

focus on developing states as well. In addition, they pay growing attention to relations between developed and developing nations (often labeled North-South relations), including such topics as economic dependency, debt, foreign aid, and technology transfer. Also newly important are problems of international environmental management and of global telecommunications. The subfield of IPE is expanding accordingly.⁸

The same principles and theories that help us understand international security (discussed in the first half of this book) also help us understand IPE (discussed in the second half). Economics is important in security affairs, and vice versa.

Theoretical knowledge accumulates by a repeated cycle of generalizing and then testing. For a given puzzle, various theories can explain the result (though none perfectly) as a case of a more general principle. Each theory also logically predicts other outcomes, and these can be tested empirically. A laboratory science, controlling all but one variable, can test theoretical predictions efficiently. IR does not have this luxury, because many variables operate simultaneously. Thus, it is especially important to think critically about IR events and consider several different theoretical explanations before deciding which (if any) provides the best explanation.

Actors and Influences

The principal actors in IR are the world's governments. Scholars of IR traditionally study the decisions and acts of those governments in relation to other governments. The international stage is crowded with actors large and small that are intimately interwoven with the decisions of governments. These actors are individual leaders and citizens. They are bureaucratic agencies in foreign ministries. They are multinational corporations and terrorist groups. But the most important actors in IR are states.

International Relc

State Actors

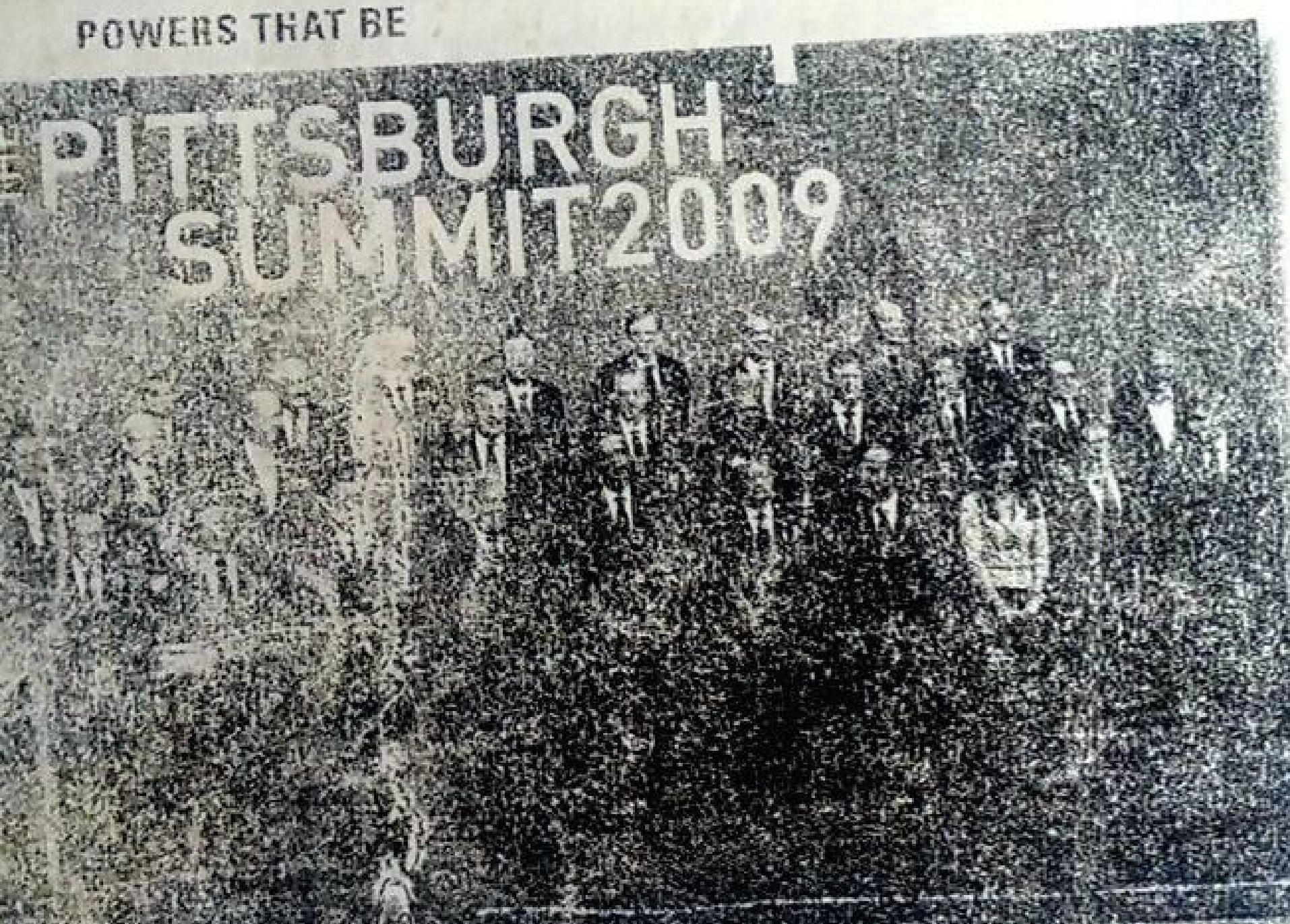
A state is a territorial entity controlled by a government and inhabited by a population. The locations of the world's states and territories are shown in the reference map at the front of this book, after the preface. Regional maps with greater detail appear there as well.

A state is a territorial entity controlled by a govt.
inhabited by a population

⁸ Cohen, Benjamin J. *International Political Economy: An Intellectual History*. Princeton, 2008. Gilpin, Robert. *Global Political Economy: Understanding the International Economic Order*. Princeton, 2001. Keohane, Robert O., and Joseph S. Nye, Jr. *Power and Interdependence*. 3rd ed. Longman, 2001.

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The principal actors are the world's governments. Actors includes: individual leaders, citizens, bureaucratic agencies in foreign ministries, multinational corporations, terrorist groups. But the most important actors in IR are states. But the most important actors in IR are states?



States are the most important actors in IR. A handful of states are considered great powers and one a "superpower." Here, the leaders of the Group of 20 countries meet to coordinate their response to the global economic recession, 2009.

THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION

Barack Obama

The election of U.S. president Barack Obama has profoundly influenced international politics. In issue areas ranging from global environmental policy to the war on terror, trade policy, and America's relationship with the UN, Obama promised to break with previous U.S. policy and chart a new course. Furthermore, the election of Obama as America's first African American president immediately raised the "popularity" of the United States in global public opinion polls, especially in developing countries.

Carrying out these changes depends on key individuals appointed to foreign policy positions in the administration. The Obama team continues to face many challenges in nearly every area of international relations. Each member of the foreign policy team must both chart policy directions with regard to the outside world and also internally manage the bureaucracy in his or her own area of responsibility.



The Obama administration brought sharp changes in some foreign policy areas, continuity in others. Here Obama receives the Nobel Peace Prize (December 2009).

The Obama Administration box in each chapter highlights a different member of this foreign policy team. It discusses the background of the individual and outlines a few of the particular challenges he or she continues to face. The box will also show how the U.S. administration, through its top policy makers, confronts the major issues covered in each chapter of this book.

International System

A state government answers to no higher authority; it exercises sovereignty over its territory—to make and enforce laws, to collect taxes, and so forth. This sovereignty is recognized (acknowledged) by other states through diplomatic relations and usually by membership in the United Nations (UN). (The concepts of state sovereignty and territoriality are elaborated in Chapter 2.) The population inhabiting a state forms a civil society to the extent that it has developed institutions to participate in political or social life. All or part of the population that shares a group identity may consider itself a nation (see "Nationalism" on pp. 161–162). The state's government is a democracy to the extent that the government is controlled by the members of the population rather than imposed on them. (Note that the word state in IR does not mean a state in the United States.) In political life, and to some extent in IR scholarship, the terms state, nation, and country are used imprecisely, usually to refer to state governments.

With few exceptions, each state has a capital city—the seat of government from which it administers its territory—and often a single individual who acts in the name of the state. We will refer to this person simply as the "state leader." Often he or she is the head of government (such as a prime minister) or the head of state (such as a president, or a king or queen). In some countries, such as the United States, the same person is head of state and government. In other countries, the positions of the president or royalty, or even the prime minister, are symbolic. In any case, the most powerful political figure is the one we mean by "state leader," and these figures are the key individual actors in IR, regardless of whether these leaders are democratically elected or dictators. The state actor includes the individual leader as well as bureaucratic organizations (such as foreign ministries) that act in the name of the state.

State Govt

Chapter 1 The Globalization of International Relations

The international system is the set of relationships among the world's states, structured according to certain rules and patterns of interaction. Some such rules are explicit, some implicit. They include who is considered a member of the system, what rights and responsibilities the members have, and what kinds of actions and responses normally occur between states. *193 Sovereignty States in 2011 (South Sudan)*

The modern international system has existed for less than 500 years. Before then, people were organized into more mixed and overlapping political units such as city-states, empires, and feudal fiefs. In the past 200 years the idea has spread that nations—groups of people who share a sense of national identity, usually including a language and culture—should have their own states. Most large states today are such nation-states. But since World War II, the decolonization process in much of Asia and Africa has added many new states, some not at all nation-states. A major source of conflict and war at present is the frequent mismatch between perceived nations and actual state borders. When people identify with a nationality that their state government does not represent, they may fight to form their own state and thus to gain sovereignty over their territory and affairs. This substate nationalism is only one of several growing trends that undermine the present system of states. Other such trends include the globalization of economic processes, the power of telecommunications, and the proliferation of ballistic missiles.

The independence of former colonies and, more recently, the breakup into smaller states of large multinational states (the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia) have increased the number of states in the world. The exact total depends on the status of a number of quasi-state political entities, and it keeps changing as political units split apart or merge. The UN had 192 members in 2010.

The population of the world's states varies dramatically, from China and India with more than 1 billion people each, to microstates such as San Marino with fewer than 40,000. With the creation of many small states in recent decades, the majority of states now have fewer than 10 million people each, and more than half of the rest have 10 to 50 million each. But the 15 states with populations of more than 70 million people together contain about two-thirds of the world's population.

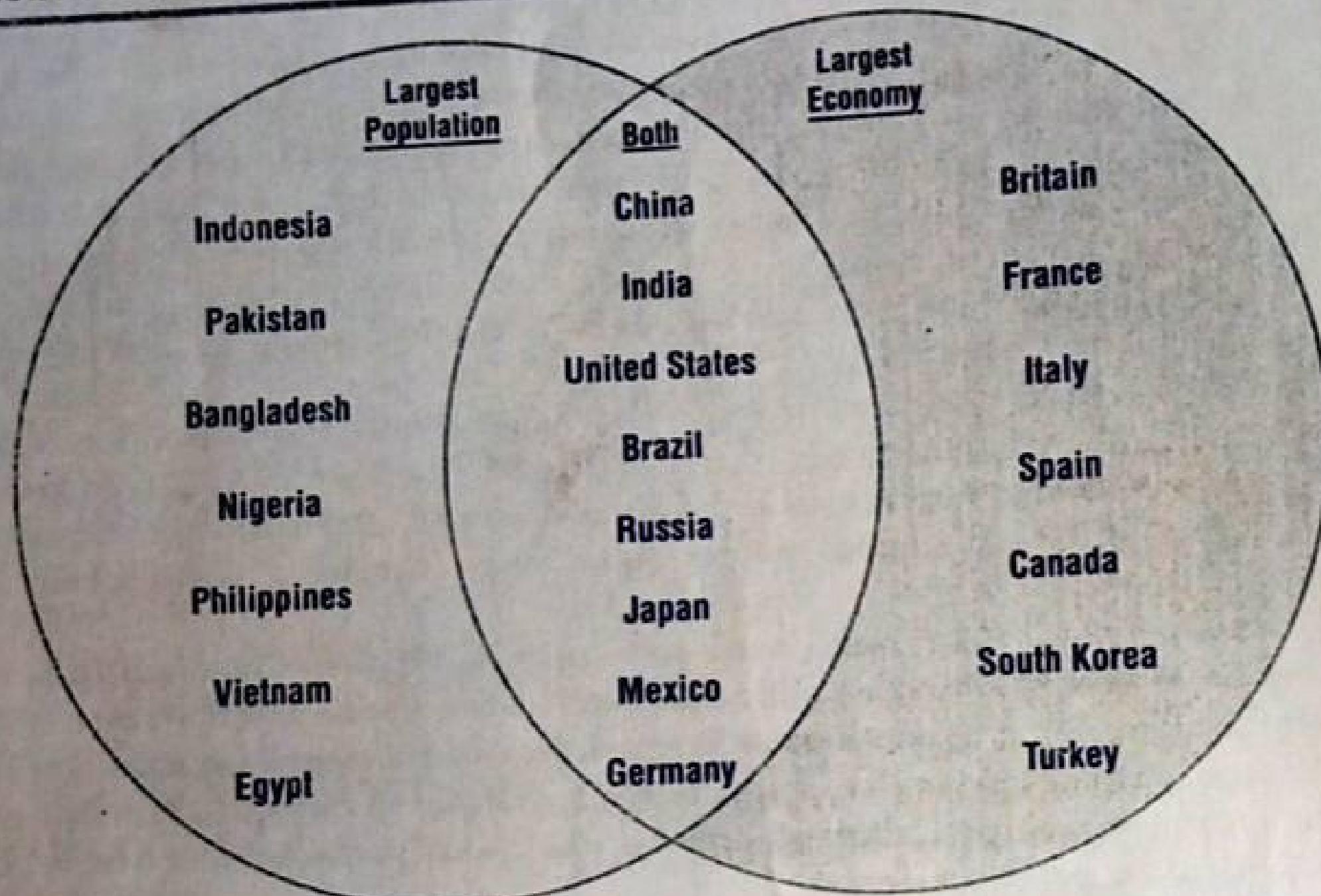
States also differ tremendously in the size of their total annual economic activity—**Gross Domestic Product (GDP)**⁹—from the \$14 trillion U.S. economy to the economies of tiny states such as the Pacific island of Tonga (\$350 million). The world economy is dominated by a few states, just as world population is. Figure 1.1 lists the largest countries by population and economy. Each is an important actor in world affairs.

A few of these large states possess especially great military and economic strength and influence, and are called *great powers*. They are defined and discussed in Chapter 2. The most powerful of great powers, those with truly global influence, have been called *superpowers*. This term generally meant the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War, and now refers to the United States alone.

⁹ GDP is the total of goods and services produced by a nation; it is very similar to the Gross National Product (GNP). Such data are difficult to compare across nations with different currencies, economic systems, and levels of development. In particular, comparisons of GDP in capitalist and socialist economies, or in rich and poor countries, should be treated cautiously. GDP data used in this book are mostly from the World Bank. GDP data are adjusted through time and across countries for "purchasing-power parity" (how much a given amount of money can buy). See Summers, Robert, and Alan Heston. The Penn World Table (Mark 5): An Expanded Set of International Comparisons, 1950–1988. *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 106 (2), 1991: 327–68. GDP and population data are for 2008 unless otherwise noted.

Actors and Influences

FIGURE 1.1 Largest Countries, 2009



Note: Left and center columns listed in population order, right column in GDP order. GDP calculated by purchasing parity.

Source: CIA, World Factbook.

Some other political entities are often referred to as states or countries although they are not formally recognized as states. Taiwan is the most important of these. It operates independently in practice but is claimed by China (a claim recognized formally by outside powers) and is not a UN member. Formal colonies and possessions still exist; their status may change in the future. They include Puerto Rico (U.S.), Bermuda (British), Martinique (French), French Guiana, the Netherlands Antilles (Dutch), the Falkland Islands (British), and Guam (U.S.). Hong Kong reverted from British to Chinese rule in 1997 and retains a somewhat separate economic identity under China's "one country, two systems" formula. The status of the Vatican (Holy See) in Rome is ambiguous. Including various such territorial entities with states brings the world total to about 200 state or quasi-state actors. Other would-be states such as Kurdistan (Iraq), Abkhazia (Georgia), and Somaliland (Somalia) may fully control the territory they claim but are not internationally recognized.

Nonstate Actors

National governments may be the most important actors in IR, but they are strongly influenced by a variety of **nonstate actors** (see Table 1.2). These actors are also called **transnational actors** when they operate across international borders.

First, states often take actions through, within, or in the context of **intergovernmental organizations (IGOs)**—organizations whose members are national governments. IGOs fulfill a variety of functions and vary in size from just a few states to virtually the whole UN membership. The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), the World

OPEC, WTO, NATO, AU & IGOs

(International
sources and
enforcement
law?)

TABLE 1.2 Types of Nonstate Actors

Type	Who Are They?	Examples
IGOs ^a	Intergovernmental Organizations	Members are national governments
NGOs ^b	Nongovernmental Organizations	Members are individuals and groups
MNCs	Multinational Corporations	Companies that span borders
Others	Individuals, Cities, Constituencies, etc.	Bono, Iraqi Kurdistan, al Qaeda

^aNote: IGOs and NGOs together make up International Organizations (IOs).

Trade Organization (WTO), military alliances such as NATO, and political groupings such as the African Union (AU) are all IGOs.

Another type of transnational actor, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), are private organizations, some of considerable size and resources. Increasingly NGOs are being recognized, in the UN and other forums, as legitimate actors along with states, though not equal to them. Some of these groups have a political purpose, some a humanitarian one, some an economic or technical one. Sometimes NGOs combine efforts through transnational advocacy networks.¹⁰ There is no single pattern to NGOs. Together, IGOs and NGOs are referred to as international organizations (IOs).¹¹ By one count there are more than 25,000 NGOs and 5,000 IGOs. IOs are discussed in detail in Chapters 7 and 10.

Multinational corporations (MNCs) are companies that span multiple countries.

The interests of a large company doing business globally do not correspond with any one state's interests. MNCs often control greater resources, and operate internationally with greater efficiency, than many small states. They may prop up (or even create) friendly foreign governments, as the United Fruit Company did in the "banana republics" of Central America a century ago. But MNCs also provide poor states with much-needed foreign investment and tax revenues. MNCs in turn depend on states to provide protection, well-regulated markets, and a stable political environment. MNCs as international actors receive special attention in Chapters 9 and 13.

Various other nonstate actors interact with states, IOs, and MNCs. For example, the terrorist attacks since September 11, 2001, have demonstrated the increasing power that technology gives terrorists as nonstate actors. Just as Greenpeace can travel to a remote location and then beam video of its environmental actions there to the world, so too can al Qaeda place suicide bombers in world cities, coordinate their operations and finances through the Internet and the global banking system, and reach a global audience with videotaped appeals. "Global reach," once an exclusive capability of great powers, now is available to many others, for better or worse.

Amnesty Int'l,
Lions Clubs,
Red Crescent,
Red Cross,

Wal-Mart,
ExxonMobil,
Toyota,
Bono
etc.

Ohio
Individuals,
Cities, & terrorist
al-Qaeda,
Boko Haram,
etc.

¹⁰ Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics. Cornell, 1998. Batliwala, Srilatha, and L. David Brown. Transnational Civil Society: An Introduction. Kumarian, 2006.

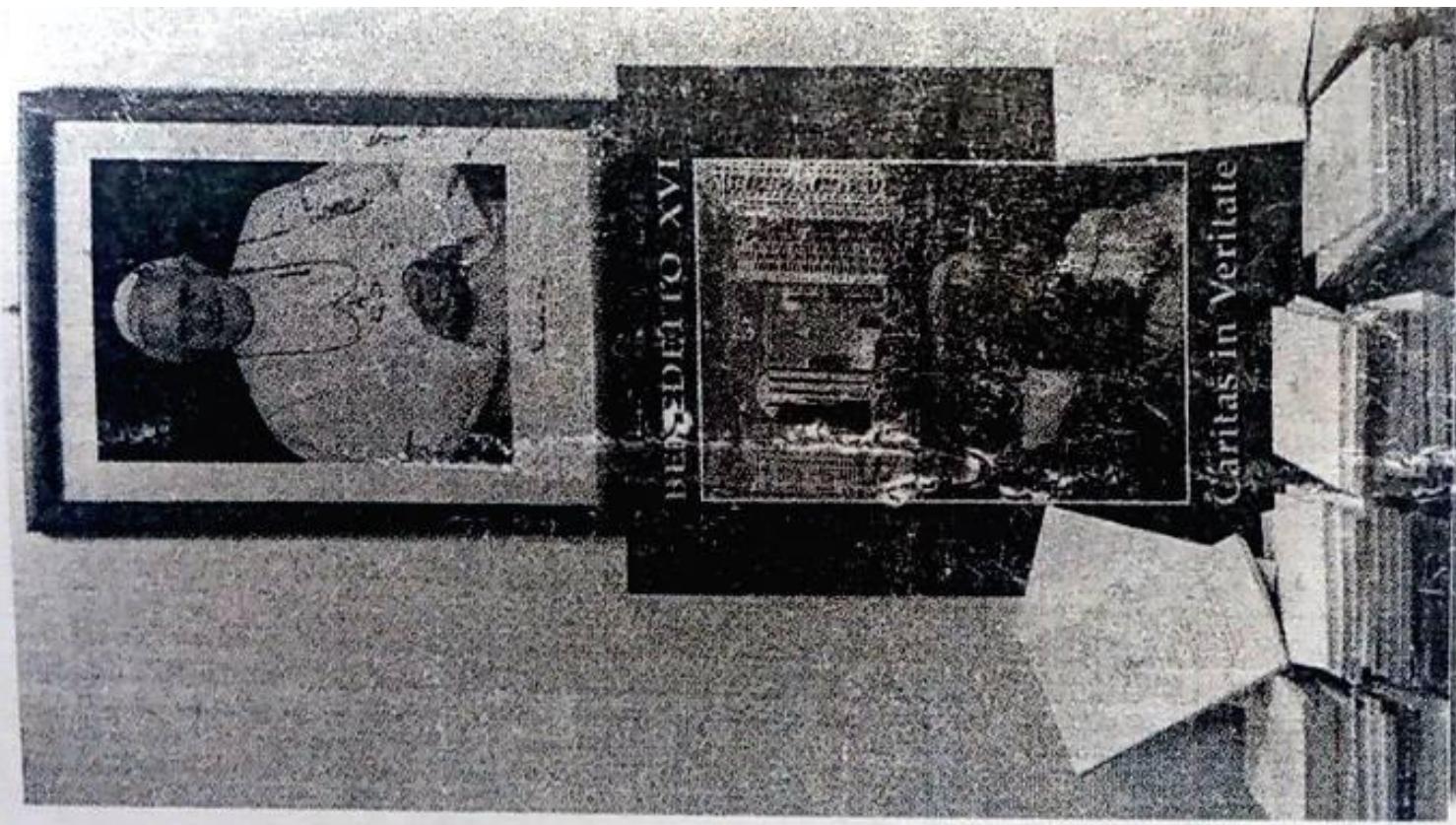
¹¹ Armstrong, David, Lorna Lloyd, and John Redmond. International Organization in World Politics. Palgrave, 2003.

International Law
Sources

Some nonstate actors are substate actors: they exist within one country but either influence that country's foreign policy or operate internationally, or both. For instance, the state of Ohio is entirely a U.S. entity but operates an International Trade Division to promote exports and foreign investment, with offices in Belgium, Japan, China, Canada, Israel, India, Australia, and Mexico. The actions of substate economic actors—companies, consumers, workers, investors—help create the context of economic activity against which international political events play out, and within which governments must operate.

In this world of globalization, of substate actors and transnational actors, states are still important. But to some extent they are being gradually pushed aside as companies, groups, and individuals deal ever more directly with each other across borders, and as the world economy becomes globally integrated. Now more than ever, IR extends beyond the interactions of national governments.

Both state and nonstate actors are strongly affected by the revolution in information technologies now under way. The new information-intensive world promises to reshape international relations profoundly. Technological change dramatically affects actors' relative capabilities and even preferences. Telecommunications and computerization allow economics, politics, and culture alike to operate on a global scale as never before. The ramifications of information technology for various facets of IR will be developed in each chapter of this book, with marginal icons showing where additional exercises are available on the book's Web site, www.internationalrelations.com.



IN THE ACTION

The many actors involved in IR contribute to the complexity of competing explanations and theories. One way scholars of IR have sorted out this multiplicity of influences, actors, and processes is to categorize them into different levels of analysis (see Table 1.3). A level of analysis is a perspective on IR based on a set of similar actors or processes that suggests possible explanations to "why" questions. IR scholars have proposed various levels-of-analysis schemes, most often with three main levels (and sometimes a few sublevels between).¹²

The *individual* level of analysis concerns the perceptions, choices, and actions of individual human beings. Great leaders influence the course of history, as do individual citizens, thinkers, soldiers, and voters. Without Lenin, it is said, there might well have been no Soviet Union. If a few more college students had voted for Nixon rather than Kennedy in the razor-close 1960 election, the Cuban Missile Crisis might have ended differently. The study of foreign policy decision making, discussed in Chapter 3, pays special attention to individual-level explanations of IR outcomes because of the importance of psychological factors in the decision-making process.

Nonstate actors participate in IR alongside states, although generally in less central roles. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are becoming increasingly active in IR. The Catholic Church, one of these non-state actors, here distributes the Pope's writings on the needs of poor people in the global economy, 2009.

¹² Singer, J. David. The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations. *World Politics* 14 (1), 1961: 77–92. Walt, Kenneth. *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis*. Rev. ed. Columbia, 2001.

TABLE 1.3 Levels of Analysis

Global Level			
Religious fundamentalism	Terrorism	World environment	Technological change
North-South gap	World regions	European imperialism	UN
Power	Wars	Diplomacy	Citizens' participation (voting, rebelling, going to war, etc.)
Balance of power	Treaties	Summit meetings	
Alliance formation and dissolution	Trade agreements	Bargaining	
	IGOs	Reciprocity	
Individual Level			
Nationalism	Dictatorship	Gender	
Ethnic conflict	Domestic coalitions	Economic sectors and industries	
Type of government	Political parties and elections	Military-industrial complex	
Democracy	Public opinion	Foreign policy bureaucracies	
Great leaders	Psychology of perception and decision		
Crazy leaders	Learning		
Decision making in crises	Assassinations, accidents of history		

The *domestic* (or state or societal) level of analysis concerns the aggregations of individuals within states that influence state actions in the international arena. Such aggregations include interest groups, political organizations, and government agencies. These groups operate differently (with different international effects) in different kinds of societies and states. For instance, democracies and dictatorships may act differently from one another, and democracies may act differently in an election year from the way they act at other times. The politics of ethnic conflict and nationalism, bubbling up from within states, plays an increasingly important role in the relations among states. Within governments, foreign policy agencies often fight bureaucratic battles over policy decisions.

The *interstate* (or international or systemic) level of analysis therefore focuses on of the international system upon outcomes. This level of analysis therefore focuses on the interactions of states themselves, without regard to their internal makeup or the particular individuals who lead them. This level pays attention to states' relative power positions in the international system and the interactions (trade, for example) among them. It has been traditionally the most important of the levels of analysis.

To these three levels can be added a fourth, the *global* level of analysis, which seeks to explain international outcomes in terms of global trends and forces that transcend

the interactions of states themselves.¹³ The evolution of human technology, of certain worldwide beliefs, and of humans' relationship to the natural environment are all processes at the global level that reach down to influence international relations. The global level is also increasingly the focus of IR scholars studying transnational integration through worldwide scientific, technical, and business communities (see Chapter 10). Another pervasive global influence is the lingering effect of historical European imperialism—Europe's conquest of Latin America, Asia, and Africa (see "History of Imperialism, 1500–2000" in Chapter 12).

Levels of analysis offer different sorts of explanations for international events. For example, many possible explanations exist for the 2003 U.S.-led war against Iraq. At the individual level, the war could be attributed to Saddam Hussein's irrational gamble that he could defeat the forces arrayed against him, or to President Bush's desire to remove a leader he personally deemed threatening. At the domestic level, the war could be attributed to the rise of the powerful neoconservative faction that convinced the Bush administration and Americans that Saddam was a threat to U.S. security in a post-September 11 world. At the interstate level, the war might be attributed to the predominance of U.S. power. With no state willing to back Iraq militarily, the United States (as the largest global military power) was free to attack Iraq without fear of a large-scale military response. Finally, at the global level, the war might be attributable to a global fear of terrorism, or even a clash between Islam and the West.

Although IR scholars often focus their study mainly on one level of analysis, other levels bear on a problem simultaneously. There is no single correct level for a given "why" question. Rather, levels of analysis help suggest multiple explanations and approaches to consider in trying to explain an event. They remind scholars and students to look beyond the immediate and superficial aspects of an event to explore the possible influences of more distant causes. Note that the processes at higher levels tend to operate more slowly than those on the lower levels. Individuals go in and out of office often; the structure of the international system changes rarely.

Globalization

Globalization encompasses many trends, including expanded international trade, telecommunications, monetary coordination, multinational corporations, technical and scientific cooperation, cultural exchanges of new types and scales, migration and refugee flows, and relations between the world's rich and poor countries. Although globalization clearly is very important, it is also rather vaguely defined and not well explained by any one theory. One popular conception of globalization is as "the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life...."¹⁴ But at least three conceptions of this process compete.¹⁵



VIDEO
Globalization and the Domino Effect

¹³ North, Robert C. *War, Peace, Survival: Global Politics and Conceptual Synthesis*. Westview, 1990. Dower, Nigel. *An Introduction to Global Citizenship*. Edinburgh, 2003.

¹⁴ Held, David, Anthony McGrew, David Goldblatt, and Jonathan Perraton. *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Stanford, 1999; 2. Held, David, and Anthony McGrew. *Globalization/Anti-Globalization: Beyond the Great Divide*. Polity, 2007.

¹⁵ Friedman, Thomas L. *The World Is Flat*. Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2007. Stiglitz, Joseph E. *Globalization and Its Discontents*. Norton, 2002. Drener, Daniel W. *All Politics Is Global*. Princeton, 2008. Rudra, Nita. *Globalization and the Race to the Bottom in Developing Countries: Who Really Gets Hurt?* Cambridge, 2008. Baldwin, Robert E., and L. Alan Winters. *Challenges to Globalization: Analyzing the Economics*. Chicago, 2004. Kapstein, Ethan B. *Economic Justice in an Unfair World: Toward a Normal Playing Field*. Princeton, 2007. Cusimano, Maryann K. *Beyond Sovereignty: Issues for a Global Agenda*. Palgrave, 1999.

One view sees globalization as the fruition of liberal economic principles. A global marketplace has brought growth and prosperity (not to all countries but to those most integrated with the global market). This economic process has made traditional states obsolete as economic units. States are thus losing authority to supranational institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the European Union (EU), and to transnational actors such as MNCs and NGOs. The values of technocrats and elite, educated citizens in liberal democracies are becoming global values, reflecting an emerging global civilization. The old North-South division is seen as less important, because the global South is moving in divergent directions depending on countries' and regions' integration with world markets.

A second perspective is skeptical of these claims about globalization. These skeptics note that the world's major economies are no more integrated today than before World War I (when British hegemony provided a common set of expectations and institutions). The skeptics also doubt that regional and geographic distinctions such as the North-South divide are disappearing in favor of a single global market. Rather, they see the North-South gap as increasing with globalization. Also, the economic integration of states may be leading not to a single world free trade zone, but to distinct and rival regional blocs in America, Europe, and Asia. The supposed emerging world civilization is disproved by the fragmenting of larger units (such as the Soviet Union) into smaller ones along lines of language, religion, and other such cultural factors.

A third school of thought sees globalization as more profound than the skeptics believe, yet more uncertain than the view of supporters of liberal economics.¹⁶ These "transformationalists" see state sovereignty as being eroded by the EU, the WTO, and other new institutions, so that sovereignty is no longer an absolute but just one of a spectrum of bargaining leverages held by states. The bargaining itself increasingly involves nonstate actors. Thus globalization diffuses authority. State power is not so much strengthened or weakened by globalization, but transformed to operate in new contexts with new tools.

While scholars debate these conceptions of globalization, popular debates focus on the growing power of large corporations operating globally, the disruptive costs associated with joining world markets (for example, job loss and environmental impacts), the perception of growing disparities between the rich and the poor, and the collusion of national governments in these wrongs through their participation in IOs such as the WTO and the IMF.¹⁷ Policies to expand free trade are a central focus of antiglobalization protesters (see pp. 310–312). Street protests have turned host cities into besieged fortresses in Seattle (1999); Washington, D.C. (2000 IMF and World Bank meetings); Quebec (2001 summit working toward a Free Trade Area of the Americas); and Genoa, Italy (2001 G8 summit), where protesters engaged police in battles that killed one person. The key 2001 WTO meeting to launch a new trade round was held in Qatar, where protesters had little access. At the 2003 WTO meeting in Cancun, Mexico, thousands of protesters marched against the talks and the economic elites conducting them, but were kept away from the WTO conference center. At the 2005 Hong Kong WTO meeting, protesters blocked nearby roads and some even tried to swim across Hong Kong harbor to disrupt the meeting.

¹⁶ Rosenau, James N. *Distant Proximities: Dynamics beyond Globalization*. Princeton, 2003.

¹⁷ Broad, Robin. *Citizen Backlash to Economic Globalization*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2002. Milani, Brian. *Designing the Green Economy: The Post-Industrial Alternative to Corporate Globalization*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2000. Drainville, André C. *Contesting Globalization: Space and Place in the World Economy*. Routledge, 2004.

TABLE 1.5 Comparison of World Regions, 2008

Region	Population (Millions)	GDP (Trillion \$)	GDP per Capita (Dollars)
The North			
North America	340	\$15	\$44,000
Europe	530	16	30,100
Japan/Pacific	240	7	29,000
Russia/CIS	280	3	10,700
The South			
China	1,360	8	6,000
Middle East	440	4	9,100
Latin America	570	6	10,500
South Asia	2,120	7	3,300
Africa	820	2	2,400
Total North	1,390 (20%)	41 (60%)	29,500
Total South	5,310 (80%)	27 (40%)	5,100
World Total	6,700	\$68	\$10,100

Note: Data adjusted for purchasing-power parity. 2008 GDP estimates (in 2009 dollars) are from Table 1.5; those for Russia, CIS, and China, should be treated especially cautiously.

The Evolving International System

The basic structures and principles of international relations are deeply rooted in historical developments. Throughout this book we will review the history that bears on topics such as the great power system (Chapter 2), imperialism (Chapter 12), and nationalism (Chapter 5). Here we will review briefly the key events of the 20th century and focus in particular on the post–Cold War era since 1990.

The Two World Wars, 1900–1950

World War I (1914–1918) and World War II (1939–1945) occupied only ten years of the 20th century (see Figure 1.3). But they shaped the character of the century.²⁰ Nothing like those wars has happened since, and they remain a key reference point for the world in which we live today. With perhaps just two other cases in history—the Thirty Years' War and the Napoleonic Wars—the two world wars were global or hegemonic wars in which almost all major states participated in an all-out struggle over the future of the international system.²¹

²⁰ Ferguson, Niall. *The War of the World: Twentieth-Century Conflict and the Descent of the West*. Penguin, 2006.

²¹ Dockrill, Michael. *Atlas of Twentieth Century World History*. HarperCollins, 1991. Ferguson, Niall. *The Pity of War: Explaining World War I*. Basic Books, 1999. Keegan, John, ed. *The Times Atlas of the Second World War*. HarperCollins, 1989. Weinberg, Gerhard L. *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II*. Cambridge, 1994.

FIGURE 1.3 The Two World Wars, 1900–1950

		World War I			World War II		
	mobilization plans developed	Sarajevo	U.S. enters war	Italy invades Ethiopia	Munich Agreement	U.S. enters war	
Europe	Balkan crises						
Germany	naval arms race with Britain	Defeat	Weimar Republic	Hitter wins power	The Holocaust	occupied by Allied forces	D-Day
Russia		hyperinflation	rearmament	occupation of Austria, Czech.	strategic bombing	defeat	occupation of Europe
Asia	Russ-Japanese War	Russian Revolution (civil war)	USSR formed	(industrialization)	pact with Hitler	German invasion	Victory
International Norms & Law	U.S. in Philippines	Japan neutral in WWI	Versailles treaty	Japan occupies Manchuria (China)	Japan invades China	island battles	Occupied by U.S.
Technology	destroyers	trench warfare	League of Nations → Washington Naval Treaty	Pearl Harbor	Pearl Harbor	Hiroshima	Japan occupies S.E. Asia
	1900	chemical weapons	U.S. isolationism	Japan quits League of Nations	Nuremberg Tribunal	United Nations	1940
	1910	tanks			air war	radar	1950
	1920	submarines		mechanized armor	nuclear weapons		

Chapter 1 The Globalization of International Relations

For many people, World War I symbolizes the tragic irrationality of war. It fascinates scholars of IR because it was a catastrophic war that seems unnecessary and perhaps even accidental. After a century of relative peace, the great powers marched off to battle for no good reason. There was even a popular feeling that Europe would be uplifted and reinvigorated by a war—that young men could once again prove their manhood on the battlefield in a glorious adventure. Such ideas were soon crushed by the immense pain and evident pointlessness of the war.

The previous major war had been the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871, when Germany executed a swift offensive using railroads to rush forces to the front. That war had ended quickly, decisively, and with a clear winner (Germany). People expected that a new war would follow the same pattern. All the great powers made plans for a quick railroad-borne offensive and rapid victory—what has been called the cult of the offensive. They believed that the one to strike first would win. Under these doctrines, one country's mobilization for war virtually forced its enemies to mobilize as well. Thus, when a Serbian nationalist assassinated Archduke Ferdinand of Austria in 1914 in Sarajevo, a minor crisis escalated and the mobilization plans pushed Europe to all-out war.²²

Contrary to expectations, the war was neither short nor decisive, and certainly not glorious. It bogged down in trench warfare along a fixed front. For example, in 1917 at the Battle of Passchendaele (Belgium), the British in three months fired five tons of artillery shells per yard of front line, over an 11-mile-wide front, and then lost 400,000 men in a failed ground attack. The horrific conditions were worsened by chemical weapons and by the attempts of Britain and Germany to starve each other's population into surrender.

Russia was the first state to crumble. Revolution at home removed Russia from the war in 1917 (and led to the founding of the Soviet Union). But the entry of the United States into the war on the anti-German side that year quickly turned the tide. In the Treaty of Versailles of 1919, Germany was forced to give up territory, pay reparations, limit its future armaments, and admit guilt for the war. German resentment against the harsh terms of Versailles would contribute to Adolf Hitler's rise to power in the 1930s. After World War I, U.S. president Woodrow Wilson led the effort to create the League of Nations, a forerunner of today's United Nations. But the U.S. Senate would not approve U.S. participation, and the League did not prove effective. U.S. isolationism between the world wars, along with declining British power and a Russia crippled by its own revolution, left a power vacuum in world politics.

In the 1930s, Germany and Japan stepped into that vacuum, embarking on aggressive expansionism that ultimately led to World War II. Japan had already occupied Taiwan and Korea after defeating China in 1895 and Russia in 1905. In World War I, Japan gained some German colonies in Asia. In 1931, Japan occupied Manchuria (northeast China) and set up a puppet regime there. In 1937, Japan invaded the rest of China and began a brutal occupation that continues to haunt Chinese-Japanese relations.

Meanwhile, in Europe in the 1930s, Nazi Germany under Hitler had re-armed, intervened to help fascists win the Spanish Civil War, and grabbed territory from its neighbors under the rationale of reuniting ethnic Germans in those territories with their homeland. Hitler was emboldened by the weak response of the international community and the League of Nations to aggression by fascist regimes in Italy and Spain. In an effort to appease German ambitions, Britain and France agreed in the Munich Agreement of 1938 to let Germany occupy part of Czechoslovakia (known as the Sudetenland).

²² Van Evera, Stephen. The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War. *International Security* 9 (1), 1984: 58–107. Snyder, Jack L. *The Ideology of the Offensive: Military Decision Making and the Disasters of 1914*. Cornell, 1984.

Appeasement has since had a negative connotation in IR, because the Munich Agreement seemed only to encourage Hitler's further conquests.

In 1939, Germany invaded Poland, leading Britain and France to join the war against Germany. Hitler signed a nonaggression pact with his archenemy, Joseph Stalin of the Soviet Union, and threw his full army against France, occupying most of it quickly. Hitler then double-crossed Stalin and invaded the Soviet Union in 1941. This offensive ultimately bogged down and was turned back after several years. But the Soviet Union took the brunt of the German attack and suffered by far the greatest share of the 60 million deaths caused by World War II. This trauma continues to be a powerful memory that shapes views of IR in Russia and Eastern Europe.

The United States joined World War II against Germany in 1942. The U.S. economy produced critically important weapons and supplies for allied armies. The United States played an important role with Britain in the strategic bombing of German cities—including the firebombing of Dresden in February 1945, which caused 100,000 civilian deaths. In 1944, after crossing the English Channel on June 6 (D-Day), British-American forces pushed into Germany from the west while the Soviets pushed from the east. A ruined Germany surrendered and was occupied by the allied powers. At its peak, Nazi Germany and its allies had occupied virtually all of Europe, except Britain and part of Russia.

While the war in Europe was raging, Japan fought a war over control of Southeast Asia with the United States and its allies. Japan's expansionism in the 1930s had only underscored the dependence on foreign resources that the expansionism was intended to solve: the United States punished Japan by cutting off U.S. oil exports. Japan then destroyed much of the U.S. Navy in a surprise attack at Pearl Harbor (Hawaii) in 1941 and seized desired territories (including Indonesia, whose oil replaced that of the United States). The United States, however, built vast new military forces and retook a series of Pacific islands in subsequent years. The strategic bombing of Japanese cities by the United States culminated in the only historical use of nuclear weapons in war—the destruction of the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945—which triggered Japan's quick surrender.

The lessons of the two world wars seem contradictory. From the failure of the Munich Agreement in 1938 to appease Hitler, many people have concluded that only a hard-line foreign policy with preparedness for war will deter aggression and prevent war. Yet in 1914 it was just such hard-line policies that apparently led Europe into a disastrous war, which might have been avoided by more conciliatory policies. Evidently the best policy would be sometimes harsh and at other times conciliatory, but IR scholars have not discovered a simple formula for choosing (see "Causes of War" in Chapter 5).

The Cold War, 1945–1990

The United States and the Soviet Union became the two superpowers of the post–World War II era (see Figure 1.4).²³ Each had its ideological mission (capitalist democracy versus communism), its networks of alliances and clients, and its deadly arsenal of nuclear weapons. Europe was divided, with massive military forces of the United States and its North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) allies on one side and massive forces of the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies on the other. Germany itself was split, with three-quarters of the country—and three-quarters of the capital city of Berlin—occupied by the United States,

²³ Gaddis, John Lewis. *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History*. Oxford, 1997. Zubok, Vladislav, and Constantine Pleshakov. *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War: From Stalin to Khrushchev*. Harvard, 1996. Garthoff, Raymond. *Détente and Confrontation: American-Soviet Relations from Nixon to Reagan*. Brookings, 1985. Larson, Deborah Welch. *Anatomy of Mistrust: U.S.-Soviet Relations During the Cold War*. Cornell, 1997. Trachtenberg, Marc. *A Constructed Peace: The Making of the European Settlement, 1945–1963*. Princeton, 1999.

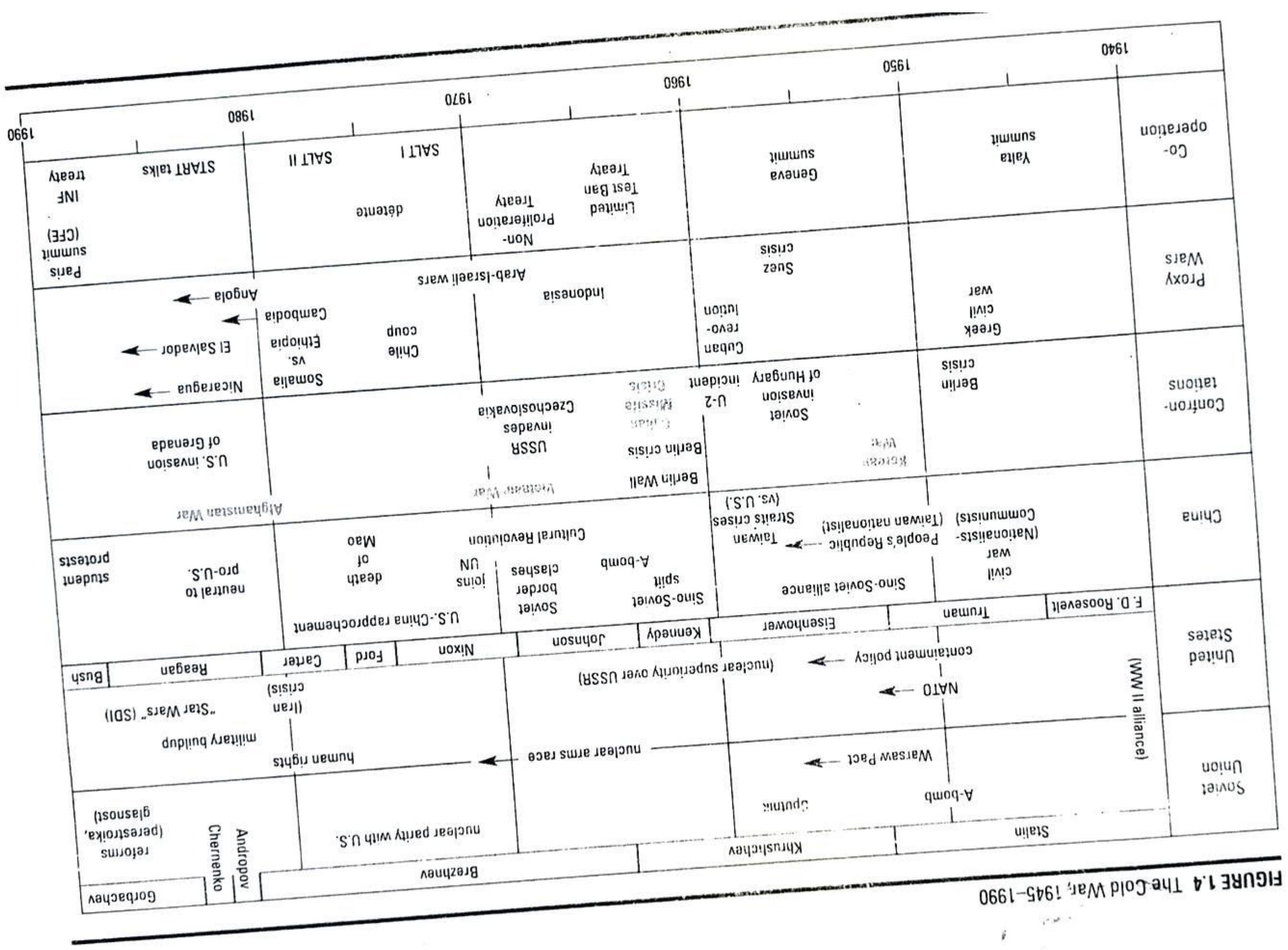


FIGURE 1.4 The Cold War, 1945-1990

The Evolving International System

Britain, and France. The remainder, surrounding West Berlin, was occupied by the Soviet Union. Crises in Berlin in 1947–1948 and 1961 led to armed confrontations but not war. In 1961, East Germany built the Berlin Wall separating East from West Berlin. It symbolized the division of Europe by what Winston Churchill had called the “iron curtain.”

Despite the hostility of East-West relations during the **Cold War**, a relatively stable framework of relations emerged, and conflicts never escalated to all-out war between the largest states. At a U.S.-Soviet-British meeting at Yalta in 1945, when the defeat of Germany was imminent, the Western powers acknowledged the fact of the Soviet army’s presence in Eastern Europe, allowing that area to remain under Soviet influence. Although the Soviet bloc did not join Western economic institutions such as the IMF, all the world’s major states joined the UN. The United Nations (unlike the ill-fated League of Nations) managed to maintain almost universal membership and adherence to basic structures and rules throughout the Cold War era.

The central concern of the West during the Cold War was that the Soviet Union might gain control of Western Europe—either through outright invasion or through communists’ taking power in war-weary and impoverished countries of Western Europe. This could have put the entire industrial base of the Eurasian landmass (from Europe to Siberia) under one state. The Marshall Plan—U.S. financial aid to rebuild European economies—responded to these fears, as did the creation of the NATO alliance. Half of the entire world’s military spending was devoted to the European standoff. Much spending was also devoted to a superpower nuclear arms race, in which each superpower produced tens of thousands of nuclear weapons (see pp. 221–222).

Through the policy of **containment**, adopted in the late 1940s, the United States sought to halt the expansion of Soviet influence globally on several levels at once—military, political, ideological, economic. The United States maintained an extensive network of military bases and alliances worldwide. Virtually all of U.S. foreign policy in subsequent decades, from foreign aid and technology transfer to military intervention and diplomacy, came to serve the goal of containment.

The Chinese communist revolution in 1949 led to a Sino-Soviet alliance (*Sino* means “Chinese”). But China became fiercely independent in the 1960s following the **Sino-Soviet split**, when China opposed Soviet moves toward *peaceful coexistence* with the United States.²⁴ In the late 1960s, young radicals, opposed to both superpowers, ran China during the chaotic and destructive *Cultural Revolution*. But feeling threatened by Soviet power, China’s leaders developed a growing affiliation with the United States during the 1970s, starting with a dramatic visit to China by U.S. president Richard Nixon in 1972. This visit led to U.S.-Chinese diplomatic relations in 1979. During the Cold War, China generally tried to play a balancer role against whichever superpower seemed most threatening at the time.

In 1950, the **Korean War** broke out when communist North Korea attacked and overran most of U.S.-allied South Korea. The United States and its allies (under UN authority obtained after the Soviets walked out of the Security Council in protest) counterattacked and overran most of North Korea. China sent masses of “volunteers” to help North Korea, and the war bogged down near the original border until a 1953 truce ended the fighting. The Korean War hardened U.S. attitudes toward communism and set a negative tone for future East-West relations, especially for U.S.-Chinese relations in the 1950s.

The Cold War thawed temporarily after Stalin died in 1953. The first **summit meeting** between superpower leaders took place in Geneva in 1955. This thaw in relations led both sides to agree to reconstitute Austria, which had been split into four pieces like Germany.

²⁴ Zhang, Shu. *Economic Cold War: America’s Embargo Against China and the Sino-Soviet Alliance, 1949–1963*. Stanford, 2002.

Chapter 1 The Globalization of International Relations

But the Soviet Union sent tanks to crush a popular uprising in Hungary in 1956 (an action it repeated in 1968 in Czechoslovakia), and the Soviet missile program that orbited *Sputnik* in 1957 alarmed the United States. The shooting down of a U.S. spy plane (the U-2) over the Soviet Union in 1960 scuttled a summit meeting between superpower leaders Nikita Khrushchev and Dwight D. Eisenhower. Meanwhile in Cuba, after Fidel Castro's communist revolution in 1959, the United States attempted a counterrevolution in the botched 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion.

These hostilities culminated in the **Cuban Missile Crisis** of 1962, when the Soviet Union installed medium-range nuclear missiles in Cuba. The Soviet aims were to reduce the Soviet Union's strategic nuclear inferiority, to counter the deployment of U.S. missiles on Soviet borders in Turkey, and to deter another U.S. invasion of Cuba. U.S. leaders, however, considered the missiles threatening and provocative. As historical documents revealed years later, nuclear war was quite possible. Some U.S. policy makers favored military strikes before the missiles became operational, when in fact some nuclear weapons in Cuba were already operational and commanders were authorized to use them in the event of a U.S. attack.²⁵ Instead, President John F. Kennedy imposed a naval blockade to force their removal. The Soviet Union backed down on the missiles, and the United States promised not to invade Cuba in the future. Leaders on both sides were shaken, however, by the possibility of nuclear war. They signed the *Limited Test Ban Treaty* in 1963, prohibiting atmospheric nuclear tests, and began to cooperate in cultural exchanges, space exploration, aviation, and other areas.

The two superpowers often jockeyed for position in the global South, supporting **proxy wars** in which they typically supplied and advised opposing factions in civil wars. The alignments were often arbitrary. For instance, the United States backed the Ethiopian government and the Soviets backed next-door rival Somalia in the 1970s; when an Ethiopian revolution caused the new government to seek Soviet help, the United States switched its support to Somalia instead.

One flaw of U.S. policy in the Cold War period was to see all regional conflicts through East-West lenses. Its preoccupation with communism led the United States to support unpopular pro-Western governments in a number of poor countries, nowhere more disastrously than during the *Vietnam War* in the 1960s. The war in Vietnam divided U.S. citizens and ultimately failed to prevent a communist takeover. The fall of South Vietnam in 1975 appeared to signal U.S. weakness, especially combined with U.S. setbacks in the Middle East—the 1973 Arab oil embargo against the United States and the 1979 overthrow of the U.S.-backed shah of Iran by Islamic fundamentalists.

In this period of apparent U.S. weakness, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979. But, like the United States in Vietnam, the Soviet Union could not suppress rebel armies supplied by the opposing superpower. The Soviets ultimately withdrew after almost a decade of war that considerably weakened the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, President Ronald Reagan built up U.S. military forces to record levels and supported rebel armies in the Soviet-allied states of Nicaragua and Angola (and one faction in Cambodia) as well as Afghanistan. Superpower relations slowly improved after Mikhail Gorbachev, a reformer, took power in the Soviet Union in 1985. But some of the battlefields of the global South (notably Afghanistan and Angola) continued to suffer from brutal civil wars (fought with leftover Cold War arms) into the new century.

In retrospect, it seems that both superpowers exaggerated Soviet strength. In the early years of the nuclear arms race, U.S. military superiority was absolute, especially in nuclear weapons. The Soviets managed to match the United States over time, from A-bombs to H-bombs to multiple-warhead missiles. By the 1970s the Soviets had achieved strategic

²⁵ May, Ernest, and Philip Zelikow, eds. *The Kennedy Tapes: Inside the White House during the Cuban Missile Crisis*. Harvard, 1997. Munton, Don, and David A. Welch. *The Cuban Missile Crisis: A Concise History*. Oxford, 2006.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (IR)

DATE:

DUNGBAII.B

80^
91^
130^
(31)
130^
130^
130^

* Represent the study of foreign affairs
and global issues among states, later - international
relations of states, later - diplomatic relations
can be either positive or negative as well as
and academic and public policy field
international corporation (MNCs), it is both
globalization (NGOs), and other multi-
dimensional issues (IGOs), non-governmental
the role of states, later - diplomatic
and global issues among states include
and other multi-national corporations (MNCs),
globalization (NGOs), and other multi-
dimensional issues (IGOs), non-governmental
international corporation (MNCs), it is both
and academic and public policy field
international relations of states, later -
positive or negative as well as
such seek both to analyze as well as
formulate the foreign policy of particular
state. It is often considered a branch
of political science

MEANING OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Palmer and Perkins - Put out, later
national Relations (IR) is related to non-
just politics of international community cen-
tring on diplomacy and relations among
states and other political units, if means
the totality of the relations among people
and groups in the world society;
therefore, the term international relations

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is not only broad but means more than the official political relation between governments on behalf of their states.

* HOFFMAN - Suggested, the discipline of International is concerned with the factors and activities which affect the external politics and the power of the basic unit into which the world is divided. Palmer and Perkins observe that (IR) encompasses much more than the relations among nation-states and International Organizations and groups. It includes a great variety of transitional relationships, at various levels, above and below the level of the nation-state, still the main actor in the International community or system

legal, Political or any other character, whether they be private or official and all human behaviour originating on one side of state boundary and affecting human behaviour on the other side of the boundary.

* JOSHUA S. GOLDSTEIN - Opines that the field of International Relations (IR) primarily "Concerns the relationship among the world's governments". But defining IR in such a way, he argues, may seem simplistic and therefore, to understand International Relations (IR) holistically, the relationship among states is to be understood in relation to the activities of other actors (International Organizations, multinational corporations (MNCs) and individuals). In connection with other social structures (including economic, cultural, domestic politics) and considering historical and geographical influences.

* A standard definition of International Relations has been provided by

193 Sovereign Independent States

DATE: Frederick S. Dunn 1948. He is of the view that International relations may be looked upon as the actual relations that take place across national boundaries, or as the body of knowledge which we have of those relations at any given time. It is considered to be a comprehensive definition because it does not limit the subject to official relations between states and government.

INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

International System Comprises of 193 sovereign independent states of International Community. By International System we mean the states that are interrelated, which is governed by people's ~~and~~ rules and regulations.

Actors in the International System are those who play role in the state, they influence the activities of other actors, ~~of~~ other organization and states.

A State is the main or key actor in the International System, International Org-

DATE: gnisations could be government org. and non-governmental organization e.g. governmental organization United Nations UN, African Union AU, Economic communities of West African States (ECOWAS) European Union EU, Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) International Monetary Fund (IMF).

* Terrorists, individuals etc

International non-governmental organisations the membership is not based on state or government but within the state. e.g. Green Peace, Amnesty International the Roman Catholic church multi-national corporations like Unilever, Green motors Toyota,

Federation of International Football Association FIFA, Refugees are also actors the reason is because they are displaced by a country (state) and they protected. Other categories of actors are the movement they move from one place to another.

The Inter-state International Systems are governed by rules and regulations. These

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Committees laws are made by the committees of the nations.

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different purpose. exchanging of miselles
united State of American president Inter-
acting with Nigeria president or even
other world leaders.

Q What is International Relations (IR)?

Ans International relations is the multiple interaction that take place between nations or state across national boundaries.

International relation consist of all those relations that exist. It could be politically economic, education, when nations come together to pursue certain interest they involve in economic, cultural exchange is

International relations eg playing football, tourism, presidents of various state in a conference interacting on important issues of international affairs or of the global concern.

Inter - relation is complex and diverse and it take place every day. or lets put it this way daily e.g movement of flight from one country to another a plain move from United State of America down to Nigeria, from Britain to China, Ghana, France, Uganda, South Africa, etc to the other side

The International System has become a world global village of communication technology e.g internet, GSM, mass media such as Radio, Television (TV), messaging.

International system is anarchy. The actors are the one that govern the nations.

ECONOMIC - The economic is made of different element or attributes at such like raw materials, mineral resources. example tin, columbium, Tantalite, Gold, petroleum product, e.g Petrol, Gas, Tar, and we have such as limestone. In the Realistic theory human being are bad, greedy, unreliable, wicked X national strategy.

Strategy is a plan of action, or ability to plan

W = Stands for the will national will or

capacity what
Liberal group.

According to Karl Marx - CLASS is a social status or category that define is a relationship to means of wealth

- (1) The people that own economic factors of production
- (2) The people that own the material and then the labour. So In that there is a different level of prestige In that category.

CONTENDING PERSPECTIVE OR THEORY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

it is suppose to help us understand the key element that define Social phenomenon.

These Perspective can be group under the following

- (1) The Realist Perspective
- (2) The Idealist | liberal | perspective
- 3 Political, Economic, Marxist Perspective

REALIST (REALISM)

Realist

The most Significant perspective In International Relations (I.R). The first

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Critical perspective to this is a STATE CENTRIC - Here it is believes that the state is very significant in understanding International Relations. The states has the same element or attributes in nature, state-hoods.

- POWER - The concept of capacity to make others do what they don't want to do and to influence them in any way here, it is assumed that human being are terrible, it is the key element in International Relations. it derived International relation.

- LAND is the most critical elements of the power of the state - the power here is sometimes determine by the population, quality of the land and others characteristic of the land like the natural resources.

- POPULATION is a plus and other source of power in International relations.

- THE ECONOMY the capacity to take advantage of natural environment to make use of the resources to affects the people

life positively.

X - MILITARY PREPAREDNESS (POWER) this power enable a state stand ~~full~~ in the International System (Community). It enables a state also defend its resources and the people in it.

NATIONAL STRATEGY - it is a plan of action on the ability to stand on a given set of plan to achieve a strategy all critical components needed will have to be in the hand of the state.

WILL: In the national strategy capacity to carry out a strategy, the ability to stick to a strategy to bring about achievement.

Power in the International relations:

Realist Theory on perceived power of the state, "critical mass land"

$(C + E + M) \times (S + W)$ Critical Mass Land + Economy + military power the capacity to make use of power or capability + Strategy + Will - allows nations get what they want.

* SECURITY - The realist perspective

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is associated with security.

* RATIONALITY OF STATE

X A country can't pursue a policy of which it has ^{no} power to implement.

LIBERAL, IDEALIST PERSPECTIVE

it is believed here that human beings are generally nice and that if anybody is bad, as a result of Social up bringing that means, is the environment that nature and blends people in the society.

it is also believed that progress can be achieved through collectiveness.

ELEMENTS

- MODERNISATION - To be modernised it is believed that every society must pass through the following stages

1. Traditional Stage

2. Take off Stage

3. Mass Consumption Stage.

POLITICAL | ECONOMY | MAXIST PERSPECTIVE

According to Karl Marx - class is a

Social category which is defined by relationship to means of production / wealth Karl Marx looked at the state in the International System, under two (2) category.

These are the developed and underdeveloped nations. Another perspective which broke out from the Karl Marx perspective is the dependency perspective. It says that the behaviour of many countries is dependent on another country.

LEVEL OF ANALYSIS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (STAGES)

There are three levels of analysis

① Global International or System level

② State level analysis

③ Individual level of analysis

* In the International we consider economic determine whatever you are doing

1. Global level System. looks at discussion from what we called TOP DOWN approach that analysis ~~globally~~ it is the world view approach that analyse the global politics this level theorizes that the world Socio-economy, political structure, and patterns of

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Interaction strongly (vehemently) influence the policies of states and other international actors.

Therefore understanding the structure and pattern of the International System. Structure will lead to understanding how International politics operates.

The pattern of international relationship in the global level is affected by these variables of interaction

1. POLITICAL

2. ECONOMIC

3. SOCIAL SCIENCE ISSUES

(Features of global)

① Organisation of Authority. — Here authority has to do with the legitimate use of power. that is the power that is coming from the constitution of the society or country state. Government at this point will try to look at decision making and enforcement that regards political economic that have impact on the task ahead. this organisation can take a top down vertical approach which have a central authority that are responsible for

making, enforcement, adjudicating, (settling) roles of or that restrain (check) subordinate Vertical In understanding this we have to look at the central authority issues. International System does not have central authority mechanism that make law or enforcing rules to other actors in the International System. NO Standing Army, Police In International System but a League of military org other system have horizontal power structure i.e. the power is not stable because of the lack of central authority in the International System. There is no central Army, Police, curtail such outbreak that is why we say authority is horizontal or fragmented among states. It is based on Sovereignty of the state. are not answerable any higher authority. as such the International System is anarchical in nature i.e. no enforceable law in the International System. the global system has no single authority to settle disputes and provide RWS.

REASON IS WHY STATE HAVE IN THE International System. A state is the key

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and important. In the International system 1. State in the International System dependent on themselves for their protection mechanism. In the event if the state is threaten given this self-help system, i.e. helping yourself for protection, each state feels complete to be armed however there are recent horizontal changes on global system - on declining state Sovereignty where powerful state are subjected to increasing numbers of authoritative rules by Inter-governmental organisation and International law. example the trial of globalem miliese.

FEATURES OF GLOBAL ANALYSIS

STATE

1. ACTORS - State are the key and also important actor in the International System. The reason is this, because they shape the level of interaction, among various states and influence the activities of other actors in the International System. Such as multinational corporation (MNCs) UN, NATO, AU

DATE: 23/2/20
 OPEC, IMF, and EU etc.,
 2. INTERNATIONAL ACTORS - Inter-governmental organisation example the United Nation UN, it has a central mechanism they are the actors with one order e.g. World Health Organisation, they don't need all the diplomatic processes, when there is outbreak of any disease or condition such as malaria, (AIDS/HIV) cholera, Hepatitis etc and also some of the inter-governmental organisations are actors like Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), United Nations UN, European Union (EU), African Union (AU), North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) (IGO) - Organisation whose members are national governments.
 GATT (General Agreement of Trade Tariff agreement that countries enter where nations will set agreement based on bi-lateral or multi-lateral, Human Right Watch, Amnesty International.

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 3. SCOPE & LEVEL OF INTERACTION
 - It is the scope and territorial boundaries which the interaction can operate e.g. ECONOMICALLY - Nigeria had a trade with other countries like China, Europe, France, Ghana, Kenya, Uganda, South Africa, etc.
 The state or actor does not interact verbally but economically they try to interact among nation state so as to have comparative advantage over other state.
 * POLITICS - By sending of ambassadors to govern foreign affairs.
 * SOCIO-CULTURAL - Countries sending their cultural product to be displayed in such we called them artifact in other countries so as for them to know about each other's culture.
 * TECHNOLOGY - Country bringing a new technology to another country e.g. Julius Berger Construction Company from Germany to Nigeria.
 * POWER IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM
 There are a lot of power in the world

"INP. (Syllabus.)"

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C that exist in the International System.

1) POPULATION

2) Unipolar, by Britain, they influence a lot of power in the International System

2) TERRITORIAL

3) GOVERNMENT

4) SOVEREIGNTY

N (2) Bipolar System. it involves two state

W e.g. Britain and United States of America & what is International politics?

U.S.A) MAD Mutual assured destruction is politics in the International System

G they enter into agreement by MATS using

D MAD - 1963 (Moscow and Washington Politics - By DAVID EASTON → the allocation of power in the society how

S D C they both have the capacity of destruction of value power in the society how

H each other. various organs and agencies function

G There was Ideology among them. and operate on how the government spend

O (3) Multi-Polar Power - In this System a lot of income and wealth in the International

O of powerful nations comes together such International System, International Community

U United States of America (U.S.A) Nigeria, affairs and that concern Global issues.

A Japan, Britain, China, Germany, etc

I Balance of power is the interaction among NATURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

ANALYSIS International can also be described as anarchism

them. and brought about co-operation what today is seen or described as well

ANALYSIS International can also be described as anarchism

G THE STATE LEVEL OF INTERNATIONAL System lawlessness, barbaric society

State is the principal actors in the International System. the International System in principle

W system. for a state to be called a regards other.

ma State it must possess all the feature of the International System lack power of enforcement - the International is close

the The the Elements of Statehood. The affairs describe by Thomas Hobbes

of State centric means the same features the

MASSIVE brutal International Policies Representing policies in the International System

H.D LASHEL "who get what and how"

trinity of political goals for him be it in International system level, church, mosques.

sectors get involve into policies for three (3) good reason. Is

- ① Defence for protection of their style and Security.
- ② Difference respect they get involve the
- politics to gain their respect in the International System. for recognition e.g Nigeria is requesting for veto power holding state in the United Nation security council to gain respect from 54 the continent of Africa Comprise of 54 sovereign independent State and the world In general.
- 3 Evidence to enhance their resources to earn more money for the development of their State

METHODS OF STUDYING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

* There are several method of studies & statement one

Statement the evolution of this various method shouldn't distract us from the emerge in no particularly sequential order.

In statement two (2), this method can either be apply by individual or in combination. This method include historical and philosophical method, Scientific method behavioural method, decision making method, theoretical method etc

Theory = is a set of ideas or body of knowledge that help in clear (lucid) use to explanation of a social phenomenon among phenomena exist or development

Theories in the International relations (IR) is a body of knowledge that is use, help for explaining International relations Phenomenon or events e.g Federation International football association (FIFA) World Cup.

CONFLICT, PEACE & DEVELOPMENT

Peace means \Rightarrow Silence or violence.

We should be thinking of \Rightarrow the times

of development

* The relationship between peace conflict and development.

Conflict

* Conflict Society can move towards conflict and development.

* Conflict in society is undertaken by people

* Africa is undergoing conflict in the continent.

* It is clear India's independence was this because of the conflict in our country.

In Africa : Impression of our country Nigeria

- In 50 years \Rightarrow independence of the African nations

* A world is in tension policies in the world no thought of policies in the

legislatures, like public opinion, rally around the flag during times of international crises. For example, three days after the September 11, 2001, attacks, the U.S. Congress voted to give President Bush full authority to prosecute a war in Afghanistan. In October 2002, Congress passed a resolution authorizing the use of force in Iraq. Thus, legislatures rarely if ever challenge an executive on important military matters.

Others point to a different dynamic in which legislatures do stand up to executive power regarding military force. For example, because legislatures hold the "purse strings" (the ability to approve or reject new spending), they have the ability to stop a war in its tracks. In the United States, the War Powers Act, enacted during the close of the Vietnam War, requires the president to notify Congress when U.S. troops are deployed for combat. After this notification, the president has 60 days (plus a possible 30-day extension) to recall the troops unless Congress explicitly approves the military action. Finally, some evidence from the United States suggests that presidents are more likely to use military force when their own political party is in power in Congress, suggesting that politics does not stop "at the water's edge."³¹

In parliamentary systems, such as Great Britain, executives (for example, prime ministers) are chosen by the political parties that hold a dominant position in the legislative bodies. Often parliamentary executives do not need to submit treaties or policies for formal approval by the legislature. Yet legislatures in parliamentary systems still hold power regarding foreign policy. In Great Britain, for example, Parliament is not required to vote on international agreements negotiated by the prime minister, but it must approve any change to British laws that such agreements entail. Because most international agreements involve these types of changes, Parliament effectively exercises a right of ratification over international agreements.

In many parliamentary systems, if a policy is particularly controversial, parties that do not have a majority in the legislature can attempt to call elections—meaning that the country votes again on which parties will hold seats in the legislature. If a different group of parties wins a majority of seats, a new executive is appointed. Thus, in parliamentary systems, legislatures play a key role in designing and implementing foreign policy.

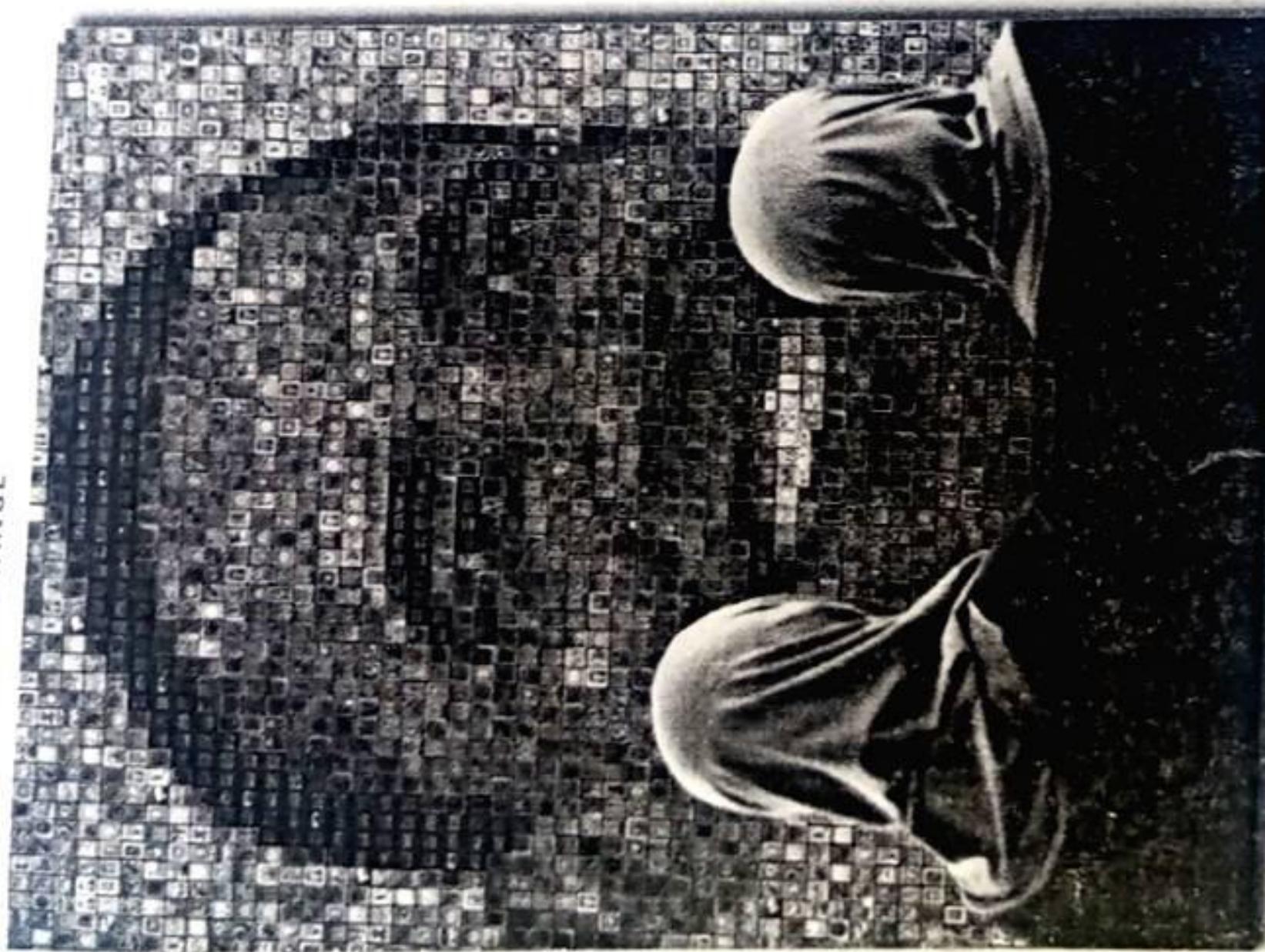
Making Foreign Policy

Foreign policies are the strategies governments use to guide their actions in the international arena. Foreign policies spell out the objectives state leaders have decided to pursue in a given relationship or situation. But in general, IR scholars are less interested in specific policies than in the **foreign policy process**—how policies are arrived at and implemented.³² States establish various organizational structures and functional relationships to create and carry out foreign policies. Officials and agencies collect information about a situation through various channels; they write memoranda outlining possible options for action; they hold meetings to discuss the matter; some of them meet privately outside these meetings to decide how to steer the meetings. IR scholars are especially interested in exploring whether certain kinds of policy processes lead to certain kinds of decisions—whether certain processes produce better outcomes (for the state's self-defined interests) than do others.

³¹ Howell, Will, and Jon C. Pevehouse. *Whale Dangers Under Congressional Checks on Presidential War Powers*. Princeton, 2007. Gowal, Joanne. Politics at the Water's Edge: Parties, Voters and the Use of Force Abroad. *International Organization* 52 (2), 1998: 307–24. Fordham, Benjamin. Partisanship, Macroeconomic Policy, and the U.S. Uses of Force, 1949–1994. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42 (4), 1998: 418–39.

³² Neack, Laura. *The New Foreign Policy: U.S. and Comparative Foreign Policy in the 21st Century*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2003. Snow, Donald M. *United States Foreign Policy: Politics Beyond the Water's Edge*. Longman, 2003.

FACE OF CHANGE



Foreign policy outcomes result from processes at several levels of analysis, including the role of individual leaders. The election of a new U.S. president created expectations around the world for changes in U.S. foreign policy in 2009. Here, Muslim women in Indonesia check out a mosaic made from postage stamps at an international stamp exhibition, 2008.

Comparative foreign policy is the study of foreign policy in various states in order to discover whether similar types of societies or governments consistently have similar types of foreign policies (comparing across states or across different time periods for a single state). Such studies have focused on three characteristics: size, wealth, and extent of democratic participation in government.³³ Unfortunately, no simple rule has been found to predict a state's warlike tendencies based on these attributes. States vary greatly among each other and even within a single state over time. For example, both capitalist and communist states have proven capable of naked aggression or peaceful behavior, depending on circumstances.

Some political scientists have tried to interpret particular states' foreign policies in terms of each one's political culture and history. For example, the Soviet Union (Russia) experienced repeated, devastating land invasions over the centuries (culminating in World War II) while the United States experienced two centuries of safety behind great oceans. Thus the military might of the Soviet Union, and its control of buffer states in Eastern Europe, seemed defensive in nature to Soviet leaders but appeared aggressive to U.S. leaders.

Foreign policy outcomes result from multiple forces at various levels of analysis. The outcomes depend on individual decision makers, on the type of society and government they are working within, and on the international and global context of their actions. The study of foreign policy processes runs counter to realism's assumption of a unitary state actor. Because the study of foreign policy concentrates on forces within the state, its main emphasis is on the individual and domestic levels of analysis.

The differences in the foreign policy process from one state to another are also influenced by a state's type of government, such as military dictatorship, communist party rule, one-party (noncommunist) rule, and various forms of multiparty democracy. Relatively democratic states tend to share values and interests, and hence to get along better with each other than with nondemocracies (see "The Democratic Peace," pp. 92–93). In practice, most states lie along a spectrum with some mix of democratic and authoritarian elements.

The attempt to explain foreign policy in a general and theoretical way has met only limited success. This is one reason why realists continue to find simple unitary-actor models of the state useful; the domestic and individual elements of the foreign policy process add much complexity and unpredictability. One area of foreign policy in which knowledge stands on a somewhat firmer basis is the descriptive effort to understand how particular

³³ Hook, Steven W. *Comparative Foreign Policy*. Prentice Hall, 2002. Beasley, Ryan K., et al., eds. *Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective: Domestic and International Influences on State Behavior*. CQ Press, 2002.

mechanisms of foreign policy formation operate in various states. Such approaches belong to the field of comparative politics.

Models of Decision Making

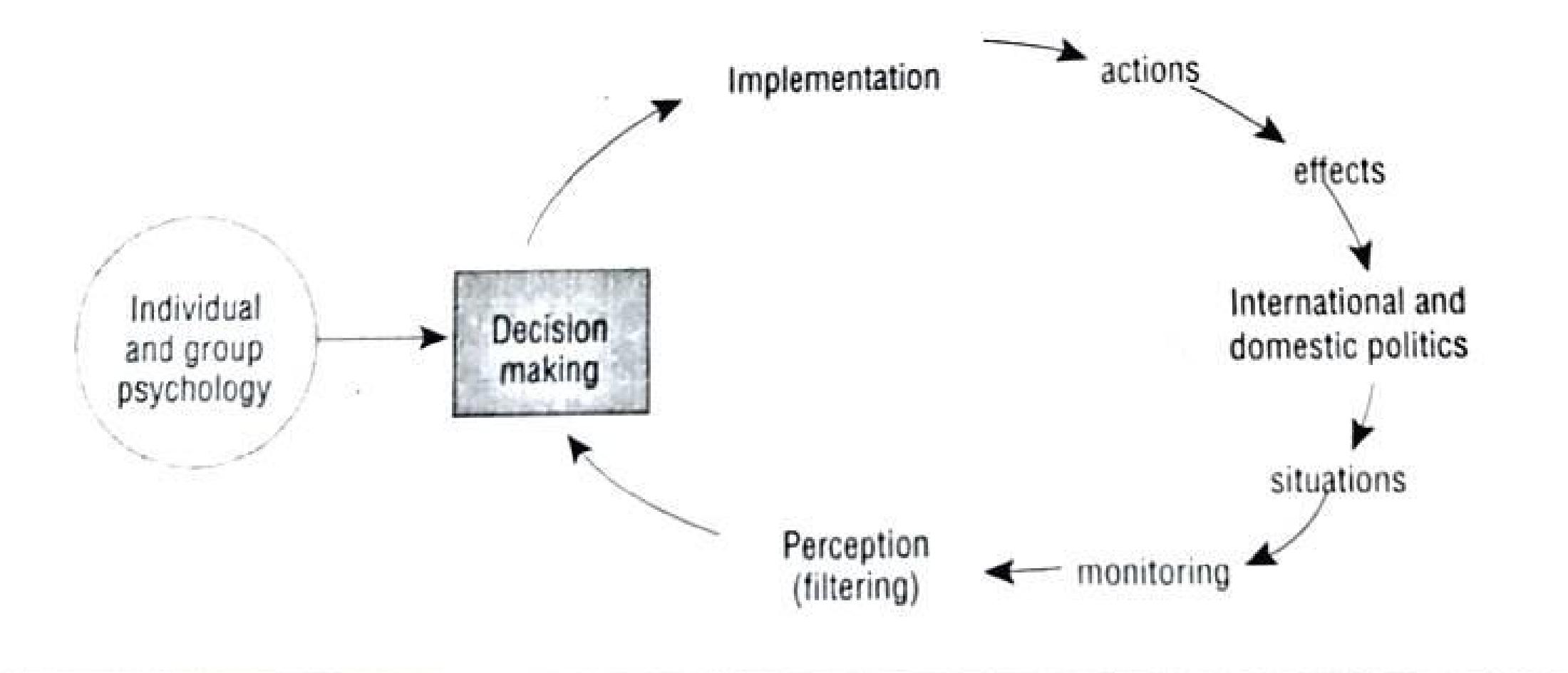
The foreign policy process is a process of *decision making*. States take actions because people in governments—*decision makers*—choose those actions.³⁴ Decision making is a steering process in which adjustments are made as a result of feedback from the outside world. Decisions are carried out by actions taken to change the world, and then information from the world is monitored to evaluate the effects of these actions. These evaluations—along with information about other, independent changes in the environment—go into the next round of decisions (see Figure 3.5).

A common starting point for studying the decision-making process is the **rational model**.³⁵ In this model, decision makers set goals, evaluate their relative importance, calculate the costs and benefits of each possible course of action, then choose the one with the highest benefits and lowest costs (see Figure 3.6).

The choice may be complicated by uncertainty about the costs and benefits of various actions. In such cases, decision makers must attach probabilities to each possible outcome of an action. For example, will pressuring a rival state to give ground in peace talks work or backfire? Some decision makers are relatively *accepting of risk*, whereas others are *averse to risk*. These factors affect the importance that decision makers place on various alternative outcomes that could result from an action.

The goals of different individuals involved in making a decision may diverge, as may the goals of different state agencies. For example, the U.S. secretary of state may have a

FIGURE 3.5 Decision Making as Steering



³⁴ Stein, Janice Gross. Psychological Explanations of International Conflict. In Carlsnaes, Walter, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons, eds. *Handbook of International Relations*. Sage, 2002, pp. 292–308. Snyder, Richard C., H. W. Bruck, and Burton Sapir. *Foreign Policy Decision Making (Revisited)*. Palgrave, 2002.

³⁵ The rational model, along with the organizational process and bureaucratic politics models discussed later, derives from Graham Allison; see Allison, Graham T., and Philip Zelikow. *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. 2nd ed. Longman, 1999. Bernstein, Barton J. Understanding Decisionmaking, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Cuban Missile Crisis. *International Security* 25 (1), 2000: 134–64.

Organization (ILO). UNESCO—the UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization—facilitates international communication and scientific collaboration. The UN Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) promotes industrialization in the global South.

The longest-established IOs, with some of the most successful records, are specialized agencies dealing with technical aspects of international coordination such as aviation and postal exchange. For instance, the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) allocates radio frequencies. The Universal Postal Union (UPU) sets standards for international mail. The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) sets binding standards for international air traffic. The International Maritime Organization (IMO) facilitates international cooperation on shipping at sea. The World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) seeks world compliance with copyrights and patents and promotes development and technology transfer within a legal framework that protects such intellectual property (see pp. 303–304). Finally, the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) oversees a world weather watch and promotes the exchange of weather information.

The major coordinating agencies of the world economy (discussed in Chapters 8, 9, and 13) are also UN-affiliated agencies. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) give loans, grants, and technical assistance for economic development (and the IMF manages international balance-of-payments accounting). The World Trade Organization (WTO) sets rules for international trade.

Overall, the density of connections across national borders, both in the UN system and through other IOs, is increasing year by year. In a less tangible way, people are also becoming connected across international borders through the meshing of ideas, including norms and rules. And gradually the rules are becoming international laws.

International Law

International law, unlike national laws, derives not from actions of a legislative branch or other central authority, but from tradition and agreements signed by states. It also differs in the difficulty of enforcement, which depends not on the power and authority of central government but on reciprocity, collective action, and international norms.¹³

Sources of International Law

Laws within states come from central authorities—legislatures or dictators. Because states are sovereign and recognize no central authority, international law rests on a different basis. The declarations of the UN General Assembly are not laws, and most do not bind the members. The Security Council can compel certain actions by states, but these are commands rather than laws: they are specific to a situation. No body of international law has been passed by a national legislative body. Four sources of international law are recognized: treaties, custom, general principles of law (such as equity), and legal scholarship (including past judicial decisions).

¹³ Shaw, Malcolm N. *International Law*. 5th ed. Cambridge, 2003. Joyner, Christopher C. *International Law in the 21st Century: Rules for Global Governance*. Rowman, 2005. Franck, Thomas M. *Fairness in International Law and Institutions*. Oxford, 1995. Ku, Charlotte, and Paul F. Diehl. *International Law: Classic and Contemporary Readings*. 3rd ed. Rienner, 2008. Goldsmith, Jack L., and Eric A. Posner. *The Limits of International Law*. Oxford, 2006.

treaties, customs,
general principles of law
legal scholarship

① Treaties and other written conventions signed by states are the most important source.¹⁴ International treaties now fill more than a thousand thick volumes, with tens of thousands of individual agreements. A principle in international law states that treaties, once signed and ratified, must be observed (*pacta sunt servanda*). States violate the terms of treaties they have signed only if the matter is very important or the penalties for such a violation seem very small. In the United States, treaties duly ratified by the Senate are considered the highest law of the land, equal with acts passed by Congress.

Treaties and other international obligations such as debts are binding on successor governments whether the new government takes power through an election, a coup, or a revolution. After the revolutions in Eastern Europe around 1990, newly democratic governments were held responsible for debts incurred by their communist predecessors. Even when the Soviet Union broke up, Russia as the successor state had to guarantee that Soviet debts would be paid and Soviet treaties honored. Although revolution does not free a state from its obligations, some treaties have built-in escape clauses that let states legally withdraw from them, after giving due notice, without violating international law. The United States in 2001 invoked the six-month opt-out provision of the ABM treaty.

Because of the universal commitment by all states to respect certain basic principles of international law, the UN Charter is one of the world's most important treaties. Its implications are broad and far-reaching, in contrast to more specific treaties such as a fishery management agreement. However, the specialized agreements are usually easier to interpret and more enforceable than broad treaties such as the Charter. Another key treaty in international law is the 1949 Geneva Conventions (expanding an 1864 convention) defining the laws of war regarding the protection of civilians and prisoners, among related issues.

② Custom is the second major source of international law. If states behave toward each other in a certain way for long enough, their behavior may become generally accepted practice with the status of law. Western international law (though not Islamic law) tends to be positivist in this regard—it draws on actual customs, the practical realities of self-interest, and the need for consent rather than on an abstract concept of divine or natural law.

③ General principles of law also serve as a source of international law. Actions such as theft and assault recognized in most national legal systems as crimes tend to have the same meaning in an international context. Iraq's invasion of Kuwait was illegal under treaties signed by Iraq (including the UN Charter and that of the Arab League) and under the custom Iraq and Kuwait had established of living in peace as sovereign states. Beyond treaty or custom, the invasion violated international law because of the general principle that one state may not overrun its neighbor's territory and annex it by force. (Of course, a state may still think it can get away with such a violation of international law.)

④ The fourth source of international law, recognized by the World Court as subsidiary to the others, is legal scholarship—the written arguments of judges and lawyers around the world on the issues in question. Only the writings of the most highly qualified and respected legal figures can be taken into account, and then only to resolve points not resolved by the first three sources of international law.

Often international law lags behind changes in norms; law is quite tradition-bound. Certain activities such as espionage are technically illegal but are so widely condoned that they cannot be said to violate international norms. Other activities are still legal but have come to be frowned upon and seen as abnormal. For example, China's shooting of student demonstrators in 1989 violated international norms but not international law.

¹⁴ Gardiner, Richard. *Treaty Interpretation*. Oxford, 2008. Aust, Anthony. *Modern Treaty Law and Practice*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, 2007.

Non states actors:

The national ~~actors~~ ^{govt} may be the most important actors in IR but they are strongly influenced by international organisations when they go across borders, they are known as transnational actors. These non-state actors include:

- a) IGOs - Intergovernmental organisations ~~are controlled by~~ among the National governments. These include ~~not~~ Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), World Trade Organisation (WTO), North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and African Union (AU).

b) NGOs - Non-governmental organisations whose members are individuals and groups. They include ~~Red Cross~~, Red Cross, Amnesty International, Lions Club, etc. Human rights watch etc.

c) Multi-National Companies (MNCs): these are companies that span ~~borders~~ borders and include ExxonMobil, Toyota, Wal-Mart

d) Others include individuals, like such as ~~terrorist~~ terrorist operates groups like al Qaeda suicide bombers, this which ~~sells~~ ~~an~~ International trade division.

All these actors interacts and shape the International system. (whose members are the national govt)