is provided in Chapters 1 and 2. Theories provide interpretative frameworks for understanding what is happening in the world, and levels of analysis—the international system, the state, and the individual—help us further organize and conceptualize the material. In Chapters 3–7, we present competing theories and use them to illustrate how each level of analysis can be applied and how international organizations, international law, and non-governmental organizations are viewed. Then the major issues of the twenty-first century—security, economics, human rights, and transnational issues—are presented and analyzed in Chapters 8–11.

This fully revised seventh edition is enhanced by the addition of new material on terrorism, cybersecurity, and nuclear threats to security; the continuing impact of China, India, and other states on the functioning of finance and trade in the global economy; and the challenges posed by the Eurozone and the refugee crisis to the future of the European Union. Refugees and internally displaced persons are discussed as human rights and humanitarian issues. The challenges of climate change and the increasing persistence of global health threats like Ebola are also new additions.

The rich pedagogical program of previous editions has been revised based on suggestions from adopters and reviewers:

- Each chapter is introduced with a new story “ripped from the headlines,” selected to help students apply the concepts discussed in the chapter to a contemporary problem. Later in each chapter, these headlines are discussed in the new **Behind the Headlines** features using the concepts and ideas from the text. Topics include the Palestinian efforts to acquire statehood; the human cost of climate change; and Russia, Syria, and the international system.
- The popular **Global Perspectives** features have been updated with new perspectives—including cyber security as viewed from Great Britain, the Eurozone crisis viewed from Greece, the view from a rising state like India, and the view from the Vatican. This feature encourages students to consider a specific issue from the vantage point of a particular state.
- End-of-chapter review materials include **discussion questions** and a list of **key terms** from the chapter to help students remember, apply, and synthesize what they have learned.
- **Theory in Brief** boxes, **In Focus** boxes, and numerous maps, figures, and tables appear throughout the text to summarize key ideas.

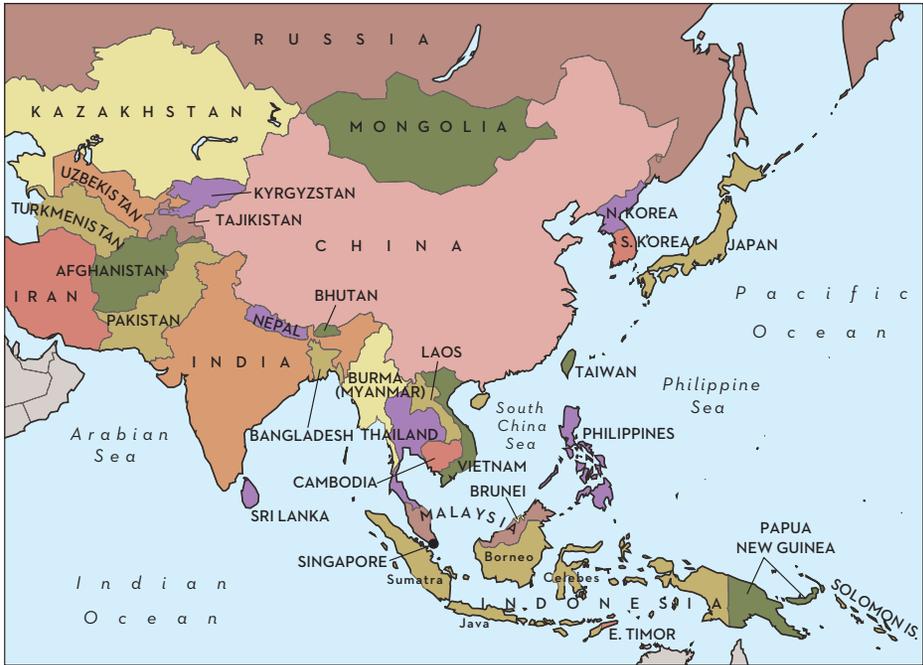
Many of these changes have been made at the suggestion of expert reviewers, primarily faculty who have taught the book in the classroom. While it is impossible to act on every suggestion (not all the critics themselves agree), we have carefully studied the various recommendations and thank the reviewers for taking time to offer critiques. We thank the following reviewers for their input on this new edition: Baktybek Abdrisaev, Utah Valley University; Benjamin Appel, Michigan State University; Dlynn Armstrong-Williams, University of North Georgia; Mark Baron, University of Calgary; Michael Beckley, Tufts University; Celeste Beesley, Brigham Young University; Tabitha Benney, University of Utah; Cynthia A. Botteron, Shippensburg University; John W. Dietrich, Bryant University; Kathryn Fisher, National Defense University; Andrea B. Haupt, Santa Barbara City College; Cynthia Horne, Western Washington University; Paul E. Lenze, Jr., Northern Arizona University; Heather Elko McKibben, University of California, Davis; Lyle Stevens, Iowa Central Community College; Kendall Stiles, Brigham Young University; and Bradford Young, Snow College.

In this edition, Karen Mingst owes special thanks to her husband, Robert Stauffer. He has always provided both space and encouragement, as well as holding up more than one-half of the marriage bargain. Yet he keeps asking,

just as our adult kids, Ginger and Brett, do—another book, another edition! Our toddler grandson, Quintin, has not yet mastered the dimension of time and space! He exemplifies the importance of the “here and now.”

In this edition, Ivan Arreguín-Toft owes thanks to a number of people; especially to my wife Monica Toft, and to my children Sam and Ingrid Toft. I also owe great thanks to Roby Harrington, whose sage advice and unflappable optimism invariably catalyze my best efforts. Finally, I owe a special debt of gratitude to Karen Mingst, whose pedagogical vision, and strength and clarity of intention are matched only by her willingness to critically challenge herself and me in the complicated and rewarding task of continuing to produce the world’s most compact, engaging, and comprehensive international relations textbook.

We have been fortunate to have several editors from W. W. Norton who have shepherded various editions: Ann Shin, editor of the first four editions, knows this book as well as its authors. She has always been a constant fountain of ideas and enthusiasm. Lisa Camner McKay made constructive suggestions and rather quickly came to understand our individual and collective strengths and weaknesses. Pete Lesser has been the calm point person on this edition, taking a personal interest in developing new features, keeping us on task and time, and offering his own formidable editing skills along the way. And Samantha Held has expertly directed the editorial process in an expeditious fashion. In short, many talented, professional, and delightful people contributed to the making of this edition, which we feel is the best so far. And for that, we remain always grateful.



ASIA



EUROPE



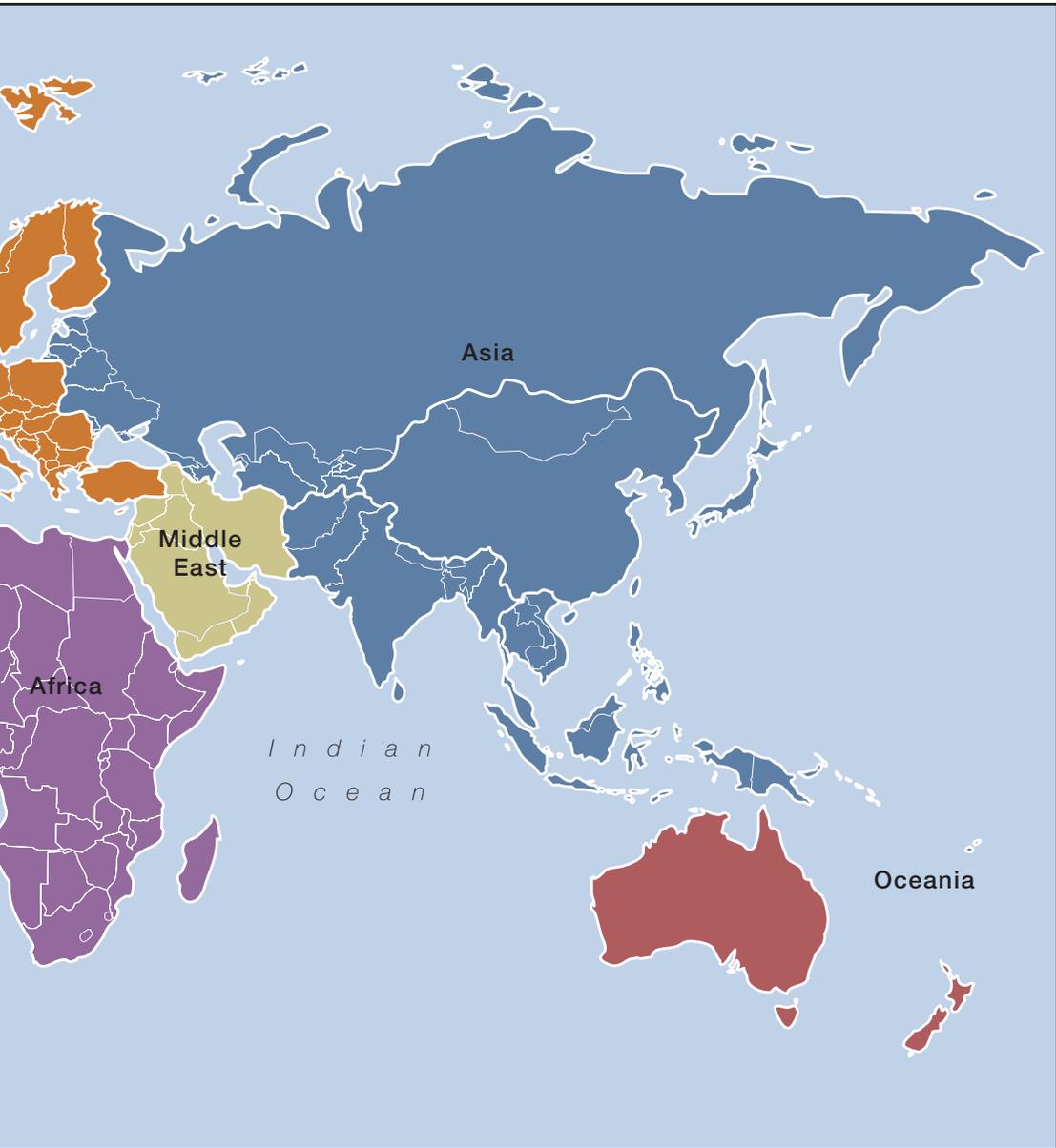
NORTH AMERICA



CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA



THE WORLD





THE MIDDLE EAST

01



Macedonian police clash with migrants on the Greek side of the border in August 2015. Europe's migrant crisis and images like this one have dominated global news headlines since mid-2015, as an increasing number of refugees from countries like Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq have come to Europe seeking asylum.





APPROACHES TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Martin Dempsey, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, remarked in 2012 that the world has become “more dangerous than it has ever been.” If we listen to the 24-hour news cycle and social media, we are flooded with reports of the Islamic State gunning down Parisians and blowing up ancient archeological sites; drones hitting unintended Pakistani targets; men, women, and children clinging to rickety boats, fleeing conflict and economic hardship; and thousands in Haiti, the Philippines, and Indonesia fleeing natural disasters. Vivid pictures make those events appear to be happening everywhere, perhaps just next door. And Dempsey, responsible for keeping the United States safe, is all too aware of the threats at the door.

Yet psychologist Steven Pinker, author of *The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence Has Declined*, concluded in 2011 that “we may be living in the most peaceful era in our species’ existence.” Dempsey and Pinker agree that the number of interstate wars has declined, as have the number of deaths caused by such wars. Since the end of the Cold War, civil wars, too, have declined. If all this is true, why can one person be optimistic about our ability to live together more peacefully and another be more pessimistic? Are the authors coming at the question from

different theoretical positions? Are they examining different data, using different time periods?

Your place in the world is complicated. You are a member of a family; your father or mother may work for a multinational corporation; you may be a member of a non-governmental organization (NGO), supporting a particular cause that you hold dear; you may be member of a church, synagogue, or mosque, or an ethnic group whose members span the globe; your state may be composed of different local units having responsibilities for issues with transnational significance; your state may have diplomatic relations and trades with states across the globe, may participate in the activities of international NGOs, and may be a member of numerous intergovernmental organizations. The variety of actors in international relations includes not just the 193 states recognized in the world today, their leaders, and government bureaucracies, but also municipalities, for-profit and not-for-profit private organizations, international organizations, and you.

International relations, as a subfield of political science, is the study of the interactions among the various actors that participate in international politics. It is the study of the behaviors of these actors as they participate individually and together in international political processes. International relations is also an interdisciplinary field of inquiry, using concepts and substance from history, economics, and anthropology, as well as political science.

How can we begin to study this multifaceted phenomenon called international relations? How can we begin to think theoretically about what appear to be disconnected events? How can we begin to answer the foundational questions of international relations: What are the characteristics of human nature and the state? What is the relationship between the individual and society? How is the international system organized? In this book, we will help you answer these questions, and many more.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Understand how international relations affects you in your daily life.
- Explain why we study international relations theory.
- Analyze how history and philosophy have been used to study international relations.
- Describe the contribution of behavioralism in international relations.
- Explain how and why alternative approaches have challenged traditional approaches in international relations.



Non-governmental organizations and their members often respond to issues of international significance. Here, volunteers from NGOs operating in Lebanon distribute aid to Syrian refugees in Al-Masri refugee camp in October 2014.

Thinking Theoretically

Political scientists develop theories or frameworks both to understand the causes of events that occur in international relations every day and to answer the foundational questions in the field. Although there are many contending theories, four of the more prominent theories are developed in this book: realism and neorealism, liberalism and neoliberal institutionalism, radical perspectives whose origins lie in Marxism, and constructivism.

In brief, realism posits that states exist in an anarchic international system; that is, there is no overarching hierarchical authority. Each state bases its policies on an interpretation of its national interest defined in terms of power. The structure of the international system is determined by the distribution of power among states. In contrast, liberalism is historically rooted in several philosophical traditions that posit that human nature is basically good. Individuals form groups and, later, states. States generally cooperate and follow international norms and procedures that they have agreed to support. Radical theory is rooted in economics. Actions of individuals are largely determined by economic class; the state is an agent of international capitalism; and the international system is highly stratified, dominated by an international capitalist system.


IN FOCUS
**FOUNDATIONAL QUESTIONS OF
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

- How can human nature be characterized?
- What is the relationship between the individual and society?
- What are the characteristics and role of the state?
- How is the international system organized?

And international relations constructivists, in contrast to both realists and liberals, argue that the key structures in the state system are not material but instead are social and dependent on ideas. The interests of states are not fixed but are malleable and ever-changing. All four of these theories are subject to different interpretations by scholars who analyze international relations. Those theories help us describe, explain, and predict. These different theoretical approaches help us see international relations from different viewpoints. As political scientist Stephen Walt explains, “No single approach can capture all the complexity of contemporary world politics. Therefore, we are better off with a diverse array of competing ideas rather than a single theoretical orthodoxy. Competition between theories helps reveal their strengths and weaknesses and spurs subsequent refinements, while revealing flaws in conventional wisdom.”¹ We will explore these competing ideas, and their strengths and weaknesses, in the remainder of this book.

Developing the Answers

How do political scientists find information to assess the accuracy, relevancy, and potency of their theories? The tools they use to answer the foundational questions of their field include history, philosophy, and the scientific method.

History

Inquiry in international relations often begins with history. Without any historical background, many of today’s key issues are incomprehensible. History tells us that the periodic bombings in Israel by Hamas are part of a dispute over territory between Arabs and Jews, a dispute having its origins in biblical times and its modern roots in the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948. Sudan’s 20-year civil war between the Muslim north and Christian/animist south and the Darfur crisis

beginning in 2003 are both products of the central government's long-standing neglect of marginalized areas, exacerbated by religious differences and magnified by natural disasters. Without that historical background, we cannot debate the appropriate solution in the Arab-Israeli dispute, nor can we understand why the establishment of the Republic of South Sudan in 2011 did not lead to a solution for the Darfur crisis.

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 subfield until the early twentieth century. Before that time, especially in Europe and the United States, international relations was studied under the umbrella of diplomatic history in most academic institutions. Having knowledge of both diplomatic history and national histories remains critical for students of international relations.

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 relationships 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 seek explanations for, or causes of, war. The ancient Greek historian Thucydides (c. 460–401 BCE), in *History of the Peloponnesian War*, used this approach. Distinguishing between the underlying and the immediate causes of wars, Thucydides found that what made that war inevitable was the growth of Athenian power. As Athens's power increased, Sparta, Athens's greatest rival, feared losing its own power. Thus, the changing distribution of power was the underlying cause of the Peloponnesian War.²

Many scholars following in Thucydides's footsteps use history in similar ways. But those using history must be wary because it is not always clear what history attempts to teach us. We often rely on analogies, comparing, for example, the 2003 Iraq War to the Vietnam War. In both cases, the United States fought a lengthy war against a little understood, often unidentifiable enemy. In both, the United States adopted the strategy of supporting state building so that the central government could continue the fight, a policy labeled *Vietnamization* and *Iraqization* in the respective conflicts. The policy led to a quagmire in both places when American domestic support waned and the United States withdrew. Yet differences are also evident; no analogies are perfect. Vietnam has a long history and a strong sense of national identity, forged by wars against both the Chinese and French. Iraq, in contrast, is a relatively new state with significant ethnic and religious divisions, whose various groups seek a variety of different objectives. In Vietnam, the goal was defense of the U.S. ally South Vietnam against the communist north, backed by the Soviet Union. In Iraq, the goal was first to oust Saddam Hussein, who was suspected of building weapons of mass destruction, and second, to create a democratic Iraq that would eventually lead the region to greater



Scholars often draw on history to help understand world politics. When the United States invaded Iraq first in the 1991 Gulf War and then in the 2003 Iraq War, some observers raised comparisons to the Vietnam War, when many Americans protested U.S. involvement. However, there were also significant differences between these events.

stability.³ In both, although we cannot ignore history, neither can we draw simple “lessons” from historical analogies.

Analogies are incomplete. Lessons are often drawn that reflect one’s theoretical orientation. Realists might draw the lesson from both Vietnam and Iraq that the United States did not use all of its military might; political actors constrained military actions; otherwise, the outcome may have been different. Liberals might conclude that the United States should have never been involved since the homeland was not directly affected and one country’s ability to construct or reconstruct another state is limited. What lessons can we draw from the United States’ acquiescence to the Soviet takeover of Crimea in 2014? Was this another Munich, when the allies appeased Germany at the early stages of World War II? Or was this an affirmation of national self-determination since the Crimeans, mostly ethnic Russians, voted to secede from Ukraine and rejoin Russia? Was the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, the 2015 agreement between the western powers and Iran setting limits on Iran’s nuclear program, another Munich or a Helsinki moment?⁴ Helsinki refers to the 1975 accord officially ratifying post–World War II borders and advocating for respect of human rights. History offers no clear-cut lesson or guidance.

Philosophy

Philosophy can help us answer questions in international relations. Much classical philosophy focuses on the state and its leaders—the basic building blocks of international relations—as well as on methods of analysis. For example, the ancient Greek philosopher Plato (c. 427–347 BCE), in *The Republic*, concluded that in the “perfect state,” the people who should govern are those who are superior in the ways of philosophy and war. Plato called these ideal rulers “philosopher-kings.”⁵ Though not directly discussing international relations, Plato introduced two ideas seminal to the discipline: class analysis and dialectical reasoning, both of which were bases for later Marxist analysts. Radicals like Marxists see economic class as the major divider in domestic and international politics; Chapters 3 and 9 will explore this viewpoint in depth. Marxists also acknowledge the importance of dialectical reasoning—that is, reasoning from a dialogue or conversation that leads to the discovery of contradictions in the original assertions and in political reality. In contemporary Marxist terms, such analysis reveals the contradiction between global and local policies, whereby, for example, local-level textile workers lose their jobs to foreign competition and are replaced by high-technology industries.

Just as Plato’s contributions to contemporary thinking were both substantive and methodological, the contributions of his student, the philosopher Aristotle (384–322 BCE), lay both in substance (the search for an ideal domestic political system) and in method. Analyzing 168 constitutions, Aristotle looked at the similarities and differences among states, becoming the first writer to use the comparative method of analysis. He concluded that states rise and fall largely because of internal factors—a conclusion still debated in the twenty-first century.⁶

After the classical era, many of the philosophers of relevance to international relations focused on the foundational questions of the discipline. The English philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), in *Leviathan*, imagined a state of nature, a world without governmental authority or civil order, where men rule by passions, living with the constant uncertainty of their own security. To Hobbes, the life of man is solitary, selfish, and even brutish. Extrapolating to the international level, in the absence of international authority, society is in a “state of nature,” or **anarchy**. States in this anarchic condition act as man does in the state of nature. For Hobbes, the solution to the dilemma is a unitary state—a leviathan—where power is centrally and absolutely controlled.⁷

The French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–78) addressed the same set of questions but, having been influenced by the Enlightenment, saw a different solution. In “Discourse on the Origin and Foundations of Inequality among Men,” Rousseau described the state of nature as an egocentric world, with man’s primary concern being self-preservation—not unlike Hobbes’s description of the state of nature.