

Contents

<i>List of Illustrative Material</i>	xiv	Rise of the West	27
<i>Preface to the Second Edition</i>	xix	Age of imperialism	28
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xxii	THE 'SHORT' TWENTIETH CENTURY: 1914–90	29
1 Introducing Global Politics	1	Origins of World War I	29
FROM 'THE INTERNATIONAL' TO 'THE GLOBAL'?	2	Road to World War II	32
From state-centrism to the mixed-actor model?	3	End of Empires	36
From independence to interdependence?	4	Rise and fall of the Cold War	38
From the domestic/international divide to transnationalism?	6	THE WORLD SINCE 1990	44
From international anarchy to global governance?	7	A 'new world order'?	44
GLOBALIZATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS	8	9/11 and the 'war on terror'	45
Explaining globalization	8	Shifting balances within the global economy	51
Globalization: myth or reality?	9	3 Theories of Global Politics	54
LENSES ON GLOBAL POLITICS	13	WHAT IS THEORY?	55
Mainstream perspectives	13	REALISM	56
Critical perspectives	15	State egoism and conflict	57
CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN GLOBAL POLITICS	16	Statecraft and the national interest	60
Power	17	Anarchy and its implications	61
Security	18	Polarity, stability and the balance of power	63
Justice	19	Assessing realism	64
USING THIS BOOK	21	LIBERALISM	65
2 Historical Context	25	Interdependence liberalism	66
MAKING OF THE MODERN WORLD	26	Republican liberalism	67
From ancient to modern	26	Liberal institutionalism	68
		Assessing liberalism	70
		CRITICAL APPROACHES	71
		Marxism, neo-Marxism and critical theory	71
		Constructivism	75
		Poststructuralism	77
		Feminism	78

Green politics	79	New technology and 'information society'	142
Postcolonialism	80	Risk, uncertainty and insecurity	145
THINKING GLOBALLY	80	GLOBALIZATION, CONSUMERISM AND THE INDIVIDUAL	149
Challenge of interconnectedness	80	Social and cultural implications of globalization	149
Cosmopolitanism	83	Consumerism goes global	150
4 The Economy in a Global Age	86	Rise of individualism	00
CAPITALISM AND NEOLIBERALISM	87	GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY	154
Capitalisms of the world	87	Explaining global civil society	154
Triumph of neoliberalism	93	Transnational social movements and NGOs	156
Implications of neoliberalism	95	Globalization from below?	159
ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION	97	7 The Nation in a Global Age	161
Causes of economic globalization	97	NATIONALISM AND WORLD POLITICS	162
How globalized is economic life?	100	Making sense of nationalism	162
GLOBAL CAPITALISM IN CRISIS	104	A world of nation-states	165
Explaining booms and slumps	104	Nationalism, war and conflict	169
Lessons of the Great Crash	106	NATIONS IN AN AGE OF MIGRATION	171
Modern crises and 'contagions'	107	A world on the move	172
The 2007–09 global financial crisis and its implications	108	Transnational communities and diasporas	174
5 The State and Foreign Policy in a Global Age	115	Economic impact of migration	176
STATES AND STATEHOOD IN FLUX	116	NATIONALISM REVIVED	179
States and sovereignty	116	National self-assertion in the post-Cold War period	179
The state and globalization	118	Rise of cultural and ethnic nationalism	180
State transformation	122	Anti-globalization nationalism	182
Return of the state	126	8 Identity, Culture and Challenges to the West	185
NATIONAL GOVERNMENT TO MULTI-LEVEL GOVERNANCE	129	RISE OF IDENTITY POLITICS	186
From government to governance	129	Westernization as modernization	186
Multi-level governance	131	Politics of collective identity	187
FOREIGN POLICY	133	Multiculturalism and hybridity	191
End of foreign policy?	133	Is cultural conflict inevitable?	193
How decisions are made	134	RELIGIOUS REVIVALISM	195
6 Society in a Global Age	140	Religion and politics	195
SOCIAL CONNECTEDNESS: THICK TO THIN?	141	The fundamentalist upsurge	198
From industrialization to post-industrialism	141		

CHALLENGES TO THE WEST	199	Proliferation during the Cold War	272
Postcolonialism	200	Proliferation in the post-Cold War era	273
Asian values	201	NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT	279
Islam and the West	202	Arms control and anti-proliferation strategies	279
9 Power and Twenty-First- Century World Order	216	A world free of nuclear weapons?	284
POWER AND GLOBAL POLITICS	217	12 Terrorism	289
Power as capability	217	UNDERSTANDING TERRORISM	290
Relational power and structural power	218	Defining terrorism	290
Changing nature of power	220	Rise of 'new' terrorism?	292
POST-COLD WAR GLOBAL ORDER	233	SIGNIFICANCE OF TERRORISM	296
End of Cold War bipolarity	233	Terrorism goes global	296
The 'new world order' and its fate	224	Catastrophic terrorism	298
US HEGEMONY AND GLOBAL ORDER	227	COUNTERING TERRORISM	302
Rise to hegemony	227	Strengthening state security	302
The 'war on terror' and beyond	229	Military repression	304
Benevolent or malign hegemony?	233	Political deals	306
A MULTIPOLAR GLOBAL ORDER?	235	13 Human Rights and Humanitarian Intervention	310
Rise of multipolarity	235	HUMAN RIGHTS	311
Multipolar order or disorder?	240	Defining human rights	311
10 War and Peace	246	Protecting human rights	316
NATURE OF WAR	247	Challenging human rights	323
Types of war	247	HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION	325
Why do wars occur?	248	Rise of humanitarian intervention	325
War as a continuation of politics	250	Conditions for humanitarian intervention	330
CHANGING FACE OF WAR	252	Does humanitarian intervention work?	334
From 'old' wars to 'new' wars?	252	14 International Law	338
'Postmodern' warfare	258	NATURE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW	339
JUSTIFYING WAR	262	What is law?	339
Realpolitik	262	Sources of international law	341
Just war theory	263	Why is international law obeyed?	343
Pacifism	267	INTERNATIONAL LAW IN FLUX	345
11 Nuclear Proliferation and Disarmament	270	From international law to world law?	345
NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION	271	Developments in the laws of war	350
Nature of nuclear weapons	271	International tribunals and the International Criminal Court	352

15 Poverty and Development	359	18 International Organization and the United Nations	439
UNDERSTANDING POVERTY AND DEVELOPMENT	360	INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION	440
Defining and measuring poverty	360	Rise of international organization	440
Development: competing visions	362	Why are international organizations created	441
A MORE UNEQUAL WORLD?	367	THE UNITED NATIONS	442
Making sense of global inequality	367	From the League to the UN	442
Contours of global inequality	370	Promoting peace and security	447
Globalization, poverty and inequality	372	Does UN peacekeeping work?	452
Does global inequality matter?	375	Promoting economic and social development	453
DEVELOPMENT AND THE POLITICS OF AID	376	Future of the UN: challenges and reform	455
Structural adjustment programmes and beyond	376		
International aid and the development ethic	381	19 Global Governance and the Bretton Woods System	461
Debt relief and fair trade	386	GLOBAL GOVERNANCE?	462
		What global governance is, and is not	462
16 Global Environmental Issues	390	Global governance: myth or reality?	466
THE RISE OF GREEN POLITICS	391	GLOBAL ECONOMIC GOVERNANCE: THE EVOLUTION OF THE BRETTON WOODS SYSTEM	466
The environment as a global issue	391	Making of the Bretton Woods system	467
Green politics: reformism or radicalism?	393	Fate of the Bretton Woods system	471
CLIMATE CHANGE	398	EVALUATING GLOBAL ECONOMIC GOVERNANCE	472
Causes of climate change	399	The International Monetary Fund	472
Consequences of climate change	402	The World Bank	474
How should climate change be tackled?	406	The World Trade Organization	476
Why is international cooperation so difficult to achieve?	410	REFORMING THE BRETTON WOODS SYSTEM	479
RESOURCE SECURITY	414	Global economic governance and the 2007–09 crisis	479
Resources, power and prosperity	415	Obstacles to reform	484
17 Gender in Global Politics	419		
FEMINISM, GENDER AND GLOBAL POLITICS	420	20 Regionalism and Global Politics	487
Varieties of feminism	420	REGIONS AND REGIONALISM	488
'Gender lenses' on global politics	423	Nature of regionalism	488
GENDERING GLOBAL POLITICS	425	Why regionalism?	491
Gendered states and gendered nations	425	Regionalism and globalization	494
Gendering security, war and armed conflict	429	Regional integration outside Europe	496
Gender, globalization and development	433		

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION	501	22 Images of the Global Future	533
What is the EU?	502	IMAGES AND REALITY	534
The EU and the world	506	CONTENDING IMAGES OF THE	
The EU in crisis?	508	GLOBAL FUTURE	535
		A borderless world?	535
21 Why Theory Matters	514	A world of democracies?	538
		Civilizations in conflict?	539
THE IMPORTANCE OF THEORY	515	A Chinese century?	540
Uses of theory	515	The growth of international community?	541
Which theory is best?	520	The rise of the global South?	542
DEBATING THEORY	523	The coming environmental catastrophe?	544
Paradigms: enlightening or constraining?	524	Towards cosmopolitan democracy?	545
All in the mind?	525	AN UNKNOWABLE FUTURE?	546
For some purpose?	527		
Between utopia and reality?	530	<i>Bibliography</i>	549
		<i>Index</i>	568

CHAPTER 1

Introducing Global Politics

'Only connect!'

E. M. FORSTER, *Howards End* (1910)

PREVIEW

How should we approach the study of world affairs? How is the world best understood? World affairs have traditionally been understood on the basis of an *international* paradigm. In this view, states (often understood as 'nations', hence 'international') are taken to be the essential building blocks of world politics, meaning that world affairs boil down, essentially, to the relations between states. This suggests that once you understand the factors that influence how states interact with one another, you understand how the world works. However, since the 1980s, an alternative *globalization* paradigm has become fashionable. This reflects the belief that world affairs have been transformed in recent decades by the growth of global interconnectedness and interdependence. In this view, the world no longer operates as a disaggregated collection of states, or 'units', but rather as an integrated whole, as 'one world'. Global politics, as understood in this book, attempts to straddle these rival paradigms. It accepts that it is equally absurd to dismiss states and national government as irrelevant in world affairs as it is to deny that, over a significant range of issues, states now operate in a context of global interdependence. However, in what sense is politics now 'global'? And how, and to what extent, has globalization reconfigured world politics? Our understanding of global politics also needs to take account of the different theoretical 'lenses' through which the world has been interpreted; that is, different ways of *seeing* the world. What, in particular, is the difference between mainstream perspectives on global politics and critical perspectives? Finally, the world stubbornly refuses to stand still. Global politics is therefore an arena of ongoing and, many would argue, accelerating change. And yet, certain aspects of global politics appear to have an enduring character. What is the balance between continuity and change in global politics?

KEY ISSUES

- How do 'the global' and 'the international' complement one another?
- How have the contours of world politics changed in recent years?
- What have been the implications of globalization for world politics?
- How do mainstream approaches to global politics differ from critical approaches?
- How has global politics changed in recent years in relation to the issues of power, security and justice?

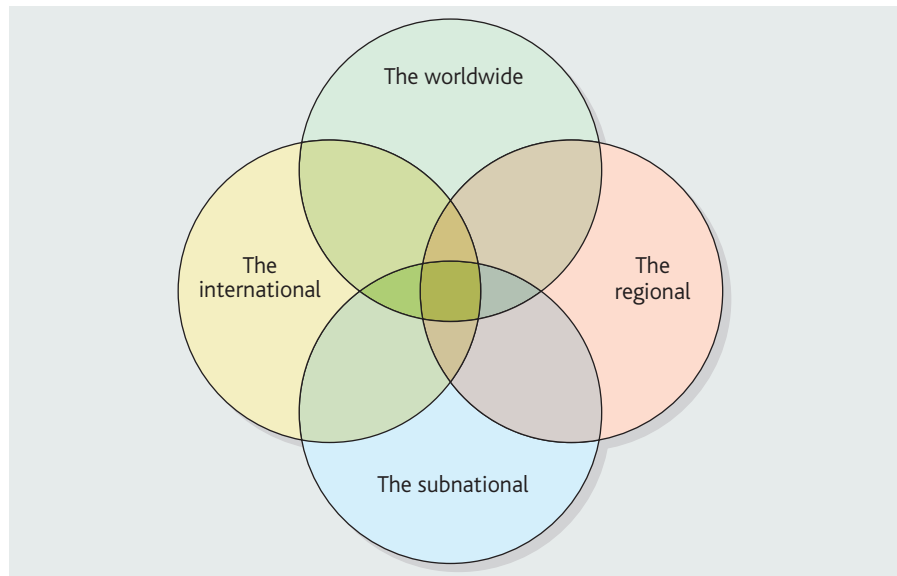


Figure 1.1 Dimensions of global politics

FROM 'THE INTERNATIONAL' TO 'THE GLOBAL'?

The aim of this book is to provide an up-to-date, integrated and forward-looking introduction to international relations/ global politics (see p. 3). It seeks to be genuinely global while not ignoring the international dimension of world affairs, accepting that 'the global' and 'the international' complement one another and are not rival or incompatible modes of understanding. In this view, global politics encompasses not just politics at the 'global' level – that is, worldwide processes, systems and institutional frameworks – but politics at, and crucially, across, *all* levels – the worldwide, the regional, the national and the subnational (see Figure 1.1). Such an approach reflects the fact that while, over an increasing range of issues, **states** interact with one another in conditions of global interdependence, they nevertheless remain the key actors on the world stage.

However, if the international paradigm, in which world affairs boil down, essentially, to relations between and among states, no longer constitutes an adequate basis for understanding, what has changed, and how profound have these changes been? How have the contours of world politics changed in recent years? The most significant changes have been the following:

- The emergence of new global actors
- The growth of interdependence and interconnectedness
- The erosion of the domestic/international divide
- The rise of global governance.

● **State:** A political association that enjoys sovereign jurisdiction within defined territorial borders.

Focus on ...

Defining global politics?

What does it mean to suggest that politics has 'gone global'? How does 'global' politics differ from 'international' politics? The term 'global' has two meanings. In the first, global means *worldwide*, having planetary (not merely regional or national) significance. The globe is, in effect, the world. Global politics, in this sense, refers to politics that is conducted at a global rather than a national or regional level. It therefore focuses primarily on the work of organizations such as the United Nations (UN) and the World Trade Organization (WTO), which have a near universal membership, and on issues (such as the environment and the economy) where interconnectedness has gone so far that events and developments affect, actually or potentially, all parts of the world and so all people on the planet.

In the second meaning (the one used in this book), global means *comprehensive*; it refers to *all* elements within a system, not just to the system as a whole. While such an approach acknowledges that a significant (and, perhaps, growing) range of political interactions now takes place at the global level, it rejects the idea that the global level has, in any sense, *transcended* politics at the national, local or, for that matter, any other level. In particular, the advent of global politics does not imply that international politics should be consigned to the dustbin of history. This is important because the notion that politics has been caught up in a swirl of interconnectedness that effectively absorbs all of its parts, or 'units', into an indivisible, global whole, is difficult to sustain.

From state-centrism to the mixed-actor model?

World politics has conventionally been understood in international terms. Although the larger phenomenon of patterns of conflict and cooperation between and among territorially-based political units has existed throughout history, the term 'international relations' was not coined until the UK philosopher and legal reformer, Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832), used it in his *Principles of Morals and Legislation* ([1789] 1968). Bentham's use of the term acknowledged a significant shift: that, by the late eighteenth century, territorially-based political units were coming to have a more clearly national character, making relations between them appear genuinely 'inter-national'. However, although most modern states are either nation-states (see p. 168) or aspire to be nation-states, it is their possession of statehood rather than nationhood that allows them to act effectively on the world stage. 'International' politics should thus, more properly, be described as 'inter-state' politics. But what is a state? As defined by the 1933 Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States, a state must possess four qualifying properties: a defined territory, a permanent population, an effective government, and the 'capacity to enter into relations with other states'. In this view, states, or countries (the terms can be used interchangeably in this context); are taken to be the key actors on the world stage, and perhaps the only ones that warrant serious consideration. This is why the conventional approach to world politics is seen as **state-centric**, and why the international system is often portrayed as a **state-system**. The origins of this view of international politics are usually traced back to the Peace of Westphalia (1648), which established sovereignty (see p. 4) as the distinguishing feature of

● **State-centrism:** An approach to political analysis that takes the state to be the key actor in the domestic realm and on the world stage.

● **State-system:** A pattern of relationships between and amongst states that establishes a measure of order and predictability (see p. 5).

CONCEPT

Sovereignty

Sovereignty is the principle of supreme and unquestionable authority, reflected in the claim by the state to be the sole author of laws within its territory. *External* sovereignty (sometimes called 'state sovereignty' or 'national sovereignty') refers to the capacity of the state to act independently and autonomously on the world stage. This implies that states are legally equal and that the territorial integrity and political independence of a state are inviolable. *Internal* sovereignty refers to the location of supreme power/authority within the state. The institution of sovereignty is nevertheless developing and changing, both as new concepts of sovereignty emerge ('economic sovereignty', 'food sovereignty' and so on) and as sovereignty is adapted to new circumstances ('pooled sovereignty', 'responsible sovereignty' and so forth).

the state. State sovereignty thus became the primary organizing principle of international politics.

However, the state-centric approach to world politics has become increasingly difficult to sustain. This has happened, in part, because it is no longer possible to treat states as the only significant actors on the world stage. Transnational corporations (TNCs) (see p. 94), non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (see p. 10) and a host of other non-state bodies have come to exert influence. In different ways and to different degrees, groups and organizations ranging from al-Qaeda (see p. 301), the anti-capitalist movement (see p. 74) and Greenpeace to Google (see p. 146), General Motors and the Papacy contribute to shaping world politics. Since the 1970s, indeed, pluralist theorists have advocated a **mixed-actor model** of world politics. However, although it is widely accepted that states and national governments are merely one category of actor amongst many on the world stage, they may still remain the most important actors. No TNC or NGOs, for instance, can rival the state's coercive power, either its capacity to enforce order within its borders or its ability to deal militarily with other states. (The changing role and significance of the state are examined in depth in Chapter 5.)

From independence to interdependence?

To study international politics traditionally meant to study the implications of the international system being divided into a collection of states. Thanks to sovereignty, these states were, moreover, viewed as independent and autonomous entities. This state-centric approach has often been illustrated through the so-called 'billiard ball model', which dominated thinking about international relations in the 1950s and later, and was particularly associated with realist theory. This suggested that states, like billiard balls, are impermeable and self-contained units, which influence each other through external pressure. Sovereign states interacting within the state-system are thus seen to behave like a collection of billiard balls moving over the table and colliding with each other, as in Figure 1.2. In this view, interactions between and amongst states, or 'collisions', are linked, in most cases to military and **security** matters, reflecting the assumption that power and survival are the primary concerns of the state. International politics is thus orientated mainly around issues of war and peace,

● **Mixed-actor model:** The theory that, while not ignoring the role of states and national governments, international politics is shaped by a much broader range of interests and groups.

● **Security:** To be safe from harm, the absence of threats; security may be understood in 'national', 'international', 'global' or 'human' terms.

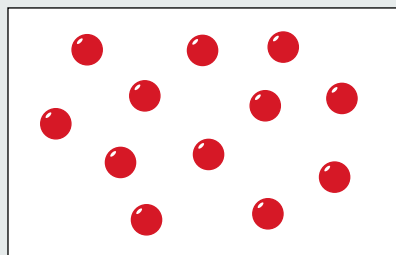


Figure 1.2 Billiard ball model of world politics

Focus on ...

The Westphalian state-system

The Peace of Westphalia (1648) is commonly said to mark the beginning of modern international politics. The Peace was a series of treaties that brought an end to the Thirty Years War (1618–48), which consisted of a series of declared and undeclared wars throughout central Europe involving the Holy Roman Empire and various opponents, including the Danes, the Dutch and, above all, France and Sweden. Although the transition occurred over a much longer period of time, these treaties helped to transform a medieval Europe of overlapping authorities, loyalties and identities into a modern state-system. The so-

called 'Westphalian system' was based on two key principles:

- States enjoy sovereign jurisdiction, in the sense that they have independent control over what happens within their territory (all other institutions and groups, spiritual and temporal, are therefore subordinate to the state).
- Relations between and among states are structured by the acceptance of the sovereign independence of all states (thus implying that states are legally equal).

with **diplomacy** and possibly military action being the principal forms of state interaction.

The billiard ball model of world politics implies that patterns of conflict and cooperation within the international system are largely determined by the distribution of power among states. Thus, although state-centric theorists acknowledged the formal, legal equality of states, each state being a sovereign entity, they also recognized that some states are more powerful than others, and, indeed, that strong states may sometimes intervene in the affairs of weak ones. In effect, not all billiard balls are the same size. This is why the study of international politics has conventionally given particular attention to the interests and behaviour of so-called 'great powers' (see p. 6).

The billiard ball model has nevertheless come under pressure as a result of growing interdependence (see p. 7) and interconnectedness. Tasks such as promoting economic growth and prosperity, tackling global warming, halting the spread of weapons of mass destruction and coping with pandemic diseases are impossible for any state to accomplish on its own, however powerful it might be. States, in these circumstances, are forced to work together, relying on collective efforts and energies. For Keohane and Nye (1977), such a web of relationships has created a condition of 'complex interdependence', in which states are drawn into cooperation and integration by forces such as closer trading and other economic relationships. This is illustrated by what has been called the 'cobweb model' of world politics (see Figure 1.3). Nevertheless, such thinking can be taken too far. For one thing, there are parts of the world, not least the Middle East, where states clearly remain enmeshed in military-strategic conflict, suggesting both that the billiard ball model is not entirely inaccurate and that levels of interdependence vary greatly across the globe. For another, interdependence is by no means always associated with trends towards peace, cooperation and integration. Interdependence may be asymmetrical rather than

● **Diplomacy:** A process of negotiation and communication between states that seeks to resolve conflict without recourse to war; an instrument of foreign policy.

CONCEPT

Great power

A great power is a state deemed to rank amongst the most powerful in a hierarchical state-system. The criteria that define a great power are subject to dispute, but four are often identified. (1) Great powers are in the first rank of military prowess, having the capacity to maintain their own security and, potentially, to influence other powers. (2) They are economically powerful states, although (as Japan shows) this is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for great power status. (3) They have global, and not merely regional, spheres of interest. (4) They adopt a 'forward' foreign policy and have actual, and not merely potential, impact on international affairs (during its isolationist phase, the USA was thus not a great power).

● **Globalization:** The emergence of a complex web of interconnectedness that means that our lives are increasingly shaped by events that occur, and decisions that are made, at a great distance from us (see p. 8).

● **Transnationalism:** Political, social, economic or other forms that transcend or cut across national borders

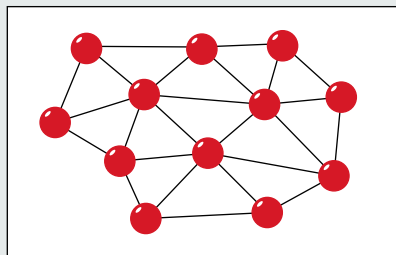


Figure 1.3 Cobweb model of world politics

symmetrical, in which case it can lead to domination and conflict rather than peace and harmony.

From the domestic/international divide to transnationalism?

One of the key implications of approaching study from the perspective of 'the international' is that politics has a distinct spatial or territorial character. In short, borders and boundaries matter. This applies especially in the case of the distinction between *domestic* politics, which is concerned with the state's role in maintaining order and carrying out regulation within its borders, and *international* politics, which is concerned with relations between and among states. In that sense, sovereignty is a 'hard shell' that divides the 'inside' of politics from the 'outside'. This domestic/international, or 'inside/outside', divide also separates what have conventionally been seen as two quite different spheres of political interaction. Whereas politics 'inside' has an orderly and regulated character, stemming from the ability of the state within the domestic sphere to impose rule from above, order of this kind is absent from politics 'outside', in that there is no authority in the international sphere higher than the sovereign state. According to John Agnew (1994), such thinking had created a 'territorial trap' within the discipline of international relations, reflected in three assumptions. First, the state is a clearly bounded territorial space. Second, domestic and foreign affairs are entirely different realms. Third, states are 'containers' of society, implying that the boundaries of the state coincide with the boundaries of society.

Such an emphasis on borders and clear territorial divisions have nevertheless come under pressure as a result of recent trends and developments, not least those associated with **globalization**, as discussed in the next main section. In particular, there has been a substantial growth in cross-border flows and transactions – movements of people, goods, money, information and ideas. This has created the phenomenon of **transnationalism**. As state borders have become increasingly 'porous', the conventional domestic/international, or 'inside/outside' divide has become more difficult to uphold. This can be illustrated by both the substantially greater vulnerability of domestic economies to events that take place elsewhere in the world (as demonstrated by the wide-ranging impact

CONCEPT

Interdependence

Interdependence refers to a relationship between two parties in which each is affected by decisions that are taken by the other. Interdependence implies mutual influence, even a rough equality between the parties in question, usually arising from a sense of mutual vulnerability.

Interdependence, then, is usually associated with a trend towards cooperation and integration in world affairs. Keohane and Nye (1977) advanced the idea of 'complex interdependence' as an alternative to the realist model of international politics. This highlighted the extent to which (1) states have ceased to be autonomous international actors; (2) economic and other issues have become more prominent in world affairs; and (3) military force has become a less reliable and less important policy option.

● **Anarchy:** Literally, without rule; the absence of a central government or higher authority, sometimes, but not necessarily, associated with instability and chaos.

● **Self-help:** A reliance on internal or inner resources, often seen as the principal reason states prioritize survival and security.

● **Balance of power:** A condition in which no one state predominates over others, tending to create general equilibrium and curb the hegemonic ambitions of all states (see p. 262).

of the 2007–09 global financial crisis) and by the wider use of digital technologies that enable people to communicate with one another through means (such as mobile phones and the Internet) that national governments find difficult to control. It is also notable that issues that are becoming more prominent in world affairs, such as environmental politics and human rights (see p. 311), tend to have an intrinsically transnational character. However, claims that the modern world is effectively 'borderless' are manifestly absurd, and, in some ways, territorial divisions are becoming more important, not less important. This is evident, for instance, in the greater emphasis on national or 'homeland' security in many parts of the world since the terrorist attacks of September 11, and in attempts to constrain international migration by strengthening border and other immigration controls.

From international anarchy to global governance?

A key assumption of the traditional approach to international politics has been that the state-system operates in a context of **anarchy**. This reflects the notion that there is no higher authority than the state, meaning that external politics operates as an international 'state of nature', a pre-political society. The implications of international anarchy are profound. Most importantly, in the absence of any other force attending to their interests, states are forced to rely on **self-help**. If international politics operates as a 'self-help system', the power-seeking inclinations of one state are only tempered by competing tendencies in other states, suggesting that conflict and war are inevitable features of the international system. In this view, conflict is only constrained by a **balance of power**, developed either as a diplomatic strategy by peace-minded leaders or occurring through a happy coincidence. This image of anarchy has been modified by the idea that the international system operates more like an 'international society' (see p. 9). Hedley Bull ([1977] 2012) thus advanced the notion of an 'anarchical society', in place of the conventional theory of international anarchy.

However, the idea of international anarchy, and even the more modest notion of an 'anarchical society', have become more difficult to sustain because of the emergence, especially since 1945, of a framework of global governance (see p. 462) and sometimes regional governance. This is reflected in the growing importance of organizations such as the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (see p. 475), the World Trade Organization (WTO) (see p. 537), the European Union (see p. 509) and so on. The growing number and significance of international organizations has occurred for powerful and pressing reasons. Notably, they reflect the fact that states are increasingly confronted by **collective dilemmas**, issues that are particularly taxing because they confound even the most powerful of states when acting alone. This first became apparent in relation to the development of technologized warfare and particularly the invention of nuclear weapons, but has since been reinforced by challenges such as financial crises, climate change, terrorism, crime, migration and development. Such trends, nevertheless, have yet to render the idea of international anarchy altogether redundant. While international organizations have undoubtedly become significant actors on the world stage, competing, at times, with states and other non-state actors, their impact should not be exaggerated. Apart from anything else, they are, to a greater or lesser extent, the creatures of their members: they

CONCEPT

Globalization

Globalization is the emergence of a complex web of interconnectedness that means that our lives are increasingly shaped by events that occur, and decisions that are made, at a great distance from us. The central feature of globalization is therefore that geographical distance is of declining relevance and that territorial borders, such as those between nation-states, are becoming less significant. By no means, however, does globalization imply that 'the local' and 'the national' are subordinated to 'the global'. Rather, it highlights the *deepening* as well as the *broadening* of the political process, in the sense that local, national and global events (or perhaps local, regional, national, international and global events) constantly interact.

● **Collective dilemma:** A problem that stems from the interdependence of states, meaning that any solution must involve international cooperation rather than action by a single state.

● **Globality:** A totally interconnected whole, such as the global economy; the end-state of globalization.

● **Globalism:** An ideological project committed to the spread of globalization, usually reflecting support for the values and theories of free-market capitalism.

can do no more than their member states, and especially powerful states, allow them to do.

GLOBALIZATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

No development has challenged the conventional state-centric image of world politics more radically than the emergence of globalization. Globalization, indeed, can be seen as the buzz word of our time. Amongst politicians, for instance, the conventional wisdom is that the twenty-first century will be the 'global century'. But what actually is 'globalization'? Is it actually happening, and, if so, what are its implications?

Explaining globalization

Globalization is a complex, elusive and controversial term. It has been used to refer to a process, a policy, a marketing strategy, a predicament or even an ideology. Some have tried to bring greater clarity to the debate about the nature of globalization by distinguishing between globalization as a *process* or set of processes (highlighting the dynamics of transformation or change, in common with other words that end in the suffix '-ization', such as modernization) and **globality** as a *condition* (indicating the set of circumstances that globalization has brought about, just as modernization has created a condition of modernity) (Steger 2003). Others have used the term **globalism** to refer to the *ideology* of globalization, the theories, values and assumptions that have guided or driven the process (Ralston Saul 2009). The problem with globalization is that it is not so much an 'it' as a 'them': it is not a single process but a complex of processes, sometimes overlapping and interlocking but also, at times, contradictory and oppositional. It is therefore difficult to reduce globalization to a single theme. Nevertheless, the various developments and manifestations that are associated with globalization, or indeed globality, can be traced back to the underlying phenomenon of interconnectedness. Globalization, regardless of its forms or impact, forges connections between previously unconnected people, communities, institutions and societies. Held *et al.* (1999) thus defined globalization as 'the widening, intensifying, speeding up, and growing impact of world-wide interconnectedness'.

The interconnectedness that globalization has spawned is multidimensional and operates through distinctive economic, cultural and political processes. In other words, globalization has a number of dimensions or 'faces'. Although globalization theorists have championed particular interpretations of globalization, these are by no means mutually exclusive. Instead, they capture different aspects of a complex and multifaceted phenomenon. Globalization has been interpreted in three main ways:

- **Economic globalization** (see p. 98) is the process through which national economies have, to a greater or lesser extent, been absorbed into a single global economy (examined in greater depth in Chapter 4).
- **Cultural globalization** (see p. 151) is the process whereby information, commodities and images that have been produced in one part of the world enter into a global flow that tends to 'flatten out' cultural differences

CONCEPT

International society

The term 'international society' suggests that relations between and amongst states are conditioned by the existence of norms and rules that establish the regular patterns of interaction that characterize a 'society'. Such a view modifies the realist emphasis on power politics and international anarchy by suggesting the existence of a 'society of states' rather than simply a 'system of states'. This implies both that international relations are rule-governed, and that these rules help to maintain international order. The chief institutions that generate cultural cohesion and social integration are international law (see p. 399), diplomacy and the activities of international organizations (see p. 440).

● **Hyperglobalism:** The view that new, globalized economic and cultural patterns became inevitable once technology such as computerized financial trading, satellite communications, mobile phones and the Internet became widely available.

between nations, regions and individuals (discussed more fully in Chapter 6).

- *Political* globalization (see p. 122) is the process through which policy-making responsibilities have been passed from national governments to international organizations (considered in greater detail in Chapter 5).

Globalization: myth or reality?

Is globalization actually happening? Although globalization may be the buzz word of our time, there has been intense debate about its impact and significance. No sooner had (roughly by the mid-1990s) academics and other social commentators seemed to agree that globalization was 'changing everything', than it became fashionable (in the early 2000s) to proclaim the 'end of globalization', or the 'death of globalism' (Bisley 2007). The most influential attempt to outline the various positions on this globalization debate was set out by Held *et al.* (1999). They distinguished between three positions:

- The hyperglobalists
- The sceptics
- The transformationalists.

The hyperglobalizers are the chief amongst 'the believers' in globalization. **Hyperglobalism** portrays globalization as a profound, even revolutionary set of economic, cultural, technological and political shifts that have intensified since the 1980s. Particular emphasis, in this view, is placed on developments such as the digital revolution in information and communications, the advent of an integrated global financial system and the emergence of global commodities that are available almost anywhere in the world. Indeed, hyperglobalism is often based on a form of technological determinism, which suggests that the forces creating a single global economy became irresistible once the technology that facilitates its existence was available. The chief image of hyperglobalism is captured in the notion of a 'borderless world' (discussed in more detail in Chapter 22), which suggests that national borders and, for that matter, states themselves have become irrelevant in a global order increasingly dominated by transnational forces. 'National' economic strategies are therefore virtually unworkable in a global context. Resistance to the dictates of global markets is both damaging – countries prosper to the extent that their economies are integrated into the global economy – and ultimately futile. Hyperglobalizers therefore have a strongly positive attitude towards globalization, usually assuming that, in marking the triumph of markets over the state, it is associated with economic dynamism and growing worldwide prosperity.

Nevertheless, hyperglobalism offers an unbalanced and exaggerated view of globalization, in at least two senses. First, it overstates the extent to which policy-makers have been dominated by 'irresistible' economic and technological forces, underestimating the importance of values, perceptions and ideological orientations. Second, the images of the 'end of sovereignty' and the 'twilight of the nation-state' can be said to feature amongst the myths of globalization (sometimes called 'globalony'). Although states may increasingly operate in post-sovereign conditions, in a context of interdependence and permeability, their role

GLOBAL ACTORS . . .

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

A non-governmental organization (NGO) is a private, non-commercial group or body which seeks to achieve its ends through non-violent means. The World Bank (see p. 380) defines NGOs as 'private organizations that pursue activities to relieve suffering, promote the interests of the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services, or undertake community development'. Very early examples of such bodies were the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade (formed by William Wilberforce in 1787) and the International Committee of the Red Cross, founded in 1863. The first official recognition of NGOs was by the United Nations (UN) in 1948, when 41 NGOs were granted consultative status following the establishment of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (indeed, some NGO activists believe that only groups formally acknowledged by the UN should be regarded as 'true' NGOs). A distinction is often drawn between operational NGOs and advocacy NGOs:

- *Operational* NGOs are those whose primary purpose is the design and implementation of development-related projects; they may be either relief-orientated or development-orientated, and they may be community-based, national or international.
- *Advocacy* NGOs exist to promote or defend a particular cause; they are sometimes termed 'promotional pressure groups' or 'public interest groups'.

Significance: Since the 1990s, the steady growth in the number of NGOs has become a veritable

explosion. By 2012, over 3,500 groups had been granted consultative status by the UN, with estimates of the total number of international NGOs usually exceeding 40,000. If national NGOs are taken into account, the number grows enormously: the USA has an estimated 2 million NGOs; Russia has 65,000 NGOs; and Kenya, to take one developing country alone, has about 2,400 NGOs coming into existence each year. The major international NGOs have developed into huge organizations. For example, Care International, dedicated to the worldwide reduction of poverty, controls a budget worth more than 100m dollars, Greenpeace has a membership of 2.5m and a staff of over 1,200, and Amnesty International is better resourced than the human rights arm of the UN.

There can be little doubt that major international NGOs and the NGO sector as a whole now constitute significant actors on the global stage. Although lacking the economic leverage that TNCs can exert, advocacy NGOs have proved highly adept at mobilizing 'soft' power and popular pressure. In this respect, they have a number of advantages. These include that leading NGOs have cultivated high public profiles, often linked to public protests and demonstrations that attract eager media attention; that their typically altruistic and humanitarian objectives enable them to mobilize public support and exert moral pressure in a way that conventional politicians and political parties struggle to rival; and that, over a wide range of issues, the views of NGOs are taken to be both authoritative and disinterested, based on the use of specialists and

academics. Operational NGOs, for their part, have come to deliver about 15 per cent of international aid, often demonstrating a greater speed of response and level of operational effectiveness than governmental bodies, national or international, can muster. Relief- and development-orientated NGOs may also be able to operate in politically sensitive areas where national governments, or even the UN, would be unwelcome.

Nevertheless, the rise of the NGO has provoked considerable political controversy. Supporters of NGOs argue that they benefit and enrich global politics. They counter-balance corporate power, challenging the influence of TNCs; democratize global politics by articulating the interests of people and groups who have been disempowered by the globalization process; and act as a moral force, widening people's sense of civic responsibility and even promoting global citizenship. In these respects, they are a vital component of emergent global civil society (see p. 156). Critics, however, argue that NGOs are self-appointed groups that have no genuine democratic credentials, often articulating the views of a small group of senior professionals. In an attempt to gain a high media profile and attract support and funding, NGOs have been accused of making exaggerated claims, thereby distorting public perceptions and the policy agenda. Finally, in order to preserve their 'insider' status, NGOs tend to compromise their principles and 'go mainstream', becoming, in effect, deradicalized social movements. (The impact and significance of NGOs is examined further in Chapter 6.)

Focus on ...**Definitions of globalization**

- '[T]he intensification of worldwide social relations that link distant localities in a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa' (Giddens 1990)
- 'The integration of national economies into the international economy through trade, direct foreign investment, short-term capital flows, international flows of workers and humanity generally, and flows of technology' (Bhagwati 2004)
- 'The processes through which sovereign nation-states are criss-crossed and undermined by transnational actors with varying prospects of power, orientations, identities and networks' (Beck 2000)
- 'A process (or set of processes) which embody the transformation of the spatial organization of social relations and transactions' (Held *et al.* 1999)
- 'A reconfiguration of social geography marked by the growth of transplanetary and supraterritorial connections between people' (Scholte 2005)

and significance has altered rather than become irrelevant. States, for example, have become 'entrepreneurial' in trying to develop strategies for improving their competitiveness in the global economy, notably by boosting education, training and job-related skills. They are also more willing to 'pool' sovereignty by working in and through international organizations such as regional training blocs and the WTO. Finally, the advent of global terrorism and intensifying concern about migration patterns has re-emphasized the importance of the state in ensuring homeland security and in protecting national borders. (The implications of globalization for the state are examined more fully in Chapter 5.)

The sceptics, by contrast, have portrayed globalization as a fantasy and dismissed the idea of an integrated global economy. They point out that the overwhelming bulk of economic activity still takes place within, not across, national boundaries, and that there is nothing new about high levels of international trade and cross-border capital flows (Hirst and Thompson 1999). Sceptics have, further, argued that globalization has been used as an ideological device by politicians and theorists who wish to advance a market-orientated economic agenda. The globalization thesis has two major advantages in this respect. In the first place, it portrays certain tendencies (such as the shift towards greater flexibility and weaker trade unions, controls on public spending and particularly welfare budgets, and the scaling down of business regulation) as inevitable and therefore irresistible. Second, it suggests that such shifts are part of an impersonal process, and not one linked to an agent, such as big business, whose interests might be seen to be served by globalizing tendencies. However, although such scepticism has served to check the over-boiled enthusiasm of earlier globalization theorists, it is difficult to uphold the idea of 'business as normal'. Goods, capital, information and people do move around the world more freely than they used to, and this has inevitable consequences for economic, cultural and political life.

Falling between the hyperglobalizers and the sceptics, the 'transformationalist' stance offers a middle-road view of globalization. It accepts that profound changes have taken place in the patterns and processes of world politics without

APPROACHES TO . . .

GLOBALIZATION

Realist view

Realists have typically adopted a sceptical stance towards globalization, seeing it more in terms of intensifying economic interdependence (that is, 'more of the same') rather than the creation of an interlocking global economy. Most importantly, the state continues to be the dominant unit in world politics. Instead of being threatened by globalization, the state's capacity for regulation and surveillance may have increased rather than decreased. However, realists are not simply globalization deniers. In assessing the nature and significance of globalization, they emphasize that globalization and the international system are not separate, still less rival, structures. Rather, the former should be seen as a manifestation of the latter. Globalization has been made *by* states, *for* states, particularly dominant states. Developments such as an open trading system, global financial markets and the advent of transnational production were all put in place to advance the interests of western states in general and the USA in particular. Furthermore, realists question the notion that globalization is associated with a shift towards peace and cooperation. Instead, heightened economic interdependence is as likely to breed 'mutual vulnerability', leading to conflict rather than cooperation.

Liberal view

Liberals adopt a consistently positive attitude towards globalization. For economic liberals, globalization reflects the victory of the market over 'irrational' national allegiances and 'arbitrary' state borders. The miracle of the market is that it draws resources towards their most profitable use, thus bringing prosperity to individuals, families, companies and societies. The attraction of economic globalization is therefore that it allows markets to operate on a global scale, replacing the 'shallow' integration of free trade and intensified interdependence with the 'deep' integration of a single global economy. The increased productivity and intensified competition that this produces benefits all the societies that participate within it, demonstrating that economic globalization is a positive-sum game, a game of winners and winners. Liberals also believe that globalization brings social and political benefits. The freer flow of information and ideas around the world both widens opportunities for personal self-development and creates more dynamic and vigorous societies. Moreover, from a liberal standpoint, the spread of market capital-

ism is invariably associated with the advance of liberal democracy, economic freedom breeding a demand for political freedom. For liberals, globalization marks a watershed in world history, in that it ends the period during which the nation-state was the dominant global actor, world order being determined by an (inherently unstable) balance of power. The global era, by contrast, is characterized by a tendency towards peace and international cooperation as well as by the dispersal of global power, in particular through the emergence of global civil society (see p. 156) and the growing importance of international organizations.

Critical views

Critical theorists have adopted a negative or oppositional stance towards globalization. Often drawing on an established socialist or specifically Marxist critique of capitalism, this portrays the essence of globalization as the establishment of a global capitalist order. (Indeed, Marx (see p. 72) can be said to have prefigured much 'hyperglobalist' literature, in having highlighted the intrinsically transnational character of the capitalist mode of production.) Like liberals, critical theorists usually accept that globalization marks a historically significant shift, not least in the relationship between states and markets. States have lost power over the economy, being reduced to little more than instruments for the restructuring of national economies in the interests of global capitalism. Globalization is thus viewed as an uneven, hierarchical process, characterized both by the growing polarization between the rich and the poor, explained by world-systems theorists in terms of a structural imbalance between 'core' and 'peripheral' areas in the global economy, and by a weakening of democratic accountability and popular responsiveness due to burgeoning corporate power. Feminist analysts have sometimes linked globalization to growing gender inequalities, associated, for example, with the disruption of small-scale farming in the developing world, largely carried out by women, and growing pressure on them to support their families by seeking work abroad, leading to the 'feminization of migration'. Postcolonial theorists, for their part, have taken particular exception to cultural globalization, interpreted as a form of western imperialism which subverts indigenous cultures and ways of life and leads to the spread of soulless consumerism.

its established or traditional features having been swept away altogether. In short, much has changed, but not everything. This has become the most widely accepted view of globalization, as it resists both the temptation to over-hype the process and to debunk it. Major transformations have nevertheless taken place in world politics. These include the following:

- The *breadth* of interconnectedness has not only stretched social, political, economic and cultural activities across national borders, but also, potentially, across the globe. Never before has globalization threatened to develop into a *single* worldwide system.
- The *intensity* of interconnectedness has increased with the growing magnitude of transborder or even transworld activities, which range from migration surges and the growth of international trade to the greater accessibility of Hollywood movies or US television programmes.
- Interconnectedness has *speeded up*, not least through the huge flows of electronic money that move around the world at the flick of a computer switch, ensuring that currency and other financial markets react almost immediately to economic events elsewhere in the world.

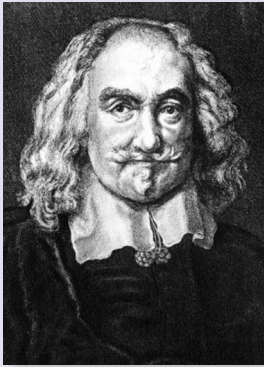
LENSES ON GLOBAL POLITICS

However, making sense of global politics also requires that we understand the theories, values and assumptions through which world affairs have been interpreted. How do different analysts and theorists *see* the world? What are the key 'lenses' on global politics? The theoretical dimension of the study of global politics has become an increasingly rich and diverse arena in recent decades. The substantive ideas of the growing range of theoretical traditions are examined in Chapter 3, while issues to do with the nature and purpose of theory are considered in Chapter 21. This introduction, nevertheless, attempts to map out broad areas of debate among the traditions, in particular by distinguishing between 'mainstream' perspectives and 'critical' perspectives.

Mainstream perspectives

The two mainstream perspectives on global politics are realism and liberalism. What do they have in common, and in what sense are they 'mainstream'? Realism and liberalism can be viewed as mainstream perspectives in the sense that they, in their various incarnations, have dominated conventional academic approaches to the field of international politics since its inception. Realist and liberal theories have two broad things in common. In the first place, they are both grounded in **positivism**. This suggests that it is possible to develop objective knowledge, through the capacity to distinguish 'facts' from 'values'. In short, it is possible to compare theories with the 'real world', the world 'out there'. Robert Cox (1981) thus describes such theories as 'problem-solving theories', in that they take the world 'as it is' and endeavour to think through problems and offer prudent advice to policy-makers trying to negotiate the challenges of the 'real world'. (These issues are discussed in greater detail in pp. 527–30.) Second, realist and liberal theorists share similar concerns and address similar issues, meaning that they, in effect, talk to, rather than past, one another. In particular,

● **Positivism:** The theory that social and indeed all forms of enquiry should conform to the methods of the natural sciences (see p. 526).



Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679)

English political philosopher. Hobbes was the son of a minor clergyman who subsequently abandoned his family. Writing at a time of uncertainty and civil strife, precipitated by the English Revolution, Hobbes developed the first comprehensive theory of nature and human behaviour since Aristotle. His classic work, *Leviathan* (1651) discussed the grounds of political obligation and undoubtedly reflected the impact of the Civil War. Based on the assumption that human beings seek 'power after power', it provided a realist justification for absolutist government as the only alternative to the anarchy of the 'state of nature', in which life would be 'solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short'. Hobbes' emphasis on the state as an essential guarantor of order and security has led to a revived interest in his ideas since 9/11.

the core concern of both realism and liberalism is the balance between conflict and cooperation in state relations. Although realists generally place greater emphasis on conflict, while liberals highlight the scope for cooperation, neither is unmindful of the issues raised by the other, as is evidenced in the tendency, over time, for differences between realism and liberalism to have become blurred (see Closing the realist–liberal divide? p. 68). Nevertheless, important differences can be identified between the realist and liberal perspectives.

How do realists see global politics? Deriving from ideas that can be traced back to thinkers such as Thucydides (see p. 249), Sun Tzu, author of *The Art of War*, Machiavelli (see p. 58) and Thomas Hobbes, the realist vision is pessimistic: international politics is marked by constant power struggles and conflict, and a wide range of obstacles standing in the way of peaceful cooperation. Realism is grounded in an emphasis on **power politics**, based on the following assumptions:

- Human nature is characterized by selfishness and greed.
- Politics is a domain of human activity structured by power and coercion.
- States are the key global actors.
- States pursue self-interest and survival, prioritizing security above all else.
- States operate in a context of anarchy, and thus rely on self-help.
- Global order is structured by the distribution of power (capabilities) among states.
- The balance of power is the principal means of ensuring stability and avoiding war.
- Ethical considerations are (and should be) irrelevant to the conduct of foreign policy.

● **Power politics:** An approach to politics based on the assumption that the pursuit of power is the principal human goal; the term is sometimes used descriptively.

● **Internationalism:** The theory or practice of politics based on cooperation or harmony among nations, as opposed to the transcendence of national politics (see p. 67).

By contrast, how do liberals see global politics? Liberalism offers a more optimistic vision of global politics, based, ultimately, on a belief in human rationality and moral goodness (even though liberals also accept that people are essentially self-interested and competitive). Liberals tend to believe that the principle of balance or harmony operates in all forms of social interaction. As far as world politics is concerned, this is reflected in a general commitment to **internationalism**, as reflected in Immanuel Kant's (see p. 15) belief in the possibility of



Immanuel Kant (1724–1804)

German philosopher. Kant spent his entire life in Königsberg (which was then in East Prussia), becoming professor of logic and metaphysics at the University of Königsberg in 1770. His 'critical' philosophy holds that knowledge is not merely an aggregate of sense impressions; it depends on the conceptual apparatus of human understanding. Kant's political thought was shaped by the central importance of morality. He believed that the law of reason dictated categorical imperatives, the most important of which was the obligation to treat others as 'ends', and never only as 'means'. Kant's most important works include *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781), *Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose* (1784) and *Metaphysics of Morals* (1785).

'universal and perpetual peace'. The liberal model of global politics is based on the following key assumptions:

- Human beings are rational and moral creatures.
- History is a progressive process, characterized by a growing prospect of international cooperation and peace.
- Mixed-actor models of global politics are more realistic than state-centric ones.
- Trade and economic interdependence make war less likely.
- International law helps to promote order and fosters rule-governed behaviour among states.
- Democracy is inherently peaceful, particularly in reducing the likelihood of war between democratic states.

Critical perspectives

Since the late 1980s, the range of critical approaches to world affairs has expanded considerably. Until that point, Marxism had constituted the principal alternative to mainstream realist and liberal theories. What made the Marxist approach distinctive was that it placed its emphasis not on patterns of conflict and cooperation between states, but on structures of economic power and the role played in world affairs by international capital. It thus brought international political economy, sometimes seen as a sub-field within IR, into focus. However, hastened by the end of the Cold War, a wide range of 'new voices' started to influence the study of world politics, notable examples including social constructivism, critical theory, poststructuralism, postcolonialism, feminism and green politics. What do these new critical voices have in common, and in what sense are they 'critical'? In view of their diverse philosophical underpinnings and contrasting political viewpoints, it is tempting to argue that the only thing that unites these 'new voices' is a shared antipathy towards mainstream thinking. However, two broad similarities can be identified. The first is that, albeit in different ways and to different degrees, they have tried to go beyond the positivism of mainstream theory, emphasizing instead the role of consciousness in shaping social

conduct and, therefore, world affairs. These so-called post-positivist theories are therefore 'critical' in that they not only take issue with the conclusions of mainstream theory, but also subject these theories themselves to critical scrutiny, exposing biases that operate within them and examining their implications. The second similarity is linked to the first: critical perspectives are 'critical' in that, in their different ways, they oppose the dominant forces and interests in modern world affairs, and so contest the global status quo by (usually) aligning themselves with marginalized or oppressed groups. Each of them, thus, seeks to uncover inequalities and asymmetries that mainstream theories tend to ignore.

However, the inequalities and asymmetries to which critical theorists have drawn attention are many and various:

- Neo-Marxists (who encompass a range of traditions and tendencies that in fact straddle the positivist–post-positivist divide) highlight inequalities in the global capitalist system, through which developed countries or areas, sometimes operating through TNCs or linked to 'hegemonic' powers such as the USA, dominate and exploit developing countries or areas.
- Constructivism is not so much a substantive theory as an analytical tool. In arguing that people, in effect, 'construct' the world in which they live, suggesting that the world operates through a kind of 'inter-subjective' awareness, constructivists have thrown mainstream theory's claim to objectivity into question.
- Poststructuralists emphasize that all ideas and concepts are expressed in language which itself is enmeshed in complex relations of power. Influenced particularly by the writings of Michel Foucault, poststructuralists have drawn attention to the link between power and systems of thought using the idea of a 'discourse of power'.
- Feminists have drawn attention to systematic and pervasive structures of gender inequality that characterize global and, indeed, all other forms of politics. In particular, they have highlighted the extent to which mainstream, and especially realist, theories are based on 'masculinist' assumptions about rivalry, competition and inevitable conflict.
- Postcolonialists have emphasized the cultural dimension of colonial rule, showing how western cultural and political hegemony over the rest of the world has been preserved despite the achievement of formal political independence across almost the entire developing world.
- Green politics, or ecologism, has focused on growing concerns about environmental degradation, highlighting the extent to which this has been a by-product of industrialization and an obsession with economic growth, supported by systems of thought that portray human beings as 'masters over nature'.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN GLOBAL POLITICS

Finally, global politics is an ever-shifting field, with, if anything, the pace of change accelerating over time. Recent decades have witnessed momentous



Michel Foucault (1926–84)

French philosopher and radical intellectual. The son of a prosperous surgeon, Foucault had a troubled youth in which he attempted suicide on several occasions and struggled to come to terms with his homosexuality. His work, which ranged over the history of madness, of medicine, of punishment, of sexuality and of knowledge itself, was based on the assumption that the institutions, concepts and beliefs of each period are upheld by 'discourses of power'. This suggests that power relations can largely be disclosed by examining the structure of 'knowledge', since 'truth serves the interests of a ruling class or the prevailing power-structure'. Foucault's most important works include *Madness and Civilization* (1961), *The Order of Things* (1966) and *The History of Sexuality* (1976).

events such as the end of the Cold War, the collapse of the Soviet Union, the September 11 terrorist attacks on the USA and the global financial crisis of 2007–09. While these and other events have changed the contours of global politics, sometimes radically, certain features of world affairs have proved to be of more enduring significance. This can be illustrated by examining the balance between continuity and change in three key aspects of world politics:

- Power
- Security
- Justice.

Power

All forms of politics are about power. Indeed, politics is sometimes seen as the study of power, its core theme being: who gets what, when, how? Modern global politics raises two main questions about power. The first is about where power is located: who has it? During the Cold War era, this appeared to be an easy question to answer. Two 'superpowers' (see p. 38) dominated world politics, dividing the global system into rival 'spheres of influence'. East–West conflict reflected the existence of a bipolar world order, marked by the political, ideological and economic ascendancy, respectively, of the USA and the Soviet Union. The end of the Cold War has precipitated a major debate about the shifting location of global power. In one view, the fall of communism and the disintegration of the Soviet Union left the USA as the world's sole superpower, meaning that it had been transformed into a global **hegemon**. Such a view also took account of the extent to which the USA was the architect, and chief beneficiary, of the process of globalization, as well as the possessor of enormous 'structural' power (see pp. 218–20), its pivotal position within institutions such as the UN, the WTO, IMF and World Bank giving it disproportional influence over the frameworks within which states relate to one another and decide how things shall be done.

However, alternative views about the shifting configuration of global power suggest that it is becoming more fragmented and pluralized. For example, power

● **Hegemon:** A leading or paramount power.

may have shifted away from states generally through the growing importance of non-state actors and the increased role played by international organizations. Furthermore, globalization may have made power more diffuse and intangible, increasing the influence of global markets and drawing states into a web of economic interdependence that substantially restricts their freedom of manoeuvre. A further dimension of this traces the implications for global power of the rise of emerging states, such as China, India and Brazil, as well as the impact of a resurgent Russia, sometimes collectively known as the BRICs (see p. 463). In this view, the bipolar Cold War world order is in the process of being replaced by a multipolar world order. (The changing nature of global order is examined more closely in Chapter 9.) Power has also been pluralized through the capacity of new technology to alter power balances both within society and between societies, often empowering the traditionally powerless. For example, advances in communications technology, particularly the use of mobile phones and the Internet, have improved the tactical effectiveness of loosely organized groups, ranging from terrorist bands to protest groups and social movements. Al-Qaeda's influence on world politics since September 11 has thus been out of all proportion to its organizational and economic strength, because modern technology, in the form of bombs and airplanes, has given its terrorist activities a global reach.

The second debate is about the changing nature of power. This has, arguably, occurred because, due to new technology and in a world of global communications and rising literacy rates and educational standards, 'soft' power is becoming as important as 'hard' power in influencing political outcomes. As discussed in Chapter 9, soft power is power as *attraction* rather than *coercion*, the ability to influence others by persuading them to follow or agree to norms and aspirations, as opposed to using threats or rewards. This has, for instance, stimulated a debate about whether military power is now redundant in global politics, especially when it is not matched by 'hearts and minds' strategies. In addition, the near-ubiquitous spread of television and the wider use of satellite technology mean that pictures of devastation and human suffering, whether caused by warfare, famine or natural disaster, are shared across the globe almost instantly. This means, amongst other things, that the behaviour of governments and international organizations is influenced as never before by public opinion around the world.

Security

Security is the deepest and most abiding issue in politics. At its heart is the question: how can people live a decent and worthwhile existence, free from threats, intimidation and violence? Security has usually been thought of as a particularly pressing issue in international politics because, while the domestic realm is ordered and stable, by virtue of the existence of a sovereign state, the international realm is anarchical and therefore threatening and unstable. For realists, as the most important actors in the international system are states, security is primarily understood in terms of 'national' security. As, in a world of self-help, all states are under at least potential threat from all other states, each state must have the capacity for self-defence. National security therefore places a premium on military power, reflecting the assumption that the more militarily powerful

CONCEPT

Security dilemma

Security dilemma describes a condition in which actions taken by one actor to improve national security are interpreted as aggressive by other actors, thereby provoking military counter-moves. This reflects two component dilemmas (Booth and Wheeler 2008). First, there is a dilemma of *interpretation* – what are the motives, intentions and capabilities of others in building up military power? As weapons are inherently ambiguous symbols (they can be either defensive or aggressive), there is irresolvable uncertainty about these matters. Second, there is a dilemma of *response* – should they react in kind, in a militarily confrontational manner, or should they seek to signal reassurance and attempt to defuse tension?

a state is, the more secure it is likely to be. This focus on military security nevertheless draws states into dynamic, competitive relationships with one another, based on what is called the ‘security dilemma’. This is the problem that a military build-up for defensive purposes by one state is always liable to be interpreted by other states as potentially or actually aggressive, leading to retaliatory military build-ups and so on. The security dilemma gets to the very heart of politics amongst states, making it the quintessential dilemma of international politics (Booth and Wheeler 2008). Permanent insecurity between and amongst states is therefore the inescapable lot of those who live in a condition of anarchy.

However, the state-centric ideas of national security and an inescapable security dilemma have also been challenged. There is, for example, a long-established emphasis within liberal theory on collective security (see p. 447), reflecting the belief that aggression can best be resisted by united action taken by a number of states. Such a view shifts attention away from the idea of ‘national’ security towards the broader notion of **‘international’ security** (Smith 2010). Furthermore, the security agenda in modern global politics has changed in a number of ways. These include, on the one hand, the expansion of ‘zones of peace’ in which the tensions and incipient conflicts implied by the security dilemma appear to be absent. Thus **‘security regimes’** or ‘security communities’ have developed to manage disputes and help to avoid war, a trend often associated with growing economic interdependence (linked to globalization) and the advance of democratization. On the other hand, September 11 and the wider threat of terrorism has highlighted the emergence of new security challenges that are particularly problematical because they arise from non-state actors and exploit the greater interconnectedness of the modern world. International security may therefore have given way to ‘global’ security. A further development has been the trend to rethink the concept of security at a still deeper level, usually linked to the notion of ‘human security’ (see p. 430). Interest in human security has grown both because the decline of inter-state war in the post-Cold War means that the threat from violent conflict now usually occurs *within* states, coming from civil war, insurrection and civic strife, and because of the recognition that in the modern world people’s safety and survival is often put at risk more by non-military threats (such as environmental destruction, disease, refugee crises and resource scarcity), than it is by military threats.

- **International security:**

Conditions in which the mutual survival and safety of states is secured through measures taken to prevent or punish aggression, usually within a rule-governed international order.

- **Security regime:**

A framework of cooperation amongst states and other actors to ensure the peaceful resolution of conflict (see international regime, p. 71).

Justice

Realist theorists have traditionally viewed justice as a largely irrelevant issue in international or global politics. Relations between states should be determined by hard-headed judgements related to the national interest, not by ethical considerations. Liberals, by contrast, insist that international politics and morality should go hand in hand, amoral power politics being a recipe for egoism, conflict and violence. Traditionally, however, they have defended the idea of ‘international’ justice based on principles that set out how nation-states should behave towards one another. Respect for state sovereignty and the norm of non-interference in the affairs of other states, seen as guarantees of national independence and therefore political freedom, are clearly an example of this. Such thinking is also reflected in ‘just war’ theory (see p. 264). This is the idea that the

GLOBAL POLITICS IN ACTION . . .

September 11 and global security

Events: On the morning of 11 September 2001, a coordinated series of terrorist attacks were launched against the USA using four hijacked passenger jet airliners (the events subsequently became known as September 11, or 9/11). Two airliners crashed into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Centre in New York, leading to the collapse first of the North Tower and then the South Tower. The third airliner crashed into the Pentagon, the headquarters of the Department of Defence in Arlington, Virginia, just outside Washington DC. The fourth airliner, believed to be heading towards either the White House or the US Capitol, both in Washington DC, crashed in a field near Shanksville, Pennsylvania, after passengers on board tried to seize control of the plane. There were no survivors from any of the flights. A total of 2,995 people were killed in these attacks, mainly in New York City. In a videotape released in October 2001, responsibility for the attacks was claimed by Osama bin Laden, head of the al-Qaeda (see p. 301) organization, who praised his followers as the 'vanguards of Islam'.



Significance: September 11 has sometimes been described as 'the day the world changed'. This certainly applied in terms of its consequences, notably the unfolding 'war on terror' and the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq and their ramifications. It also marked a dramatic shift in global security, signalling the end of a period during which globalization and the cessation of superpower rivalry appeared to have been associated with a diminishing propensity for international conflict. Globalization, indeed, appeared to have ushered in new security threats and new forms of conflict. For example, 9/11 demonstrated how fragile national borders had become in a technological age. If the world's greatest power could be dealt such a devastating blow to its largest city and its national capital, what chance did other states have? Further, the 'external' threat in this case came not from another state, but from a terrorist organization, and one, moreover, that operated more as a global network than a nationally-based organization. The motivations behind the attacks were also not conventional ones. Instead of seeking to conquer territory or acquire control over resources, the 9/11 attacks were carried out in the name of a religiously-inspired ideology, militant Islamism (see p. 205), and aimed at exerting a symbolic, even psychic, blow against the cultural, political and ideological domination of the West. This led some to see 9/11 as evidence of an emerging 'clash of civilization'

(see p. 196), even as a struggle between Islam and the West.

However, rather than marking the beginning of a new era in global security, 9/11 may have indicated more a return to 'business as normal'. In particular, the advent of a globalized world appeared to underline the vital importance of 'national' security, rather than 'international' or 'global' security. The emergence of new security challenges, and especially transnational terrorism, re-emphasized the core role of the state in protecting its citizens from external attack. Instead of becoming progressively less important, 9/11 gave the state a renewed significance. The USA, for example, responded to 9/11 by undertaking a substantial build-up of state power, both at home (through strengthened 'homeland security') and abroad (through increased military spending and the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq). A unilateralist tendency also became more pronounced in its foreign policy, as the USA became, for a period at least, less concerned about working with or through international organizations of various kinds. Other states affected by terrorism have also exhibited similar tendencies, marking a renewed emphasis on national security sometimes at the expense of considerations such as civil liberties and political freedom. In other words, 9/11 may demonstrate that state-based power politics is alive and kicking.

CONCEPT

Cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitanism literally means a belief in a *cosmopolis* or 'world state'. *Moral* cosmopolitanism is the belief that the world constitutes a single moral community, in that people have obligations (potentially) towards all other people in the world, regardless of nationality, religion, ethnicity and so forth. All forms of moral cosmopolitanism are based on a belief that every individual is of equal moral worth, most commonly linked to the doctrine of human rights. *Political* cosmopolitanism ('legal' or 'institutional' cosmopolitanism) is the belief that there should be global political institutions, and possibly a world government (see p. 464). However, most modern political cosmopolitans favour a system in which authority is divided between global, national and local levels (Brown and Held 2010).

use of violence through war can only be justified if the reasons for war and the conduct of war conform to principles of justice.

However, the growth of interconnectedness and interdependence has extended thinking about morality in world affairs, particularly through an increasing emphasis on the notion of 'global' or 'cosmopolitan' justice. The idea of global justice is rooted in a belief in universal moral values, values that apply to all people in the world regardless of nationality and citizenship. The most influential example of universal values is the doctrine of international human rights. Such cosmopolitanism has shaped thinking on the issue of global distributive justice, suggesting, for instance, that rich countries should give more foreign aid, and that there should be a possibly substantial redistribution of wealth between the world's rich and the world's poor. The utilitarian philosopher Peter Singer (1993) argued that the citizens and governments of rich countries have a basic obligation to eradicate absolute poverty in other countries on the grounds that (1) if we can prevent something bad without sacrificing anything of comparable significance, we ought to do it, and (2) absolute poverty is bad because it causes suffering and death. For Pogge (2008), the obligation of rich countries to help poor countries stems not from the simple existence of poverty and our capacity to alleviate it, but from the *causal* relationship between the wealth of the rich and the poverty of the poor. The rich have a duty to help the poor because the international order is structured so as to benefit some people and areas at the expense of others. Similar ideas are implied by neo-colonial and world-system theories of global poverty, as examined in Chapter 15. Similarly, ideas have been developed about global environmental justice. These, for instance, reflect on issues such as protecting the natural environment for the benefit of future generations, the disproportionate obligation of rich countries to tackle climate change because they largely created the problem in the first place, and the idea that any legally binding emissions targets should be structured on a per capita basis, rather than a country basis, so as not to disadvantage states with large populations (and therefore the developing world generally). These ideas are discussed further in Chapter 16.

USING THIS BOOK

Global politics is, by its nature, an overlapping and interlocking field. The material encountered in this book stubbornly resists compartmentalization, which is why, throughout, there is regular cross-referencing to related discussions that occur in other chapters and particularly to relevant boxed material found elsewhere. Nevertheless, the book develops by considering what can be thought of as a series of broad issues or themes.

The first group of chapters is designed to provide background understanding for the study of global politics.

- This chapter has examined the nature of global politics and considered the developments that make a global politics approach to world affairs appropriate, as well as providing an introduction to contrasting mainstream and critical perspectives on global politics.
- Chapter 2 examines the historical context of modern global politics, particularly by looking at key developments in world history during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

- Chapter 3 provides an account of the key theoretical approaches to global politics, thus considering mainstream perspectives and critical perspectives in greater depth, as well as the implications of global thinking.

The next group of chapters discusses the various transformations that have occurred, and are occurring, as a result of the globalization of world politics.

- Chapter 4 discusses the nature, extent and implications of economic globalization, and considers, amongst other things, the crisis tendencies within modern global capitalism.
- Chapter 5 examines the role and significance of the state in a global age, as well as the nature of foreign policy and how foreign policy decisions are made.
- Chapter 6 considers the social and cultural implications of globalization and whether or not it is possible to talk of an emergent global civil society.
- Chapter 7 examines the ways in which nations and nationalism have been shaped and reshaped in a global world, focusing on ways in which nationalism has been both weakened and strengthened.
- Chapter 8 examines the politics of identity and the growth of cultural conflict in a global age, particularly in the form of challenges to the politico-cultural domination of the West, especially from political Islam.

The following group of chapters considers the broad themes of global order and conflict.

- Chapter 9 looks at the nature of global power and the changing shape of twenty-first century global order, as well as at the implications of such changes for peace and stability.
- Chapter 10 examines how and why wars occur, the changing nature of warfare, and how, and how successfully, war has been justified.
- Chapter 11 considers the nature and implications of nuclear proliferation, and examines the prospects for non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament.
- Chapter 12 discusses the nature of terrorism, the various debates that have sprung up about its significance and the strategies that have been used to counter it.

The next group of chapters focuses on various issues to do with the theme of global justice.

- Chapter 13 considers the nature and significance of international human rights, how, and how effectively, they have been protected, and debates about humanitarian intervention and its implications.
- Chapter 14 addresses the issue of international law, in particular examining the changing nature and significance of international law in the modern period.
- Chapter 15 considers the issues of global poverty and inequality, and also looks at development and the politics of international aid.
- Chapter 16 focuses on global environmental issues, and examines the challenge of climate change in depth.

- Chapter 17 discusses feminist approaches to global politics and how gender perspectives have changed thinking about war, security and other matters.

The following group of chapters considers attempts to address global or transnational issues through the construction of intergovernmental or supranational institutions.

- Chapter 18 examines the nature and growth of international organizations, and looks in particular at the role and effectiveness of the United Nations.
- Chapter 19 discusses the idea of global governance and examines its development in the economic sphere through the evolution of the Bretton Woods system.
- Chapter 20 focuses on the causes and significance of regionalism, focusing especially on the nature and significance of the European Union.

The final group of chapters reflects on broad themes that have been addressed at various points in the book.

- Chapter 21 considers how, and how far, theory contributes to our understanding of global politics, and, in the process, examines key debates about the nature and purpose of theory.
- Chapter 22 provides a conclusion to the book by reviewing and evaluating various images of the global future and reflecting on whether attempts to predict the future are ultimately futile.

SUMMARY

- Global politics is based on a comprehensive approach to world affairs that takes account not just of political developments at a global level, but also at and, crucially, across, all levels – global, regional, national, sub-national and so on. In that sense, 'the global' and 'the international' complement one another and should not be seen as rival or incompatible modes of understanding.
- 'International' politics has been transformed into 'global' politics through a variety of developments. New actors have emerged from the world stage alongside states and national governments. Levels of interconnectedness and interdependence in world politics have increased, albeit unevenly. And international anarchy has been modified by the emergence of a framework of regional and global governance.
- Globalization is the emergence of a complex web of interconnectedness that means that our lives are increasingly shaped by events that occur, and decisions that are made, at a great distance from us. Distinctions are commonly drawn between economic globalization, cultural globalization and political globalization. However, there are significant debates about whether globalization is actually happening and how far it has transformed world politics.
- The two mainstream perspectives on global politics are realism and liberalism; these are both grounded in positivism and focus on the balance between conflict and cooperation in state relations, even though they offer quite different accounts of this balance. Critical perspectives, by contrast, tend to adopt a post-positivist approach to theory and contest the global status quo by aligning themselves with the interests of marginalized or oppressed groups.
- Global politics is an ever-shifting field, with, if anything, the pace of change accelerating over time. Debates have emerged about the changing nature of power and the shifting configuration of global power, about whether national security has been displaced by international, global or even human security, and about the extent to which justice now has to be considered in cosmopolitan or global terms.

Questions for discussion

- How does 'global' politics differ from 'international' politics?
- In what ways is the international dimension of politics still important?
- To what extent have non-state actors come to rival states and national governments on the world stage?
- Does interdependence always lead to cooperation and peace, or can it generate conflict?
- Which definition of globalization is most persuasive, and why?
- Has the impact and significance of globalization been exaggerated?
- What are the key differences between mainstream and critical approaches to global politics?
- Over what do realist and liberal theorists disagree?
- To what extent has global power become more diffuse and intangible in recent years?
- Why has there been growing interest in the notion of 'human' security?
- Does the idea of 'global' justice make sense?

Further reading

- Brown, C. and K. Ainley, *Understanding International Relations* (2009). A highly readable and thought-provoking introduction to the theory and practice of international relations.
- Hay, C. (ed.), *New Directions in Political Science: Responding to the Challenges of an Interdependent World* (2010). A series of astute reflections on the nature, extent and implications of global interdependence.
- Held, D. and A. McGrew, *Globalization/Anti-globalization: Beyond the Great Divide* (2007). A comprehensive and authoritative survey of contemporary political and intellectual debates over globalization.
- Scholte, J. A., *Globalization: A Critical Introduction* (2005). An excellent and accessibly written account of the nature of globalization and of its various implications.



ONLINE
RESOURCES
AVAILABLE

Links to relevant web resources can be found on the *Global Politics* website

Index

Numbers in **bold** refer to boxed information.
 Numbers in *italics* refer to terms defined in the margin.
 f = figure, n = note, t = table

- Abbott, P. 436, 549
 abortion 292, 320, 422
 absolute gains 70, 236, 441, **443**, 468
 absolute poverty 21, 88, 360, 361,
 370–82 *passim*
 Abu Dhabi 413
 Abu Ghraib 234, 306
 accelerator principle 105
 Aceh 506
 acid rain 392
 activist NGOs 391
 adaptation 408
 Adorno, T. 75
 advocacy NGOs 10, 157, 319
 Afghanistan 20, 46, 48, 49, 50, 298,
 304, 308, 437t, 506
 anti-Soviet war (1979–89) 297, 301
 ‘just war’ 266
 state-building 127
 Afghanistan surge (2010) 232, 260
 Africa 28, 32, 51, 186, 235, 237, 369,
 405, 543, 562
 versus East Asia 377–8
 nuclear-free zone 285
 regionalism 492t, 494,
 498–500
 African Court of Justice 491
 African Economic Community (1993)
 500
 African National Congress (ANC)
 300, 306
 African Union (AU, 2002–) 447, 488,
 490–1, 492t, 500
 ‘age of migration’ 171–9, 184
 ageing population 239, 544
 agency problem **81**
Agenda for Development (UN report,
 1994) 455
Agenda for Peace (UN report, 1992)
 452, 454
 aggregate demand (Keynes) 106–7
 aggression 248, 432
 Agnew, J. 6
 ‘agricultural revolution’ 87
 agriculture 373, 478, 479, 496, 537
 ‘agro-literate’ societies (Gellner) 165
 aid/ODA 21, 22, 177, 376–88, 389,
 508, 561
 ‘can hollow out economy’ 387
 development ethic 381–6
 quality versus quantity 385
see also humanitarian intervention
 AIG 109
 Ainley, K. 24, 551
 air power 261
 air travel 175
 al-Qaeda 4, 18, 20, 48, 50, 128, 144,
 205, 209, 213, 230, 258, 266,
 292–9 *passim*, **301**, 304, 305, 309,
 549
 Al-Jazeera 155
 Algeria 37, 174, 212, 297, 298, 306,
 416
 Allende, S. 93, 97
 Allison, G. 136, 549
 ‘alter-globalization’ 74
 American century 227
 American Revolution 313, 317
 Americanization 46, 149, 151, 155,
 234, 332, 474
 Americas,
 regionalism 492t, 500–1
 Amnesty International (AI) 10, 128,
 158, 319, 320
 Amsterdam Treaty (1997) 503, 505,
 506
 ‘analytic eclecticism’ (Sil and
 Katzenstein, 2010) 525
 ‘analytical’ feminism 78–9, 424–5
 ‘anarchical society’ (Bull) 7, 463, 551
 anarchism 530
 anarchist terrorism 290, 296
 anarchists 395
 anarcho-centrism 31
 anarchy 7, 7–8, 18, 19, 56, 61–3, 250,
 462–3
 ‘what states make of it’ (Wendt)
 76–7, 274, 565
 ‘anarchy of enemies’ 77
 ‘anarchy of friends’ 77
 ‘ancestral homeland’ 182
 ancient world 26–7
 Anderson, B. 165, **169**, 549
 androgyny 421
 Angry Brigade 290
 animal rights 396
 Annan, K. 328, 333, 344, 350, 439,
 459, 549
anomie (Durkheim) 152–3
 Antarctic 285
 anthropocentrism 393, 400
 anti-Americanism 49, 223, 521

- Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty (1972) 275, 280
- anti-capitalist movement 4, 74, 143
- Anti-Comintern Pact (1936) 36
- anti-globalization movement 74, 154
- anti-globalization nationalism 182–3
- anti-Semitism 171, 175
- Anti-Slavery Society (1837) 311
- apartheid* 172, 448, 490, 499
- appeasement 25, 35, 136, 137, 308
- Aquinas, T. 65, 261, 262, 263, 340, 530
- Arab League (1945–) 489, 490
- Arab socialism 207
- Arab Spring (2011) 49, 206, 210, 211, 450
- Arab-Israeli conflict 47, 118, 119, 194, 207, 208, 306, 448, 451
- Arctic 405, 406
- Argentina 52, 378, 457, 501
- Aristotle 82–3, 207, 261
- armed conflict, gender lens 429–33
- Armenians 175, 351
- arms control 279
- arms race 272
- Armstrong, D. 460, 549
- Arrhenius, S. 404
- Art of War* (Sun Tzu) 14, 58
- 'Article 98' agreements 357
- Ashton, C. 508
- Asia, regionalism 492t, 494, 496–8, 499
- Asia-Europe Meeting 508
- Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) 489, 492t, 495, 498
- 'Asian century' 237
- Asian financial crisis (1997–8) 52, 91, 108, 202, 378–9, 473, 479, 498
- 'Asian values' 153, 201, 201–2, 324–5, 496
- Assad, B. al- 210, 211, 450
- assimilation 175
- Association of South-East Asian Nations 489, 490, 492t, 499
- ASEAN Community 499
- ASEAN Economic Community 498
- ASEAN Free Trade Area 495, 496
- ASEAN Plus Three 498
- ASEAN Regional Forum 498
- asymmetrical wars 218, 234, 246, 253, 255
- atomic, biological and chemical weapons (ABC) 271
- atomism 142
- atrocities 356
- Augustine of Hippo, St. 261, 262, 263
- Aum Shinrikyo 197, 292, 293
- Australia 191–2, 408, 488
- Aboriginal peoples 182, 395
- Austria 89
- autarky 34, 250
- authoritarianism 538–9
- autocracy 48
- 'axis of evil' 49, 230, 277
- Baader-Meinhof Group 290, 296
- Ba'athist regime (Iraq) 49, 231
- 'back to Africa' (Garvey) 189
- balance 242, 242, 243, 244, 261
- balance of payments 469
- balance of power 7, 12, 14, 63–4, 223, 262, 274, 458, 463
- 'balance of terror' 223, 273, 278, 326, 447
- Bali bombings (2002, 2005) 298, 302
- Bali Summit (2003) 499
- Balkans 30–2, 308
- bancor (proposed currency) 469
- Bandung Conference (1955) 200
- bandwagon 242, 242, 243, 244, 261, 463
- Bangkok Declaration (1993) 201, 325
- Bangkok Treaty (1997) 285
- Bangladesh 26, 174, 326, 405
- Barber, B. 150, 154, 155, 191, 550
- Barnett, M. 222, 550
- Barroso, J. M. 504
- Bashir, O. al- 356
- BASIC coalition 409
- Basque country 168, 182, 290
- Battle of Seattle (1999) 74, 157, 478
- Bauman, Z. 147, 148, 160, 550
- Beauvoir, S. de 421
- Beck, U. 147, 148, 160, 550
- Beeson, M. 513, 550
- beggar-thy-neighbour policies 106, 236, 467, 468, 482
- behaviouralism 516
- 'Beijing consensus' 92
- Beijing Olympics (2008) 180, 534
- Belfast Agreement (1998) 306
- Belgium 508
- belief-system models 137–8
- beliefs 135, 136
- Bell, D. 85, 550
- Bell, S. 139
- belle époque* 28, 29
- Ben Ali, Z. el-A. 210, 211
- Benelux 89, 492t
- Bentham, J. 3, 550
- Berenson, P. 320
- Berlusconi, S. 183
- Berman, P. 207, 550
- Bernanke, B. 110, 550
- Bernhard Gareis, S. 460
- Betsill, M. 418, 550
- Bhagavad Gita* 284
- Bhagwati, J. 384, 495, 496, 550
- Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) 180, 198
- Bhopal (1984) 393
- bias 518, 529
- bilateral immunity agreements (BIAs) 357
- billiard ball model 4f, 4–5, 117, 222
- biocentric equality 398
- biological realism 59
- biology 432
- biotechnology 411
- bipolarity 40, 41, 64, 223, 223–4, 225, 242, 517, 519, 538
- Black Muslims 189
- Black Panthers 189
- Black Power 189
- Black Skin, White Masks* (Fanon, 1952) 289
- Blackwater (Xe Services) 257
- Blair, A. C. L. 328, 542, 550
- Blitz* 261
- Blitzkrieg* 32, 247
- Blood Rites* (Ehrenreich, 1997) 419
- Bloom, M. 309, 550
- Bobbitt, P. 43, 126, 550
- Bodin, J. 117
- 'body bag effect' 329
- Bollywood 155
- Bonobo monkey 432
- 'bonus culture' 107
- Book of City of Ladies* (C. de Pisan) 420
- Bookchin, M. 391, 411, 550–1
- boom-and-bust cycles 104–5, 416
- Booth, K. 19, 551
- 'borderless world' (Ohmae) 9, 98, 100, 120, 303, 535–6, 560
- 'myth' 128
- borders (permeability) 128
- Bosnia 45, 182, 191, 256, 322, 327, 328, 427, 431–3, 452, 456, 506
- Botswana 371
- Bouazizi, M. 211
- Boulding, K. 138, 391, 534, 551
- 'bounded rationality' (Simon) 135, 562
- Boutros-Ghali, B. 454, 455
- Brady bonds 386

- Brahimi Report on Peacekeeping (2000) 459
- brain drain 177
- brand 150
- 'brand culture' 101, 152
- Brandt, W. 432
- Brandt Reports (1980, 1983) 367
- Braudel, F. 104
- Braybrooke, D. 135, 551
- Brazil 375, 387, 457, 488, 501
- Brett, E. 389, 551
- Bretton Woods system 466–86
fate 471
making 467–9
miscellaneous 23, 50, 98, 100, 103, 107, 108, 377, 380, 440, 461, 560
reform 479–84
reform obstacles 484–5
- Brezhnev doctrine (1968) 44
- BRICs 18, 216, 237, 238, 483, 484, 543–4
- Bright, J. 66
- Brin, S. 146
- brinkmanship 41
- British Empire 30(map), 36–7
- Brown, C. 24, 551
- Brundtland Commission Report (1987) 393, 397
- 'Brunei' 496
- Brussels Convention (1890) 311
- Buddhism 83, 267, 398, 411
- buffer zone 39
- Bull, H. 7, 68, 274, 463, 543, 551
- Burchill, S. 85, 551
- bureaucratic organization models 136–7
- 'bureaucratic politics' model 136
- Burke, J. 269, 551
- Burma/Myanmar 144, 329–30, 336, 496, 499
- Burton, J. 141, 551
- Buruma, I. 207, 551
- business cycle 105
- Bush, G. H. W. 44–5, 214, 226, 448
- Bush, G. W. (2001–9) 25, 48–9, 136, 197, 214, 221, 229–30, 283, 303–4, 357, 401, 520
taken on by theorists 521
- Bush doctrine 281
- Byers, M. 358, 551
- Cairo Declaration (1990) 325
- Caliphate 205
- Calley, W. 352
- Cambodia 452, 490, 496
- Cameron, D. W. D. 331
- Cameroon 348
- Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) 268, 285
- Canada 96, 223, 408, 488
- capital 87
- capitalism 87, 87–92, 99, 186, 189, 250, 251, 296, 366, 374, 413, 426, 555
crises (1994–2009) 109
see also global capitalism
- capitalist encirclement 45
- capitalist modernity 396, 412
- Capra, F. 85, 551
- Care International 10
- Carr, E. H. 34, 60, 62, 520
- carrying capacity 395
- Carson, R. 391, 552
- Casey, T. 114
- casino capitalism (Strange) 107, 479, 563
- Castells, M. 131, 144, 148, 552
- Castles, S. 184, 175n, 552
- Castro, F. 138
- Catalonia 182
- 'catastrophic' terrorism 298–302
- Catholicism 153
- causality 516
- Ceausescu, E. 43
- Ceausescu, N. 43
- Central African Republic 437t
- Central American Common Market 489
- Central Asia 498
- central government 132
- central planning 42, 44, 189, 190
'shock therapy' transition 93, 96
- Central Powers 29
- centralization 488
- Chad 506
- chaos theory 83, 84, 147
- chauvinism 32, 171
- cheap labour 94, 434
- Chechnya 168, 180, 181, 182, 226, 298, 304, 306, 322, 335
- chemical and biological weapons (CBW) 271–2, 277
- chemical weapons 450
- Chernobyl (1986) 393
- Chiang Mai Initiative (2000) 498
- 'Chicago School' 93, 95, 378
- Chile 93, 96, 353, 378
- China 26, 46, 52, 111–13, 144, 153, 155, 158, 176, 180, 194, 195, 196, 238, 242, 244, 245, 366, 370, 375, 387, 538–9, 546
carbon emissions 408–10, 412
- energy-deficit country 415
- 'new' colonialism 544
- nuclear status 286–7
- one-child policy 239, 436
- regionalism 498
- relations with USA (C21) 243
- soft power 237
- state capitalism 91, 92
- 'Chindia' 416
- 'Chinese century' 236–7, 540–1
- Chinese Communist Party 238, 239, 243
- chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) 392, 406
- choice 480
- Chomsky, N. 74, 233, 235, 251, 294, 321, 552
- Christianity 267, 346
- Chua, A. 193, 552
- Churchill, W. S. 38, 464, 501, 502
- CIA 348
- Cicero 263
- Citigroup 109
- civic nationalism 167, 170, 180, 192
- civil liberties 313
- civil and political rights (first generation rights) 313, 315t
- civil rights 313, 314
- civil war/s 247, 254, 416, 451
- civilian–military divide
blurring 255–7, 431
- civilians 352
- civilizational tensions 196
- civilizations,
'complex and fragmented' 196
- 'clash of civilizations' 20, 47, 193, 193–5, 196, 205, 215, 229, 241, 301, 489, 497, 539–40, 546, 556
- class *see* social class
- classical realism 55, 57, 135, 248, 251, 400, 517, 520, 528
balance of power 274
- Clausen, A. W. 476
- Clausewitz, K. von 246, 250, 252, 556
- climate change 22, 79, 390, 393, 402, 409, 418, 544, 545, 553, 558
adaptability to change 413
- 'cap and trade' approach 407, 409
- causes 398, 399–402
- consequences 402–6
- dangerous delays 413
- 'denial lobby' 401
- exaggerated fears 413
- international cooperation 407–10
- international cooperation (difficulty of achievement) 410–14
- myth of 'easy' solutions 413

- climate change – *continued*
 radical action 413
 ‘sceptics’ 401
 Clinton, W. J. 144, 213, 328, 355, 407
 Club of Rome 392
 ‘coalition of willing’ 49, 344
 Cobden, R. 66
 cobweb model 5, 6f
 Coca-Cola 150, 155
 ‘Coca-Colonization’ 150
 cognitive processes 137–8
 Cohen, R. 160, 552
 Cohen-Tanugi, L. 548, 552
 Cold War 17, 39–41, 43, 137, 216,
 223–4, 455, 456, 515
 end 126, 155
 general 37, 38–44
 post-revisionist explanations 39
 Coleridge, S. T. 533
 collateral damage 264, 271
 ‘collective capitalism’ 89–91
 collective dilemmas 7, 8, 128
 collective good 410
 collective identity 187–91
 collective security 274, 442, 447, 457
 collectivized state 122
 Colombia 298, 416
 colonialism 47, 126, 186, 383
 ‘comfort women’ 433
 commercial liberalism 66
 commodification 396, 400
 commodities 376–7
 commodity fetishism 150, 152
 common market 490
 communications technology
 (1455–1995) 18, 145
 communism 181, 189, 225, 517
 collapse (1989–91) 42–4, 51, 93,
 190–1, 519
 fall of Berlin Wall (1989) 43
Communist Manifesto (Marx and
 Engels, 1848) 72, 86
 communitarianism 84, 187, 192, 323,
 531, 546
 community 151
 ‘comparative advantage’ 101, 480
 compellance 218
 ‘competition state’ 123, 127
 ‘complex interdependence’ (Keohane
 and Nye) 7, 66, 133, 222, 225,
 441, 442, 444
 ‘complexity science’ (Rosenau) 82
 Comprehensive Development
 Framework (CDF) 380
 Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
 (CTBT, 1996) 280, 286
 ‘computer war’ 260
 Comte, A. 526
 Concert of Europe (1815–1914) 440
 conditionalities 377, 473
 confederation 488
 Conference on Security and
 Cooperation in Europe (CSCE,
 1975–94) 45
 ‘conflict of laws’ 339
 conflict resolution 69
 Confucianism 153, 202, 237
 Congo-Kinshasa 308, 334, 437t, 452
 ‘Eastern Congo’ 506
 Congress of Vienna (1815) 311
 connectivism 144
 Conrad, J. 290
 conscientious objection 267
 consent 342
 constitution 347
 constitutive theory 55
 constitutive theory of state 116
 constructivism 16, 64, 75, 75–7, 514,
 515, 516, 520, 525
 holistic, systemic, unit-level 75
see also social constructivism
 constructivist approaches
 foreign policy 138
 human nature 59
 international law 345
 society 143
 terrorism 294
 theory 528
 constructivists 423, 493, 534
 ‘conventional’ versus ‘critical’ 526–
 7, 528
 ‘mainstream’ versus ‘radical’ 526–7
 ‘postmodern’ 527
 consumerism 100, 101, 150–1, 153
 as ‘captivity’ 151, 152
 contagion 107
 ‘contented majority’ 142
 ‘contingent pacifism’ 267
 Continental Congresses (1774–81)
 488
 Convention on Rights of Child (1990)
 318, 319
 conventional warfare 247
 Cooper, R. 124, 229, 245, 466, 552
 ‘cooperation under anarchy’ (Oye)
 465, 560
 Copenhagen conference (2009) 238,
 393, 409, 410, 413
 core-periphery theory 82, 90, 103,
 104, 372, 470, 476
 semi-periphery 73, 364, 373, 374
 Cornia, G. A. 372, 552
 correspondence theory of truth 522
 corruption 386, 387
 Corsica 182
 cosmopolitan approaches
 development 364
 international law 349
 ‘cosmopolitan democracy’ (Held)
 240, 483, 545–6, 549, 556
 cosmopolitanism 83–4, 315–16, 465,
 480
 ‘moral’ versus ‘political’ 21
 Council of Europe 319, 490, 492t
 counter-insurgency 49, 213, 231, 253,
 257, 258, 260, 262, 266, 521, 558
 counter-terrorism 294
 counter-productive measures 304,
 307
 military repression 304–6
 political deals 306–8
 restriction of human rights 307
 strengthening state security 302–4
 countervailing power (Galbraith)
 154, 554
 Cowen, N. 53, 552
 Cox, M. 245, 560
 Cox, R. 13, 31, 75, 96, 124, 125,
 227–8, 527, 552–3
 ‘internationalization of state’ 123,
 125
 theory ‘always for someone’ 527,
 529–30
 ‘creative destruction’ (Schumpeter)
 105
 credit crisis 108
 crimes against humanity 332–3, 351,
 351–2
 ‘crimes against peace’ 350
 critical theory 12, 289, 292, 423, 514,
 515, 516, 520, 523, 530
see also Frankfurt School
 critical theory approaches 71–80
 balance of power 274
 development 364
 end of Cold War 225
 gender relations 426
 global economic governance 470
 global political economy 90
 globalization 12
 history 31
 human nature 59
 human rights 317
 identity 188
 international law 346
 international organizations 444
 migration 177
 nationalism 166

- critical theory approaches – *continued*
 nature 400
 society 143
 state 125
 terrorism 294
 theory 528
 war and peace 251
- Croatia 427, 503, 506
- Cuba 49
- Cuban Missile Crisis (1962) 39, 41, 136, 268, 448
- cultural belonging 170
- cultural bonds 69
- cultural conflict 193–5, 196
- ‘cultural ethnography’ (Kilkullen) 257
- cultural globalization 8–9, 12, 44, 140, 149, 151, 297
- cultural harmony 196
- cultural homogenization 196
- cultural imperialism 149, 189, 335
- cultural nationalism 180–2, 182
- cultural polarization 155
- cultural relativism 84
- cultural rights 203
- ‘culturalism’ 194
- culture 194, 196
 ‘privatized’ 187
- ‘culture industry’ 155
- custom 342
- customary international law 312, 333, 342, 350
- customs unions 490, 499
- ‘cyber war’ 260
- Czech Republic 275, 283
- Czechoslovakia 43, 62
- Dalai Lama 223
- Daly, H. 110, 553
- Darfur 329, 336, 447, 457, 491
- Darwin, C. 248, 534
- data deficiencies 369
- Day After Tomorrow* (2004) 406
- de Gaulle, C. 505
- debt 109, 112
see also sovereign debt
- debt crisis 377
- debt relief 386, 386–8
- decentralization 131, 488
- Declaration of United Nations (1942) 445
- Declaration on Abolition of Slave Trade (1815) 351
- decolonization 36, 52, 168, 494
- deconstruction 78
- deep ecologists 412, 414
- deep ecology 79, 397, 411
- defensive realism 64, 240, 463
- deference 187
- deflation 104
- deformalization 466
- democracy
 ‘hollowing out’ 101
 ‘human right’ 314
- ‘democracy promotion’ 301, 314, 335
- ‘democratic deficit’ 96
- democratic peace thesis 67, 69, 212, 213, 249, 251, 253, 516, 538
 feminist alternative 430
- democratization 65, 211
- Deng Xiaoping 236, 238
- Denmark 94, 370, 383, 437t, 511
- dependency theory 73, 364
- Der Derian, J. 78, 535, 553
- ‘derivatives’ 107
- Derrida, J. 77, 553
- descriptive theory 55
- Dessler, A. 418, 553
- détente* 42, 225
- determinism 9, 144, 274, 414, 517
- deterrence 218
- deterritorialization 149, 154
- Deutsch, K. 490, 494, 553
- devaluation 107, 473
- development 22, 359, 360, 364, 366, 480
 ‘alternative’ view 365–7, 368
 export-orientated 374
 gender and globalization 433–7
 major initiatives 385
 orthodox view 362–5
 politics of aid 376–88
 state-promotion 129
- development ethic 381–6
- ‘development failures’ 364
- ‘development as freedom’ (Sen) 363, 381, 562
- ‘development as growth’ 364
- ‘development as sustainability’ 364
- development theory 389, 551, 565
- devolution 132, 488
- Dewey, J. 523
- ‘diamond wars’ 416
- diasporas 173, 174–6
- difference feminism 421, 423, 424
 human nature 59
 identity 188
 war and peace 251
- Dillon, D. 478
- diplomacy 5
- diplomatic immunity 342
- direct action 159
- ‘dirty hands’ 267, 294, 307
- disarmament 279
- ‘disaster capitalism’ (Klein) 97
- discourse 77
- ‘discourse of power’ (Foucault) 77
- distant proximity 82
- division of labour 87
 global 103
 sexual 433–5
see also specialization
- ‘doctrine of international community’ (Blair, 2004) 542
- Doha conference (2012) 393, 409
- Doha Round (2001–) 478, 479, 501, 537
- dollar imperialism 73, 186, 364
- domestic capacity 387
- domestic law 345, 346
- domestic-international divide 6–8
- Dominican Republic 435
- Donnelly, J. 337, 553
- dotcom crisis (2000) 479
- Downs, A. 134, 553
- dowry system 437
- Doyle, M. 538, 553
- DREAM Act (USA) 178
- Dresden 265
- drone 262
- Duckett, J. 245, 565
- Dujail massacre (1982) 353
- Dunne, T. 139, 337, 553, 563
- Durban conference (2011) 393, 409
- Durkheim, . 152–3, 553
- Dutch disease 416
- Duvall, R. 222, 550
- East Asia 288, 366, 513, 550
 versus Africa 377–8
- East Asia Summit (EAS) 492t, 498
- East European Revolutions (1989–91) 538
- East India Company 94
- East Timor 253, 327, 328, 452, 456, 490
- East Timor Tribunal 353
- Easterly, W. 378, 385, 553
- Eastern Europe 39, 40, 43, 93, 122, 225, 372, 525
- ‘Eastern question’ (Europe) 30–2
- eco-anarchism 79, 397
- eco-cities 413
- eco-feminism 79, 397, 400
- eco-socialists 79, 395, 396, 413
- eco-systems 392f
- ecocentrism 397
- ecological footprint 397

- ecologism 391
 ecology 391, 398, 418, 558
 versus economic growth 397
 Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) 490, 492t, 500
 economic development 219
 economic freedom 101
 economic globalization 8, 22, 28, 44, 51, 98, 130, 155, 228, 372, 434
 causes 97–100
 myth or reality 100–4
 promotion of prosperity (debated) 101
 economic growth 110, 363, 397, 561
 economic imperialism 73
 economic individualism 152
 ‘economic man’ 134
 economic nationalism 90
 economic regionalism 489–90, 495
 economic restructuring 413
 economic, social and cultural rights (second- generation rights) 313–14, 315t
 economic and social development 453–5
 economic sovereignty 120
 ‘economic woman’ 434
 ‘economism’ 194
 economy in global age 22, 86–114
 Eden, Sir Anthony 138
 efficiency 480
 egoism 56
 Egypt 26, 49, 200, 206, 210, 282, 297
 Egyptian Islamic Jihad 295
 Ehrenreich, B. 419, 553
 Einstein, A. 464, 514, 534
 El Salvador 348, 432, 452, 456
 elites 491, 493, 546
 Elliott, L., 418, 553
 Elshtain, J. B. 263, 266, 435, 554
 embedded liberalism 469, 470
 emergency relief 387
 ‘emerging powers’ 235
 emissions trading 407
 Emmott, B. 245
 empire 29, 30(map), 36–8, 438, 554
 empirical feminism 423–4
 ‘empirical’ feminists 78, 435
 empiricism 55, 518, 525, 525–6, 530–1
 ‘end of history’ (Fukuyama) 31, 45, 67, 187, 538, 546, 554
 ‘return of history’ (Kagan) 242, 539, 557
End of Nation-State (Ohmae, 1996) 115, 560
 ‘end of poverty’ (Sachs) 381
 ‘end of sovereignty’ 118
 ‘ends justify means’ 264–5
 energy 91, 480
 Engels, F. 72, 86, 527, 559
 English, R. 303, 554
 English Revolution (C17) 313, 317
 English School (IR) 68, 141
 Enlightenment 27, 186, 195, 323, 415, 528
 Enloe, C. 438, 554
 enterprise capitalism 87–8
 entropy 392
 environment 22, 391–3, 544–5
 international politics 418, 550, 553
 major initiatives (1946–2012) 394
 environmental degradation 396
 epistemology 524, 528
 Equatorial Guinea 257, 416
 essentialist feminists 423, 432
 essentialism 421
 ETA 292
 ethics 85, 391, 550, 562
 ethnic cleansing 171, 182, 258, 333
 ethnic group 163
 ethnic minorities
 market-dominant 193
 ethnic nationalism 132, 167, 180–2, 536
 ethnicity 192, 193
 ‘ethnies’ (Smith) 164
 ethnocentrism 138
 Eurocentrism 80, 212, 283, 324, 346, 356, 426, 542
 Europe 27–8, 87
 European Central Bank 504, 511
 European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC, 1952–) 490, 502, 503, 504, 509
 European Commission 504, 508, 509
 European Community (EC, 1967) 502, 503, 504, 508, 509
 European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR, 1950) 318, 319
 European Court of Human Rights (Strasbourg) 319
 European Court of Justice (EU) 504, 505, 509
 European Defence Community (abortive) 506
 European Economic Community (EEC, 1958–) 490, 502, 504, 506, 508, 509
 European integration 497, 501–13, 561
 European Nuclear Disarmament (END) 268, 285
 European Parliament 504
 European Regional Development Fund 132
 European Union (1993–) 7, 23, 70, 122, 463, 487, 488, 509
 bailouts (2010–13) 112
 ‘Copenhagen criteria’ (1993) 510
 ‘crisis’ 508–12
 ‘crowning achievement’ 512
 ‘democratic deficit’ 509
 economic challenges 510, 512
 ‘economic superpower’ 509
 ‘ever-closer union’ 491, 502, 510
 expansion 495, 510, 511–12
 external policy 506–8
 Franco-German axis 510
 history 503
 ‘intergovernmental’ versus ‘supranational’ bodies 504, 505
 law 505
 membership 503, 504, 507(map)
 nature 502–6
 ‘pillars’ 509
 ‘postmodern proto-state’ 124
 ‘single market’ 499, 503, 504, 511
 sovereign debt crisis 512
 workings 504
 European Union: Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) 506, 509
 European Union: Constitutional Treaty (2004) 505–6
 referendum defeats (France, Netherlands, 2005) 505, 510
 European Union: Council of Ministers (‘The Council’) 504, 505, 508, 509
 European Union: European Council (‘European Summit’) 504, 509
 European Union: High Representative for Foreign Affairs 508
 eurozone 111, 112, 504, 509, 511, 512
 eurozone crisis 49, 112, 109, 482, 503, 511, 512
 exchange rate 468
 explanatory power 522
 explanatory theory 55, 517, 519, 522
 exploitation 383, 434
 externality 395, 396
 extraordinary rendition 304
 Exxon Mobil 94
 failed state/s 126, 128, 229
 fair trade 386–8, 388

- Falk, R. 294, 554
 Falklands War 247, 249
 Fanon, F. 201, 289
 'false consciousness' 166, 188, 527
 falsifiability (Popper) 522
 Falun Gong 197, 322
 family 422, 426
 Fannie Mae, Freddie Mac 108–9
 Fatah (PLO) 119, 296
 'fatherland' versus 'motherland' 427
 Fawn, R. 513, 554
 federalism 132, 133, 441, 488, 491
 'federalism by instalments' (Haas) 494
 feminism 23, 78–9, 438, 514, 515, 516, 518, 520, 525, 549, 554
 'analytical' versus 'empirical' 423–5
 'difference' versus 'equality' 421–3
 varieties 420–3
 feminist approaches
 balance of power 274
 development 364
 gender relations 426
 globalization 12
 history 31
 human nature 59
 human rights 317
 identity 188
 international law 346
 international organizations 444
 nationalism 166
 nature 400
 society 143
 state 125
 theory 528
 war and peace 251
 feminist economists 103
 feminists 16, 203, 221, 222, 311
 foreign policy 138
 'feminization of work' 434
 feudalism 27, 87
 Financial Stability Board (FSB, 2009–) 484
 Financial Stability Forum 484
 financial structure (Strange) 219
 financialization 95, 107
 Finland 265, 437t, 443
 Finnemore, M. 328, 526, 527, 554
 'first modernity' (Beck) 147
 first strike 273, 278, 282
 first-wave feminism 420, 422
 'fiscal retrenchment' 112
 fiscal union 512
 Fischer, F. 30, 554
 Flanders 182
 flooding 404–5
 food aid 508
 food dumping 386
 Fordism/post-Fordism 130, 141, 142
 'foreign' 133
 foreign policy 22, 115, 134, 143, 288, 319, 432, 531, 535, 562, 563
 bureaucratic organization models 136–7
 cognitive processes and belief-system models 137–8
 decision-making 134–8
 'end' 133
 filtering process 138
 incremental models 135–6
 levels of analysis (Waltz) 134
 perception versus misperception 137
 rational actor models 134–5, 137
 'form follows function' (Mitrany) 493
 Forster, E.M. 1
 'fortress Europe' 495
 fossil fuels 391, 406, 412, 414
 Foucault, M. 16, 17, 31, 77
 Fourteen Points (1918) 62, 167, 442, 445
 Fox, W. 38
 France 62, 89, 213, 380, 437t, 488, 499, 501, 505, 508, 511–12
 regional government 132
 Frankfurt 504
 Frankfurt School 31, 72, 73, 75, 143, 529, 530
 gender relations 426
 international organizations 444
 society 143
 theory 528
see also critical theory
 free riders 268, 410
 free trade 51, 66, 70–1, 373, 378, 387, 469, 480, 530, 536
 free trade area/s 490, 499
 Free Trade Area of Americas (FTAA) 495, 500, 501
 freedom 170, 376
 'fundamental value' 307
 'freedom from fear' 429, 430
 Freedom and Justice Party (Egypt) 206
 Freedom Party (Austria) 183
 'freedom from want' 429, 430
 French National Assembly 506
 French Revolution (1789) 25, 162, 165, 313, 317
 French West African Federation 498
 Friedman, M. 88, 93, 95, 378, 554
 Friedman, R. 95
 Friedman, T. 374, 354
 Friends of Earth 401
 'frontier ideology' 228
 Frowe, H., 269
 'fuel nationalism' 180
 Fujimori, A. 354
 Fukuyama, F. 31, 43, 45, 67, 187, 432, 538, 539, 553, 554
 functionalism 441–2, 491, 491–3, 494, 559
 functionalist theory of integration 346
 'functionalist-sociological' approach (Mitrany) 494
 fundamentalism 198, 198–9
Fundamentals (evangelical pamphlets, 1910–15) 198
 future generations 398
 Gaddafi, M. 210, 211, 327, 331
 Gaia hypothesis (Lovelock) 79, 398, 399
 Galbraith, J. K. 106, 142, 154, 554
 game theory 286
 Gandhi, I. 432
 Gandhi, M. K. 200, 201, 267, 268, 359, 411, 432, 464
 Garvey, M. 189
 Gellner, E. 165, 169, 179
Gemeinschaft versus *Gesellschaft* (Tönnies) 141, 152, 186–7
 gender 23, 78, 423, 419–38, 560, 562, 564
 globalization and development 433–7
 versus 'sex' 421, 423, 426
 states and nations 425–7
 'trumped' by power 432
 Gender Inequality Index (GII) 436, 437t
 gender lenses 419, 423–5
 gender mainstreaming 422, 424
 gender relations 426
 gender stereotypes 432
 gendered 518
 gendered violence 427, 428
 'genealogy' (historical thought) 31
 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT, 1948–95) 100, 467, 468–9, 476–7, 537
 negotiating rounds 478
 General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) 477
 General Motors 4, 94

- 'general principles of law' 342–3
General Theory (Keynes, 1936) 54, 106, 108
 'general will' (Rousseau) 117, 168
 Geneva Conventions 304
 (1926) 311
 (1949; protocols 1977, 2005) 351
 genocide 182, 323, 353
 Genocide Convention (1948) 342, 350, 352
 geography 219
 'geography is destiny' 414
 geopolitics 400, 414, 548, 552
 George, S. 384, 555
 Georgia,
 NATO accession (blocked) 259
 Georgian War (2008) 69, 180, 181, 34, 239, 254, 259, 283, 417
 German Greens 391
 'German problem' 30, 502
 Germany 62, 102, 167, 168, 414, 437t, 457, 499, 501, 505, 506, 511–12
 reunification (1990) 43
 social capitalism 88–9
 Ghana 200, 378, 500
 Gini coefficient 370
glasnost 44
 'global' xix, 2
 global capitalism 364, 365, 544
 booms and slumps 104–5
 'in crisis' 22, 104–14
 modern crises and 'contagions' 107–8
 global citizenship 81
 global civil society 154–9
 concept 156
 miscellaneous 22, 140, 143, 146, 160, 557
 'outsider' status 157
 global commons 395
 global economic crisis (1929–33) 34
 'Great Depression' 98, 111, 178, 236, 445, 453, 467, 470
 lessons 106–7
 global economic governance 466, 470, 495
 evaluation 472–9
 'Great Recession' (2007–9) 482
 global economy 51–2
 global financial crisis (2007–9) 479–84
 and global economic governance 482
 'Great Recession' 111, 481, 482, 511
 implications 108–13
 largely unanticipated 547
 miscellaneous 7, 52, 97, 114, 127, 178, 181, 236–7, 238, 371, 409, 474, 475, 476, 508, 512
 global future 23, 533, 548, 557
 contending images 535–46
 images and reality 534–5
 'unknowable' 546–7
 global governance 7–8, 23, 129, 130, 396, 440–1, 461, 462, 486, 545, 565
 contours 465–6
 definition 462
 myth or reality 466
 nature 462–5
 global hegemony 463–4
 see also hegemony
 global inequality 367–70
 basis of comparison 370
 contours 370–2
 'contours' versus 'trend' 368
 disequalizing trends 371–2
 equalizing trends 370–1
 impact of globalization 372–5
 importance 375–6
 'the poor' versus 'the rich' 369–70
 within-country inequality 372, 373, 375, 552
 global interdependence xix, 335
 global justice 81, 83–4, 157
 global justice gap 356
 global liberalization 155
 global media corporations 149
 global monoculture (debated) 155
 global order 22, 227–35
 'world order' 223
 global political economy 114, 560, 561
 global politics
 book structure 21–3
 competing models (Rittberger *et al.*) 467t
 critical perspectives 15–16
 debates 23
 definitions 3
 dimensions 2f
 foundations/connections/nature 1–24
 mainstream perspectives 13–15
 theories 22, 23, 54–85, 514
 'value-free' study 529
 global security 20
 global sociology 160, 552
 global terrorism 11, 293, 298, 300
 global warming 393, 402
 globalism 8
 'globalony' 9
 globality 8
 globalization 1, 6, 8, 11, 12, 24, 74, 118–22, 148, 253, 556, 561, 562
 'by consent' 100
 explanations 8–9
 'from below' 159
 gender and development 433–7
 impact on poverty and inequality 372–5
 implications (social and cultural) 149–50
 moral sensibilities 81
 myth versus reality 9–13
 'positive-sum game' 374
 globalization sceptics 11, 100
 globalization transformationalists 11–13
 'glocalization' (Robertson) 155
 gold exchange standard 473
 Goldin, I. 486
 Goldman Sachs 483
 Goldstein, J. 431, 555
 Good Friday Agreement (1998) 306
 good governance 127, 129, 386, 387
 Google (1998–) 4, 145, 146
 Gorbachev, M. 42–4, 216, 224–6, 322, 519, 525
 Gore, A. 403
 governance 115, 118, 130, 139
 versus 'government' 129–31
 government
 versus 'governance' 129–31
 'government debt' 112
 governments
 'rowing' versus 'steering' 130
 Graham, P. 245, 565
 Grameen Bank 384, 437
 Gramsci, A. 72, 73, 73–5, 228, 529, 555
 Gray, C. 358, 555
Great Crash, 1929 (Galbraith, 1955) 106, 554
 'great man' history 35
 great powers 5, 6, 217, 557
 Greece 26, 325, 506, 511, 512
 green approaches
 development 364
 international organizations 444
 nature 400
 society 143
 'green capitalism' 414
 green movement 156–7
 green politics 79–80, 391–8, 515, 516
 radical ecology 396–8
 'radicalism' versus 'reformism' 393

- green politics – *continued*
 reformist ecology 395–6
 same as ‘ecologism’ 16
 green revolution 385
 green taxes 396
 greenhouse effect 404, 405f
 greenhouse gases 393
 Greenpeace 4, 10, 128, 401
 Greenspan, A. 111
 Greig, A. 389, 555
 gross domestic product (GDP) 362
per capita 369
 Grotius, H. 263, 311, 325, 339, 340,
 341, 464, 541, 543, 551
 Group of Seven (G-7) 121, 471, 472,
 483, 484
 Group of Eight (G-8) 121, 472, 484
 Gleneagles summit (2005) 381,
 386
 Group of Twenty (G-20) 111, 121,
 127, 472, 482, 484
 groupthink (Janis) 137, 138, 557
 ‘growthism’ 413
Grundrisse (Marx, 1857–8) 99, 559
 Guantánamo Bay 232, 234, 266, 304,
 307
 Guatemala 308
 guerrilla war 248, 255, 257, 291
 Gujarat riots (2002) 427, 428
 Gulf states 417
 Gulf War (1991) 45, 226, 228, 248,
 260–1, 345, 415, 447, 448, 456,
 457, 542
 Gunning, J. 309, 557
- Haas, E. 494, 555
 Habermas, J. 75, 347, 531, 555
 Hadfield, A. 139, 563
 Hadzic, G. 353
 Hagenbach, P. von 351
 Hague Conventions (1907) 311
 Hague Peace Conferences (1899, 1907)
 351
 Haider, J. 183
 Haiti 326, 327
 Hall, J. A. 548, 560
 Hall, P. 89, 555
 Halliburton 257
 Hamas 48, 119, 206, 209, 282, 293
 Hammarskjöld, D. 445, 451
 ‘happiness economics’ 152
 hard law 340
 hard power 18, 221, 221f, 222
 Hardin, G. 395, 411, 555
 Harvey, D. 114, 555
 Hassan al-Banna 206
- Havana Charter (1948) 477
 Hay, C. 24, 139, 556
 Hayek, F. A. von 88, 93, 95
 hearts and minds 221, 260, 307
 Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
 (HIPC) Initiative 386
 ‘hedge funds’ 107
 ‘hedged realists’ 64, 68
 Hegel, G. W. F. 491
 hegemon 17
 hegemonic stability theory 236, 470
 hegemonic war 248, 251
 hegemony 75, 216, 228, 233–5, 444
 hegemony transfer 541
 Hehir, A. 337, 358, 556
 Held, D. 8, 545–6, 549, 556
 Helsinki Conference (1975) 45
 Helsinki Watch 319
 Herder, J. 164
 ‘heroic warrior’ 430–1
 Herring, E. 288, 556
 Hertz, N. 74, 556
 Heywood, A. 556
 Hezbollah 48, 209, 282, 292, 293, 295,
 299, 304, 450
 hierarchy 129
 hierarchy of needs (Maslow) 157,
 360, 351f
 high politics 66
 Hindmoor, A. 139
 Hindu pacifism 267
 Hindu-Muslim violence 428
 Hiroshima/Nagasaki 265, 270, 271,
 278, 298–9
 history 21, 25–53, 522, 546, 552, 556,
 563, 565
 ‘repeats itself’ (Marx) 50
 Hitler, A. 35, 136
 HIV-AIDS 371, 382, 383, 455, 491,
 544, 545
 Hizb al-Tahrir 213
 Hobbes, T. 14, 58, 59, 68, 117, 311,
 340, 346
 Hobsbawm, E. 53, 165, 166, 556
 Hochstetler, K. 418, 550
 Hoffman, B. 295, 309, 556
 holism 80
 Hollywood 13
 ‘home front’ 431
 homogenization 149, 155, 191, 540
 Honduras 348
 Hong Kong 91, 201, 375
 ‘honour killings’ 203
 Hoover administration 106
 Horkheimer, M. 75
 Howard, M. 269, 556
- Howards End* (Forster, 1910) 1
 Hulme, D. 389, 555
 human development 363, 381
 Human Development Index (HDI)
 362, 363, 371, 373t, 453
 Human Development Reports (HDRs)
 453
 (1999) 455
 (2001) 369–70
 (2009) 371
 human ingenuity 413
 human nature 59, 248, 317, 395, 400
 human rights 22, 81, 84, 188, 307,
 310, 311, 317, 324, 337, 459, 531,
 553, 564
 ‘absolute’, ‘fundamental’, ‘indivisible’,
 ‘universal’ 311
 challenges 323–5
 defining 311–16
 implications for global politics
 315–16
 individual in global politics
 311–12
 major documents (1948–2000)
 318
 nature and types 312–14
 philosophical backlash 323
 postcolonial critiques 323–5
 protection 316–22
 ‘relativism’ versus ‘universalism’
 323
 ‘three generations’ (Vasak) 312,
 315t
 in world of states 319–22
 human rights regime 316–19
 Human Rights Watch 158, 319
 human security 19, 429, 430
 Human Security Gateway 429
 human trafficking 174
 ‘humanitarian’ 325
 humanitarian aid 387, 508
 humanitarian intervention 22, 310,
 326, 332, 337, 542, 554, 556, 565
 ‘against international law’ 335
 conditions 330–4
 cost-benefit analysis 334–6
 criteria (ICISS) 333
 ‘double standards’ 335
 examples 327
 ‘first resort’ response 330
 international law 349–50
 ‘just cause’ and ‘right authority’
 332–3, 335
 Libya (2011) 331, 334
 ‘new world order’ 326–8
 rise 325–30

- humanitarian intervention – *continued*
 ‘simplistic politics’ 335
 ‘war on terror’ 328–30
- humanitarian law 356
- humanitarian wars 268
- humanitarianism 311
- humanity 81
 ‘indivisible’ 335
- Hume, D. 415, 526
- Hundred Years’ War (1337–1453) 247
- Huntington, S. P. 47, 155, 193, 196, 215, 229, 249, 489, 539, 540
 ‘waves of democratization’ 538, 540, 556
see also ‘clash of civilizations’
- hybridity 172, 176, 191–3
- hybridization 155
- Hymans, J. 288, 556
- ‘hyper-liberal globalizing capitalism’ (Cox) 96
- ‘hyper-terrorism’ (Sprinzak) 299
- hyperglobalism 9, 12, 72, 82, 99, 100, 118, 140, 535–6
- hyperpower/s 227, 240
- ICBMs 283
- Iceland 437t
- ICT 97, 99, 156, 219, 301
- idealism 65, 346, 528
- ideational factors 76
- identity 164, 187, 188
 ‘solitaristic’ (Sen) 255
- identity politics 22, 154, 185, 190, 215, 560
 rise 186–95
 self-definition 190, 191
- identity war/s 254, 254–5, 457
- ideology 34–5, 40, 135, 137, 138, 179, 520, 527, 530
- Ignatieff, M. 292–3, 557
- images 534–5, 546
- ‘imagination’ (Einstein) 534
- ‘imagined community’ (Anderson) 165, 169
- immigration 174
- ‘imperial over-reach’ 36, 168, 228
- imperialism 28, 28–9, 32, 49, 97–8, 463, 558
- Imperialism: Highest Stage of Capitalism* (Lenin, 1916) 72, 558
- imperialist war 251
- import substitution 374
- ‘in group’ 137, 170
- ‘incipient globalization’ (Scholte) 29
- incommensurability 520
- incrementalism 135
- indentured labour 172
- independence 4–6
- India 26, 52, 158, 163, 200, 237, 245, 370, 375, 387
 energy-deficit country 415
 federalism 132
 nuclear status 275, 276
 outside Kyoto process 408
- individual culpability 356
- individual/s 134, 430
 in global politics 311–12
- individualism 84, 143, 151–4, 154, 186, 426
- individuality 154
- Indonesia 103, 200, 416, 496, 543
- industrialization 87, 141–2, 396
- inequality 22, 101, 389, 555
- infant industries 379, 480
- information society 142–5
- insecurity 145–7
- ‘insecurity of security’ 429
- institution 339
- insurgency 255
- insurrectionary terrorism 292
- intellectual property rights 477
- intentionalism 76
- interconnectedness 80–3, 221
- interdependence 2, 4–6, 7, 21, 194, 221, 540, 557
- interdependence liberalism 66–7, 70–1, 523
- interest rates 511, 512
- intergovernmental military alliances 259
- intergovernmental organizations 380, 403, 456, 475, 537
- intergovernmentalism 440, 465, 466, 489, 504, 505
- Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty (1987) 280
- internally-displaced persons 173
- ‘international’ xix
- international aid 383
see also aid
- International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) 277, 281, 282, 283
- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) 467
- International Bill of Human Rights 316
- International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) 285
- International Clearing Union (proposed) 469
- International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS, 2000–) 333
- International Commission of Jurists 319
- International Committee of Red Cross (1863–) 10, 318
- international community 335, 541–2
- international conventions 341–2
- International Court of Justice (ICJ, UN) 340, 341, 343, 346, 347, 348, 456
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) 312, 315t, 316, 321, 350
- International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) 312, 315t, 316, 321, 350
- International Criminal Court (ICC, 2002–) 49, 119, 157, 158, 229, 349, 352, 354–7
 anti-African bias 354
 effectiveness (debated) 356
 ‘not part of UN system’ 355
 ‘political tool of West’ 356
 ‘Singapore compromise’ 355
 US opposition 355–7
- International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia (ICTY, 1993) 352–5
- International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) 353, 355
- international economic fora 121
- International Finance Facility 383
- international human rights 128
- international humanitarian law 341
- International Labour Office (1901–) 311–2
- International Labour Organization (1919–) 312, 482
- international law 22, 65, 117, 251, 267, 285, 335, 339, 346, 551, 555, 558
 agents 347–9
 compliance 343–5
 conceptions 347, 349
 ‘constitutionalization’ (Habermas) 347
 in flux 345–57
 nature 339–41
 ‘paradox’ 340
 ‘private’ versus ‘public’ 339
 purpose 347, 349
 scope 347
 sources 341–3
 subjects 347
 ‘world law’ 338, 345–50
see also customary international law

- International Monetary Fund (IMF)
7, 51, 70, 74, 100, 108, 121, 228,
378–9, 472–4, 475, 467, 537, 547,
472–4, 475
miscellaneous 7, 51, 70, 74, 100,
108, 121, 228, 378–9, 467, 537,
547
- international organization/s 23, 439,
460, 486, 549, 557, 561
‘actors’ versus ‘instruments’ 440
categorization 440
versus ‘global governance’ 462
rise 440–1
purpose 441–2
- International Panel on Climate Change
(IPCC, 1988–) 393, 403, 405,
406
assessment reports 401, 403, 404,
408, 413
- international paradigm 1, 2
international political economy 15
international politics (discipline) 515
international regime/s 71, 396
- International Relations (IR) 3, 6, 24,
54, 85, 551, 557, 562, 564, 565
academic research (policy relevance)
519–20
great debate (first) 56, 515
great debates (first to fourth) 516
great debate (fourth) 423
‘inter-paradigm debate’ 515, 516
theory xix, 418, 532, 558
- international security 19
- International Security Assistance Force
259
- international society 7, 9, 68, 143,
274, 321, 341, 344, 541, 551
- international stability 278
- International Trade Organization
(abortive) 476–7
- international tribunals 352–5
- International/Intertextual* (Der Derian
and Shapiro, 1989) 78, 553
- internationalism 14, 67
- internationalization 98
- internet 144, 145, 146, 301
- interpretive theory 55, 518, 520
- intervention 325
- intra-firm trade 102
- ‘invented tradition’ (Hobsbawm)
166, 556
- ‘inviolability of borders’ 330
- ‘invisible hand’ (Smith) 82, 104, 106
- IRA 292
- Iran 49, 144, 232, 506
nuclear status 281, 282, 286
- Iranian Revolution (1979) 48, 197,
204, 205, 209, 212, 282, 297
- Iraq 47, 129, 193, 298
Iraq: Northern 253, 327, 334
Iraq ‘surge’ (2007) 232, 258, 260
Iraq War (2003–11) 20, 46, 49, 50, 61,
69, 136, 213, 218, 221, 230–1, 233,
241, 262, 281, 344, 415, 448–9,
520
‘most privatized’ 257
‘new’ war 258
theorists take on White House 521
- Iraqi Islamic Party 206
- Ireland 162, 163, 173, 512
- ‘irrational exuberance’ (A. Greenspan)
111
- Islam 47, 48, 154, 155, 185, 194, 196,
558
challenge to West 202–14
Shi’a versus Sunni 209, 211, 218,
258
- Islamic feminism 203, 426
- Islamic Salvation Front (Algeria) 212
- Islamism 20, 204, 205, 206, 293, 295
same as ‘political Islam’ 205
- Islamist terrorism 297–8, 300, 301,
306, 308, 539–40
- ‘Islamofascism’ 205
- Islamophobia 203, 213
- Israel 198, 205, 209, 231, 300, 302,
304, 318
nuclear status 276, 282
- issue terrorism 292
- Italian Red Brigades 290, 296
- Italy 167, 168, 512
- Itoh, I. 270
- Jackson, R. 85, 309, 557
- Jainism 267
- James, W. 523
- Janis, I. L. 137, 138, 557
- Japan 32–3, 35–6, 102, 153, 164, 202,
237, 245, 408, 546
state capitalism 91
- Japan: MITI 91
- Japanese Red Army 290, 296
- Jarvis, L. 309, 557
- Jefferson, T. 312, 317
- Jervis, R. 138, 273, 521, 557
- Jessop, B. 123, 557
- jihād* 154, 155, 202, 205, 207, 215,
266, 301, 309, 550, 557
- jihādism 249, 297–8, 305
- Jordan 206
- Jørgensen, K. E. 532
- Jubilee 2000 381
- jurisprudence 347
- jus ad bellum* (just recourse to war)
263, 264–5, 267, 350
- jus in bello* (just conduct in war) 264,
264–5, 267, 286, 350
- just war 263
Afghanistan 266
principles 264
- just war theory 19–21, 261, 263–7,
330, 435
- justice (fairness) 19–21
‘justice beyond borders’ 81
- Justice and Development Party (AK)
209
- Kagan, R. 47, 229, 242, 539, 557
- Kahn, H. 286, 557
- Kahrt, N. 358
- Kaldor, M. 182, 257, 269, 557
- Kambanda, J. 353
- Kant, I. 14–15, 15, 31, 65, 67, 84, 213,
530
- Karadzic, R. 353
- Karnataka 365
- Karns, M. 486, 557
- Kashmir 298, 451
- Katzenstein, J. 525
- Kazakhstan 417, 498
- Keane, J. 160, 557
- Kegley, C. W. 548, 557
- Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928) 346
- Kent, G. 53, 565
- Kenya 10, 298, 304
- Keohane, R. 5, 7, 66, 222, 426, 442,
557
- Kepel, G. 215, 557
- Keynes, J. M. 54, 90, 106, 108, 469
- Keynesianism 93, 98, 111, 122, 123–4,
471, 524
- Khalistan 198
- Khamenei, A. 209
- Khmer Rouge 353
- Khomeini, R. 48, 197, 198, 204
‘politics is religion’ 198
- Kilkullen, D. 257, 558
- King, M. L. 189, 267, 432
- Kissinger, H. 61, 508, 562
- Klein, N. 74, 97, 101, 150, 558
- Klerk, F. W. de 306
- ‘knowledge economy’ 95, 97
- ‘knowledge is power’ 146
- knowledge structure (Strange) 219
- Knutsen, T. 532, 559
- Kolko, G. 39, 558
- Korean War (1950–3) 38, 48, 105,
447–8, 457

- Koskenniemi, M. 358, 558
 Kosovo 45, 69, 182, 226, 248, 253, 256, 259, 261, 326–7, 328, 334, 350, 433, 447, 506
 Kristensen, H. 273n, 560
 Kruck, A. 460, 561
 Krueger, A. 476
 Krugman, P. 110, 481, 558
 Kuhn, T. 520, 524, 558
 Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) 296
 Kurds 163, 168, 218, 328, 334, 450, 488
 Kuwait 345, 456
 Kyoto Protocol (1997) 229, 393, 404, 407–8, 409, 413
 Kyrgyzstan 498
 Laferrrière, E. 418, 558
laissez-faire 90, 106, 107, 108, 469
 Land Mine Treaty (1997) 319
 land mines 157, 258
 language 155, 162–3, 172
 Laos 496
 Laqueur, W. 291, 558
 'large-scale loss of life' criterion 333
 Lasswell, H. 217
 Latin America 234, 235, 372, 434, 508
 and Caribbean 285
 'South America' 93
 Latvia 163
Laws of People (Rawls, 1999) 531
 'laws of war' 338, 350–2
 Le Pen, J.-M. 183
 Le Pen, M. 183
 'leaderless Jihad' (Sageman) 295, 309
 League of Nations 34, 62, 68, 267, 442–3, 447, 455, 520, 530
 Lebanon 205, 234
 Lee Kuan Yew 202
 'legal pacifism' 267
 legal 'persons' 339, 346
 'legal positivism' 340
 'legal scholarship' 342–3
 'legalist paradigm' (Walzer) 265
 Lehman Brothers 109
 Lemaitre, G. 534
 Lenin, V. I. 32, 72, 251, 558
 Lesotho 371
 'lesser evil' doctrine 307
Leviathan (1651) 14
 Lewis, B. 207, 558
 liberal approaches
 balance of power 274
 development 364
 end of Cold War 225
 gender relations 426
 global economic governance 470
 global political economy 90
 globalization 12, 82
 history 31
 human nature 59
 human rights 317
 identity 188
 international law 345, 346, 349
 international organizations 441, 444
 nationalism 166
 nature 400
 society 143
 state 125
 terrorism 294
 theory 528
 'tragedy of commons' 395
 war and peace 251
 liberal communitarianism 188
 liberal democracy 12, 45, 117, 186, 189, 308, 314, 538
 promotion 212, 213
 'weakness of strong' 307
 liberal feminism 125, 421
 liberal institutionalism 55, 68–70, 444
 liberal internationalism 166, 515, 516, 519–20, 530
 liberal interventionism 329
 liberal nationalism 188
 liberal universalism 189
 'liberal peace' 45
 liberalism 13–15, 55, 65–71, 187, 323, 523, 525, 553
 liberals 12, 142, 153, 223, 249, 285, 432
 Liberia 353, 437t, 490, 500
 Libya 49, 206, 210, 327, 344
 humanitarian intervention (2011) 330, 331
 Libyan National Transitional Council 331
 life expectancy 371
Life of Reason (Santayana, 1905–6) 25
 'limits to growth' 79, 395
Limits to Growth (Meadows *et al.*, 1972) 392, 559
 Lindblom, C. 135, 551, 558
 Linklater, A. 75, 551, 558
 'liquid society' (Bauman) 147
 Lisbon Treaty (2009) 503, 504, 505, 506, 508, 510
 List, F. 89
 Lister, M. 139, 556
 Live Aid (1985) 381
 Lloyd, L. 460, 549
 localization 132
 Locke, J. 68, 311, 317, 338, 393, 400, 526
 'logic of anarchy' 133
 Lomborg, B. 545, 558
 London bombings (2005) 213, 301, 302
 London Summit (2009) 482, 484
 loner terrorism 292
 long boom (1945–73) 98, 99, 130, 369, 471
 'long peace' (1945–90) 224
 Lord's Resistance Army 356
 Lorenz, K. 248, 558
 Louis XIV 117
 Lovelock, J. 79, 558–9
 low politics 66
 lump of labour fallacy 177
 Luxembourg 383, 504
 Luxembourg compromise (1966) 505
 Luxor massacre (1997) 293
 Lyotard, J.-F. 323, 525, 559
 Mabee, B. 234
 MacBride, S. 320
 Macedonia 506
 Machiavelli, N. 14, 58, 59, 294
 Mackinder, H. 414
 macroeconomics 108
 'mad money' (Strange) 479
 Madrid bombing (2004) 298, 301, 302
 Mahan, A. 414
 Mahathir Mohamad 202
 'mail order' brides 435–6
 Make Poverty History 381
 malaria 371
 Malaysia 108, 202, 375, 378–9, 488, 496
 Maldives 405
 Mali 437t
 Malta Conference (1989) 224–6
 Malthus, T. R. 360, 415
Man, State and War (Waltz, 1959) 248, 564
 'man the warrior' myths 263
 Mandela, N. 306
 manufacturing 113
 Mao Zedong 38, 41, 238
 Maoris 182, 192
 Marcos, *Subcomandante* 368
 Marcus Aurelius 464
 Marcuse, H. 75, 152, 559
 Margalit, A. 207, 551
 market 87

- market distortions 387
 'market ecologism' 396
 market economies
 'liberal' versus 'coordinated' (Hall and Soskice) 89
 market forces 470
 market fundamentalism 93, 481
 market magic 101
 'market socialism' 225
 market solutions 413
 'market Stalinism' 237
 'market' state 123
 marketing 152
 marketization 87
 Marsden, L. 532
 Marsh, D. 139, 556
 Marshall Plan 38, 98
 Martin, E. 185
 Marx, K.H. 12, 31, 50, 72, 82, 86, 99, 105, 527, 530, 559
 Marxism 15, 71–2, 74, 200, 323, 516–17, 523, 525, 530
 economic globalization 99
 Marxism-Leninism 36, 39, 40, 43, 190, 295
 Marxist approaches
 end of Cold War 225
 gender relations 426
 global political economy 90
 globalization 12
 history 31
 human nature 59
 nationalism 166
 society 143
 war and peace 251
 Marxists 35, 76, 142, 194, 250, 515, 516
 masculinism 79, 419, 424, 427, 429, 432, 518
 masculinity
 militarized 432
 Maslow, A. 157, 360, 361f, 559
 Mastanduno, M. 240, 559
 materialist conception of history 72
 patriarchy 430, 432
 Mauritania 437t
 Mazzini, G. 167–8, 501
 McDonaldization 150
 McDonald's 155
 McGrew, A. 24, 556
 McLuhan, M. 390
 McNamara, R. 380, 474, 476
 'McWorld' (Barber) 150–1, 154, 155, 191, 550
 Medvedev, D. 286
 Mearsheimer, J. 240, 241, 521, 559
 Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) 159, 318
 Meir, G. 432
 Melian dialogue 249
 mercantilism 99, 364, 470
 'aggressive' versus 'defensive' 90
 mercenaries 257
 Merchant, C. 411, 559
 Mercosur , 492t, 495, 501
 meta theory 524
 metanarrative/s 323, 525
 'methodological nationalism' 164
 methodology 524, 526, 532
 Mexicans in USA 178
 Mexico 52, 108, 177, 375, 378, 386, 434, 488, 543
 regional identities 489
 Middle East 5, 47–8, 207, 213, 214, 230–1, 235–6, 288, 463
 and North Africa 162, 206, 210
 microcredit 437
 migration 28, 172, 184, 191, 376, 552
 economic impact 176–9
 global flows (1973–) 175(map)
 individual versus structural theories 173
 'pressure valve' 177
 women 434
 world on move 172–4
 militancy 258
 militarism 171, 249
 'military Keynesianism' 471
 military power 217, 219, 231, 234, 252, 253
 military prostitution 433
 military repression 304–6
 military spending 126–7
 Mill, J. S. 396
 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) 370–1, 381, 382, 383, 455
 Miller, M. J. 184, 175n, 552
 Millett, K. 424, 559
 Miloević, S. 256, 329, 352–3, 354
 Mingst, K. 486, 557
 misperception 137, 138, 218, 557
 mitigation 408
 Mitrany, D. 441–2, 493, 494, 559
 mixed actor involvement 465
 mixed-actor model 4
 Mladić, R. 353
 mobile telephones 144, 175–6, 191
 'mobilization of bias' 419
 mode of production 72, 99
 model 517
 modernist ecology 395
 modernization 27
 as westernization 27, 186–7, 332
 modernization theory 363, 436
 'modified structural realism' 442
 monetary union 487, 499, 503, 594, 512, 513
 Mohammad Abd al-Salam Faraj 209
 Monbiot, G. 546, 559
 Monnet, J. 487, 502
 Montevideo Convention (1933) 3, 116–17, 347
 Montreal Protocol (1987) 406
 moral authority 307
 moral connectedness
 'thick' versus 'thin' 84
 moral cosmopolitanism 83–4, 352
 moral obligations,
 extension to whole of humanity 81
 moral pluralism 335
 moral relativism 197
 'moralism' 528
 morality 60, 81, 267, 286, 307, 317
 Morgenthau, H. 56, 58–9, 60, 61, 343, 346, 424, 426, 559, 564
 'Moro National Liberation Movement' 295
 Morocco 177, 206, 211
 Morsi, M. 206, 210, 211
 Moses, J. W. 532, 559
 most-favoured nation 477, 490
 Mozambique 452, 456
 Mubarak, H. 206, 210, 211
 Mugabe, R. G. 330
 multiculturalism 191, 192, 193, 215, 546
 multilateralism 231, 467
 multilevel governance 131, 131f, 131–2, 505
 multilevel processes 465–6
 multipolarity 18, 57, 223, 449, 517, 522, 538
 order versus disorder 240–4
 rise 235–40
 Mumbai bombings (2008) 298
 Mumford, A. 358
 Muslim Brotherhood 204, 206, 211, 295, 301
 membership 206
 outlawed (2013) 206, 210
 'Muslim question' 210, 212–14
 Mutually-Assured Destruction (MAD) 41, 223, 273, 278, 283, 286, 300
 My Lai massacre (1968) 352
 Naess, A. 411, 560
 Najav uprising (2004) 257

- Namibia 37, 168, 348, 370, 452
narcissism 170
Nardin, T. 543, 551, 560
Nasser, G. A. 138, 206, 209, 448
nation/s 162, 164, 180, 245, 552
nation-state 77, 122, 134, 136, 165–9,
188, 458, 531, 539
concept 168
‘crisis’ 171
enduring attraction 128
legitimacy 493
National Association for Advancement
of Coloured People (NAACP)
189
National Front (France) 183
national government/s 1, 90, 94, 101,
146, 315
versus multi-level governance 129–
32
national interest 60, 60–1, 135, 164,
251, 311, 317, 321, 326, 335, 424,
426, 427, 489
national missile defence (NMD) 283
national power 217–18
elements 219
national security 356, 429, 430
national security protectionism 480
national self-determination 168
nationalism 22, 32, 36, 162–71, 184,
546, 561, 563
‘bad’ versus ‘good’ 167
gendered perspectives 427
‘inherently aggressive’ (debated)
170
‘modernist’ versus ‘primordial’
approaches 163–5, 169, 179
‘most potent force’ 128, 161, 179
post-Cold War 179–83
revival 179–83
‘trumps regionalism’ 491, 497
war and conflict 169–71
Nationalism in Contemporary Europe
(Tudjman, 1981) 161
nationalist terrorism 293, 308
Native Americans 182
natural law 340
natural rights 311
‘naturalism’ 525
‘nature’ 194, 397–8
nature-nurture debate 59
Navarino Bay (1827) 325
Nazi Germany 32–3, 34–5, 106, 136,
171, 249, 263–5, 312, 340, 443
negative integration 170
negative peace 262
negative rights 313
neo-Gramscianism 90
neo-Keynesianism 112
neo-Marxism 16, 72–3, 82
development 364
global economic governance 470
identity 188
society 143
state 125
‘neo-neo debate’ 68, 515, 528
‘neoclassical liberalism’ 93
‘neoclassical realism’ 65
neocolonialism 21, 207, 359, 364, 383
free trade 480
neoconservatism 230–2, 233, 521,
550
neofunctionalism 442, 493, 493–4,
494, 555
neoliberal approaches
absolute versus relative gains 443
neoliberal globalization 475
neoliberal institutionalism 65, 70,
442, 444, 523, 528
neoliberalism 86, 93, 100, 107, 114,
123, 127, 154, 159, 363, 372, 377,
380, 515, 555
critics 95–7
implications 95–7
triumph 93–5
see also Washington consensus
neorealism 55, 250, 515, 517, 520,
523, 528
absolute versus relative gains 443
international organizations 444
state 125
neorealist stability theory 57, 64, 274,
522
neorealists 135, 136, 223, 242, 251
balance of power 274
‘dangers of multipolarity’ 240–1
Nepal 436
Netherlands 383, 416, 437t, 505
network 144
‘network corporation’ (Castells) 131,
144
‘network society’ (Castells) 131, 144,
552
‘network state’ (Castells) 131
‘new anti-imperialism’ (Chomsky)
233
‘New Deal’ 106, 111, 468
New International Economic Order
(NIEO) 471
New Left 156
‘new military-industrial-media-
entertainment network (Der
Derian) 535, 553
‘new nationalism’ (Kaldor) 182
New Partnership for Africa’s
Development (NEPAD) 500
new politics 157
‘new public management’ 131
‘new’ regionalism 487, 489–90, 494–6
new security challenges 253
‘new’ social movements see
transnational social movements
new terrorism 293
‘new wars’ 246, 248, 265, 269, 291,
375, 557
new world order 44–5, 214, 216,
224–6, 326–8, 448, 557
New Zealand 96, 408, 422
newly-industrializing countries (NICs)
374–5
Nicaragua 348
Nice Treaty (2001) 503, 505
Niger 437t
Nigeria 103, 348, 416, 457, 488, 500
nihilism 292
Nixon, R. M. 228
Non-Aligned Movement (1961–) 200
non-governmental organizations (NGOs)
4, 10, 144, 156–9, 318, 320
‘bandwagon’ approach 319
democratic deficit 159
international 157
and ICC 158
non-intervention principle 347, 349–
50
non-state actors 128, 240, 442
non-tariff barriers 471, 477
Nordic Council 489
normative theory 55, 518, 519, 520,
526, 528, 530–1
Norris, R. 273n, 560
North Africa 206
see also Middle East
North American Free Trade Agreement
(NAFTA) 500–1
miscellaneous 178, 368, 488, 489,
492t, 495
North Atlantic Treaty Organization
(NATO) 38, 69, 210, 223, 259,
334, 489, 492t, 506, 508
humanitarian intervention in Libya
(2011) 331
North Korea 49, 234, 275–6, 506
nuclear status 281–2, 283, 286, 526
‘rogue nuclear state’ 284
North-South global divide 38, 359,
365–7, 367, 410–12, 453
rise of South 542–3
Norway 223, 383, 437t

- Northern Ireland 290, 306
 Northern League (Italy) 183
 'nothing outside text' (Derrida) 77
 nuclear club 229–30, 270, 272, 275, 278, 285
 nuclear disarmament 22, 279, 287
 nuclear ethics 286, 288, 560
 nuclear imbalances 278
 nuclear non-proliferation 22
 strategies 279–84
 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT, 1968–) 272, 277–86
 passim, 341–2
 nuclear powers
 irresponsible 278
 'opaque' 277, 278
 nuclear proliferation 22, 272, 287, 288, 556
 Cold War ('first nuclear age') 272–3, 276, 278
 post-Cold War ('second nuclear age') 273–8
 'nuclear revolution' (Jervis) 273
 nuclear statesmanship 278
 nuclear umbrella 275, 287
 nuclear utilization target selection (NUTS) 278
 nuclear war
 absence 278
 nuclear weapons 7, 271
 effective versus fallible deterrence 278, 282
 elimination 284–7
 'undefensible' 286
 nature 271–2
 promotion of peace and stability (debated) 278
 USA versus USSR (1945–90) 272, 273f, 280, 447
 'useable' 278
 warheads (2012) 276f
 nuclear winter 273
 nuclear-free zones 285
 Nugent, N. 507
 Nuremberg Charter (1945) 351
 Nuremberg Principles 350
 Nuremberg Trials 332, 340–1
 Nye, J. S. 5, 7, 66, 217, 222, 286, 288, 441, 442, 557, 560

 O'Brien, R. 114, 560
 O'Neill, O. 84, 560
 Oakeshott, M. 543, 560
 Obama, B. 46, 50, 96, 112, 178, 214, 223, 231–3, 243, 283–6, 304, 331, 357, 408, 482, 484

 objectivism 527
 objectivity 60, 529, 530
 occidentalism 207, 551
 Oceania 236
 offensive realism 64, 240, 241, 250, 251, 463, 541
 Ohmae, K. 98, 115, 535, 560
 oil 181, 233, 258, 329, 377, 390, 391, 392, 401, 414–15, 417, 434, 475
 oil 'curse' 48
 Oil-for-Food scandal (2003) 456
On War (Clausewitz, 1833) 246, 250
 'one world' 1
Only One Earth (Ward and Dubois, 1972) 392, 565
 ontology 524, 527, 528
 Operation Desert Fox (1998) 281
 operational NGOs 10
 Oppenheimer, J. R. 271, 284
 oppression 387
 Organization of African Unity (OAU, 1963–2002) 490, 500
 Organization of American States 489
 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) 98, 157, 360–1, 466
 Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries (OPEC) 48, 377, 466
 Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE, 1994–) 45, 492t
 'organizational process' model 136
 'orientalism' (Said) 80, 201, 323–4, 562
 Osama bin Laden 20, 48, 205, 209
 death 260, 301, 304, 305
 Ostrom, E. 395, 560
 Ottoman Empire 32, 207
Our Common Future (Brundtland Commission, 1987) 393
Our Synthetic Environment (Bookchin, 1962) 391, 550
 Outreach Five 472
 Owada, H. 348
 Oxfam 318
 Oye, K. 465, 560
 ozone depletion 392, 406

 pacifism 263, 267–8
 Pact of Steel (1939) 36
pacta sunt servanda 342
 Padania 183
 Page, L. 146
 Pakistan 163, 205, 206, 209, 214, 297–8, 305, 488, 506
 nuclear status 275, 276

 Palestine 118, 206, 214, 231
 Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) 48, 119, 296
 'Palestine problem' 47–8, 51
 quest for statehood 119
 see also Arab-Israeli conflict
 Pan-African Parliament 491
 pan-nationalism 171
 Panama 233
 Papacy 4, 501
 Pape, R. 299, 560
 paradigm shift 524
 paradigms 524
 'enlightening' versus 'constraining' 524–5
 'paradox of plenty' 218, 371, 416, 417
 Parekh, B. 215, 560
 'parenting deficit' 153, 187
 pariah state 330
 Paris Conference (1990) 42, 43, 45
 Paris Peace Conference (1919–20) 60, 62
 Parmar, I. 245, 560
 Parson, E. 418, 553
 Partial Test Ban Treaty (1963) 279, 280
 Partnership for Peace (PFP) 259
 'patriarchal protest movement' 203
 patriarchy 31, 125, 138, 143, 251, 346, 397, 400, 420, 424, 426, 427
 Patriot Act (USA, 2001) 303
 patriotism 162, 427
 Paul, T. V. 548, 560
 Paupp, T. 513, 560
 peace 22, 251, 429, 432, 447–9, 480
 Peace of Augsburg (1555) 339
 'peace through cooperation' 490
 peace dividend 126, 280
 peace enforcement 451
 'peace through law' doctrine 346
 peace movement 156, 267–8
 Peace of Westphalia (1648) 3–4, 27, 116, 166, 312, 339
 see also state system
 peacebuilding 451, 452, 458, 534
 peaceful coexistence 196
 peacekeeping 448, 449, 451, 451–3, 457, 459, 490, 500
 effectiveness 452–3
 first-generation, classical 451, 453
 peak oil 415
 Pearl Harbor (1941) 298
 Peet, R. 486, 560
 Pentecostalism 197
 people-trafficking 436
 People's Action Party (PAP) 180

- perception 137, 218, 518, 528
perestroika 42
 permissiveness 187
 'perpetual peace' (Kant) 31, 65, 262
 'personal is political' 420
 Peru 354
 Peterson, V. 438, 560
 Philippines 177, 496
 'physical efficiency' 360
 Pim Fortuyn's List 183
 Pinochet, A. 353, 354
 Piore, M. 142, 561
 Pisan, C. de 420
 Pogge, T. 21, 84, 315, 561
 Pol Pot 326
 Poland 62, 94, 275, 283
 polarity 63–4, 65
 policy network 131
 political deals 306–8
 political globalization 9, 122
 political Islam 22, 48, 70, 211, 215, 557
 nature 203–10
 same as 'Islamism' 205
 political realism *see* realism
 political science 24, 532, 556
 politics
 'domestic' versus 'foreign' 133
 'high' versus 'low' 133
 'hollowing out' 101
 inside-outside 6
 'non-vertical' 368
 'post-ideological' 368
Politics: Who Gets What, When, How?
 (Lasswell, 1936) 217
 'politics of fear' 301
 polycentrism 465
 pond as ecosystem 392f
 pooled sovereignty 122, 128, 491
 Popper, K. 522
 Popular Front for Liberation of
 Palestine (PFLP) 296
 popular sovereignty 117
 population 28f, 79, 217, 219
 Portugal 37, 511, 512
 positive freedom 361
 positive law 340
 positive peace 267, 452
 'positive perception' (Comte) 526
 positive rights 313
 positivism 13, 317, 516, 526, 527, 528
 post-Cold War period 49
 global order 223–6
 nationalism 179–83
 'post-development' 364
 post-industrial society 141–2, 142
 post-Marxist approaches
 global economic governance 470
 state 125
 'post-neorealism' 65
 post-positivism 15–16, 71, 516, 526–7, 528, 530
 'post-sovereign' governance 115, 118, 536
 post-Washington consensus 380
 postcolonialism 16, 199, 200, 200–1, 203, 215, 515, 516, 542, 566
 feminist 423, 426
 postcolonialist approaches 80
 development 364
 gender relations 426
 globalization 12
 human rights 323–5
 international law 346
 postmaterialism 156, 157, 413
 'postmodern state' (Cooper) 123, 124
 postmodern warfare 246
 postmodernism 426, 525, 528
 balance of power 274
 gender relations 426
 human rights 323, 559
 nationalism 166
 poststructuralism 16, 77–8, 222, 426, 514, 515, 516, 520
 feminist 423
 poststructuralist approaches
 gender relations 426
 history 31
 human nature 59
 nationalism 166
 terrorism 294
 Potsdam Conference (1945) 38
 poverty 22, 101, 359, 362, 365, 370, 380, 476
 definition and measurement 360–2
 feminization 436
 impact of globalization 372–5
 ineffectiveness of international aid 387
 see also absolute poverty
 poverty cycle 371, 377
 poverty line (EU/OECD) 360–1
 Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
 (PRSPs) 379
 poverty trap 385
 power 17–18, 22, 60, 170, 216, 217, 375, 565
 'actual' versus 'latent' 217
 as capability 217–18
 changing nature 18, 220–3
 compulsory, institutional,
 productive, structural 222
 'economic' versus 'military' 220
 global politics 217–23
 'trumps gender' 432
 zero-sum game 443
 'power over' 217, 221, 222, 274
 power politics 14, 56, 78–9, 248, 251, 424, 441, 463
 'power with' 221
 pragmatism 522, 523, 528
 praxis 520
 pre-emptive attack 232, 265
 precautionary principle 401
 prediction 23, 546–7
 prescriptive theory 55
 'preventive war' 232
 primary education 382
 primordialism 163, 166, 168, 169
 'principle of population' (Malthus) 414
Principles of Morals and Legislation
 (Bentham, 1789) 3
 'print-capitalism' (Anderson) 165
Prison Notebooks (Gramsci) 73
 'prisoners of conscience' 320
 private versus public spheres 420, 426, 432, 433, 435, 554
 private sector 131
 problem-solving approach 13, 400, 529
 production structure (Strange) 220
 'propaganda by deed' 290, 292
 proposition 522
 'protection myth' 431
 protectionism 373, 467, 468, 480, 537
 Protestantism 153
 'proto-globalization' 98
 proto-world government 458
 Provisional IRA 296
 Pryke, S. 184, 561
 psychology 288, 556
 public corporations 146
 public goods 236
 public opinion 69
 public services,
 'contracting out', 'internal markets'
 131
 public-private partnerships 131
 purchasing power parity (PPP) 361
 Putin, V. V. 43, 51, 91, 180, 181
 Putnam, R. 153, 561
 qualified majority voting 505
 quality of life 156–7
 quasi-federalism 132
 'quasi-states' 126
 Quebec 162–3, 182, 192, 290
 Qutb, S. 209, 301

- race 162
 racialism 172
 radical ecologists 412
 radical feminism 125, 420, 421, 426
 radical theorists 138
 Rand Corporation 452
 rape 428
 Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) 428
 rational actors 110, 134–5, 137, 517
 rational choice theory 523
 rationalism 523, 543
 Ravenhill, J. 114, 561
 Rawls, J. 531
 Raymond, G. A. 548, 557
 Reagan, R. W. 44, 51, 93, 130, 197, 224, 228, 283, 519
 real world 'out there' 13, 135, 526, 527, 528, 529
 realism 13–14, 55, 56–65, 424, 442, 463, 515, 516, 525, 530, 543
 'core assumption' 462
 six principles (Morgenthau) 60
 realist approaches
 aid 386
 balance of power 274
 Cold War 40
 development 364
 end of Cold War 225
 gender relations 426
 global economic governance 470
 global political economy 90
 globalization 12
 history 31
 human nature 59
 human rights 317
 identity 188
 international law 346, 349
 international organizations 441, 444
 nationalism 166
 nature 400
 society 143
 state 125
 terrorism 294
 theory 528
 war and peace 251
 realist-liberal divide 68
 realistic utopia (Rawls) 531
 realists 12, 118, 253, 321, 432, 530, 531, 542, 546
 failure to predict end of Cold War 64
 foreign policy 134–5
 opposition to Iraq War 521
 reality 534–5
Realpolitik 262, 262–3
rebus sic stantibus 342
 recession 106
 reciprocity 343, 344
 Redmond, J. 460, 549
 reflation 124, 484
 reflexivity (Soros) 110
 reformist ecology 395–6
 refugees 173, 256–7
 regime change 49, 68, 214, 218, 258, 521
 'region' 488–9
 regional egoism 497
 regional integration 497
 regional organizations 509
 regional powers 217
 regional stability 335
 regional trade agreements (RTAs) 490
 regionalism 23, 489, 513, 550, 554, 560
 'dominated by the global' 497
 explanations 491–4
 and globalization 494–6
 key groupings 492t
 limits 497
 nature 488–91
 outside Europe 496, 498–501
 'threatens global stability' 497
 'trumped by nationalism' 497
 Reign of Terror (France, 1793–4) 290
 'reinventing government' (Osborne and Gaebler) 130, 560
 'relational markets' 91
 relational power 218
 relative gains 63, 236, 240, 441, 443, 468, 559
 relative poverty 360, 360–1, 367, 376
 relativism 78, 323
 religion 185, 195–9
 concept 197
 religious fundamentalism 182, 199, 203, 536, 561
 religious movements 206
 remittances 177, 383, 434
 Renaissance 27
 reparations 34
 reprisal 344
 republican liberalism 55, 67–8, 70–1, 125, 523
 'reserve army of labour' 433
 'resource curse' 354, 416, 417
 resource problems 391
 resource security 414
 resources, power, prosperity 415–17
 resource war 400, 414
 'responsibility to prevent' 336
 responsibility to protect (R2P) 337, 350, 459
Responsibility to Protect (ICISS) 333–4, 336
 'responsibility to rebuild' 336
 responsible sovereignty 333, 335
 'return of local' 155
 Reus-Smit, C. 532, 551
 revolution in military affairs (RMA) 260
 Revolutionary United Front (RUF) 354
 revolutionism 543
 Rhine-Alpine capitalism 89
 Rhodesia 448
 Ricardo, D. 66, 87, 480
 Riddell, R. 389, 561
 'right to development' 383
 Rio 'Earth Summit' (1992) 156, 157, 315t, 393, 407, 413
 UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED, 1992) 393
 rioting 193
 'rise of rest' 483
 risk 145–7, 160, 550
 'created hazards' versus 'natural catastrophes' 147
 'risk society' 107, 147, 550
 Rittberger, R. 460, 561
 Robertson, R. 148, 155, 561
 Robespierre, M. 290
 Rodin, D. 263
 'rogue' states 49, 229, 231, 277, 281, 283
 Romania 43
 Rome (ancient) 26, 464
 Rome Statute (1998) 158, 348, 352, 355, 357
 Roosevelt, F. D. 106, 111, 445, 468
 Rosamond, B. 513, 561
 Rosenau, J. 83, 561
 Rostow, W. W. 363, 561
 Rouhani, H. 209, 281, 282
 Rousseau, J.-J. 117, 167–8, 415, 491
 'rugged individualism' 106, 202
 Ruggie, J. 470, 561
 rule of law 68
 Rumsfeld, D. 547
 Runyan, A. S. 438, 560
 rural-urban disparities 373
 'Rushdie Affair' (1989) 212
 Russell, B. 464

- Russian Federation 10, 96, 158, 181, 239, 242, 244, 298, 408, 415, 416–17, 450, 498, 538–9
 ‘electoral authoritarianism’ 181
 financial crisis (1998) 91
 ‘resource superpower’ 181
 state capitalism 91–2
- Ruthven, M. 199, 203, 561
- Rwanda 158, 174, 182, 193, 322, 327, 328, 334, 348, 353, 448, 452, 456
- Sabel, C. 142, 561
- Sachs, J. 381, 384, 385, 561
- Sadat, A. 209
- Saddam Hussein 49, 230–1, 258, 262, 275, 281, 304, 328–9, 521
 trial (2006) 353, 354
- Sageman, M. 309, 562
- Said, E. 80, 201, 204, 323–4, 562
- Saint-Simon, C. H. de R., Comte de 501
- Salafism 205, 206, 207, 209
- Saleh, A. A. 210, 211
- Sankoh, F. 354
- Santayana, G. 25
- Sarkozy, N. 331
- Sartre, J.-P. 201
- Sassen, S. 148, 562
- ‘satisficing’ 135
- satyagraha* 267
- Saudi Arabia 282, 297–8, 301, 417, 437t
- ‘save strangers’ obligation 330, 335
- Savigny, H. 532
- Scandinavia 89, 183
- Schmitt, C. 262, 562
- Scholte, J. A. 24, 29, 148, 562
- Schumacher, E. F. 411
- Schuman, R. 502
- Schumpeter, J. 105, 116, 123, 562
- science 520, 524, 529, 534
- Science* 401
- ‘science of muddling through’ (Lindblom) 135–6, 558
- ‘scientific socialism’ 527
- Scotland 116, 182
- ‘scramble for Africa’ 32, 97–8, 171, 274
- ‘scramble for resources’ 416
- scriptural literalism 198
- secessionism 132
- Second Cold War (1980s) 42, 44, 224, 228, 392, 519
- ‘second modernity’ (Beck) 147
- second strike 273
- Second Treatise on Government* (Locke, 1690) 338
- second-wave feminism 420, 422
- secularism 195
- secularization thesis 195
- security 4, 18–19, 23, 447–9
 gender lens 429–33
- security community (Deutsch) 490
- security dilemma 19, 63, 137, 250, 272, 279, 551
- security paradox 429
- security regime 19
- security regionalism 490
- security structure (Strange) 219
- self-actualization 157
- self-determination 347
- self-help 7, 18, 63, 81, 463, 517
- Sen, A. 255, 361, 363, 381, 384, 436, 562
- Seoul Summit (2010) 482
- September 11 attacks (2001) 7, 14, 19, 20, 45–51, 78, 126, 176, 193, 229, 253, 269, 296, 298, 300, 301, 539–40
- ‘sex’ versus ‘gender’ 421, 423
- sex tourism 435
- sexual revolution 422
- shallow ecology 395, 396
- Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) 492t, 498
- Shanghai Five 498
- Shapiro, M. 78, 553
- shared sovereignty 133
- Shari’a* law 47, 203, 204, 205, 325
- Shepherd, L. J. 438, 562
- Shiva, V. 411, 562
- ‘shock therapy’ market reforms 473, 538
- ‘short’ twentieth century 29–44, 187
- Shue, H. 383, 562
- Sierra Leone 253, 327, 328, 334, 353, 354, 437t, 452, 500
- Sil, R. 525
- Silent Spring* (Carson, 1962) 391, 552
- Simon, H. 135, 562
- ‘Sinatra doctrine’ 44
- Singapore 91, 153, 180, 201, 375, 496, 499
- Singer, P. 21, 84, 381–3, 396, 562
- Single European Act (SEA, 1986) 503, 504, 505
- ‘sink problems’ 391
- Six-Day War (1967) 247, 345
- slavery 172, 351
- Slavery Convention (1926) 311, 342
- Slavonia (Eastern) 452
- Slovenia 437t, 506
- smart power 221f, 223, 233
- Smith, Adam 87, 88, 480
- Smith, Anthony D. 164, 169, 182, 562–3
- Smith, S. 139, 563
- Smyth, M. 309, 557
- Snidal, D. 532
- Snow, D. M., 548, 563
- ‘soccer war’ (1969) 348
- social capital 153
- social capitalism 88–9
- social class 141, 142
- ‘class’ 72, 90, 143, 166, 186, 188, 426, 517
- ‘class consciousness’ 527
- social connectedness
- ‘hollowing out’ 141
- ‘thick’ versus ‘thin’ 140, 141–8, 151, 154, 197
- social conservatism 187
- social constructivism
- same as ‘constructivism’ (*qv*) 75
- social constructivist approaches
- balance of power 274
- end of Cold War 225
- gender relations 426
- global economic governance 470
- history 31
- identity 188
- international law 346
- international organizations 444
- nationalism 166
- state 125
- social constructivists 222, 249, 285
- social contract theory 68, 125, 464
- social Darwinism 35, 249, 400
- social democracy 87
- ‘social ecology’ 143, 396, 411, 412
- social exclusion 142
- social market 89
- social movements 74, 143, 422
- social reflexivity 153
- social science 516, 520–2, 524, 532
- socialism 86, 190, 251, 376, 395, 530
- socialist feminism 421, 433
- socialization 426
- societies
- ‘constitutive’ versus ‘strategic’ realms 143
- global age 140–60
- ‘two-thirds, one-third’ 142
- Society for Abolition of Slave Trade (1787–) 10
- ‘society of states’ (Bull) 9, 68, 541, 543

- sociology 143, 549
 globalization 148
 soft law 340
 soft power 18, 46, 50, 221, 221f, 222, 231, 234, 245, 307, 344, 560
 Solana, J. 506
 solidarity rights (third-generation rights) 314, 315t, 383
 Solingen, E., 288, 563
 Somalia 129, 205, 234, 308, 327, 452
 Somme (1916) 298
 Sørensen, G. 85, 139, 557, 563
 Soros, G. 109, 110, 111, 481, 563
 Soskice, D. 89, 555
 South Africa 94, 97, 348, 448, 457
 South Asia 562
 South Korea 91, 153, 180, 201, 375, 378, 379
 South Pacific 285
 'South Sea Bubble' (1720) 104
 south-east Asia 102, 108, 186, 434
 nuclear-free zone 285
 Southern African Coordination Conference 490
 Southern African Customs Union (1910) 489, 499
 Southern African Development Community (SADC, 1992–) 492t, 499
 'Southern consensus' 366
 sovereign debt 111, 112, 113
 sovereignty 3, 4, 116–18, 347
 definition (Bodin) 117
 external versus internal 4, 117
 see also state sovereignty
 Soviet Union (USSR) 33, 38, 50, 122, 168, 205, 321–2, 530
 collapse 181
 invasions 448, 525
 nuclear status 272
 state capitalism 89
 Western misperceptions 40
 'spaceship Earth' 390, 391–2
 'spaghetti bowl' system (Bhagwati) 496
 Spain 488, 511, 512
 devolution 132
 Spanish influenza (1918–19) 29
 Spears, B. 155
 Special Court for Sierra Leone (2002–) 353, 354
 specialization
 free trade 480
 see also division of labour
 Spellman, W. 53, 563
 Spencer, H. 248
 Spencer, P. 184, 563
 spillover 442, 493, 494, 497
 Spinoza, B. de 411
 Sprinzak, E. 299, 563
 Sri Lanka 304
 stability 63–4
 stagflation 107, 111, 471, 484
 Stalin, J. V. 40, 41
 Stalinism 340, 541
 'standpoint feminism' 421, 426
 state/s 1, 2, 12, 22, 69, 115, 118, 125, 139, 181, 238, 517, 556, 563
 'agents of international law' 347
 'black box' 125, 136, 137, 143
 'declaratory' theory 116
 'different role' versus 'reduced role' 123
 'dualistic structure' 116
 features 116–18
 'fiscal monopoly' 116
 and globalization 118–22
 'hollowed out' 118, 536, 545
 'internationalization' (Cox) 123, 125
 'make war' 432
 'monopoly of legitimate violence' 116–17, 124–6, 128
 Montevideo definition (1933) 116–17
 pre-modern, modern, postmodern (Cooper) 124, 229–30, 466
 'primary subjects of international law' 347
 'remains dominant' 128
 return 126–9
 'twilight' 118
 'war-making institution' (Bobbitt) 126
 state capitalism 89–92
 state egoism 57–60, 443
 state of nature 58, 117, 125
 state security 302–4
 state sovereignty 81, 312, 325, 339, 346, 347, 349–50, 356, 376, 449, 458, 462
 'outdated concept' 128
 see also sovereignty
 state terrorism 291, 294
 state transformation 122–6
 state-building 127, 129
 state-centrism 3, 3–4, 5
 state-society distinction 130
 state-system 3, 441, 444, 501, 538
 Westphalian 5, 254, 427, 462
 see also Peace of Westphalia
 statecraft 60, 60–1, 528
 statehood 116–29
 Palestinian quest 119
 status-quo states 135–6
 Stern Review (2006) 406
 Stevis, D. 418, 550
 Stiglitz, J. 379, 473, 474, 481, 563
 Stockholm Convention on Human Environment (1972) 315t
 Stoett, P. 418, 558
 Strange, S. 107, 120, 219, 220, 222, 479, 563
 'new realist' 220
 Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty SALT I, SALT II 223
 Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty START I (1991) 273, 279, 280
 START II (1993) 273, 279, 280
 START III talks (failure) 275
 START Treaty (Prague, 2010) 280, 285
 Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI, 1983–) 44, 283
 Strategic Offensive Reduction Treaty (SORT, 2002) 275, 280
 'strength of weak' 218
 'strong liberal' 66–7
 structural adjustment loans (SALs) 378
 structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) 51, 93, 326, 365, 378, 380, 473, 475
 and beyond 376–9
 structural power 219, 219–20, 222
 structural realism 442, 517
 structural realists (same as neorealists) 76
 structural violence 429
 structure versus agency 76, 133, 516
Structure of Scientific Revolutions (Kuhn, 1962) 520, 558
 'sub-prime' mortgages 109
 sub-Saharan Africa 126, 254, 336, 371–2, 375, 382, 387, 417, 455, 508
 subjectivism 527
 subsidiarity 505, 506
 Sudan 205, 206, 297, 301, 304, 356, 416
 suicide terrorism 255, 256, 258, 295, 299, 299, 309, 550, 560
 Sun Tzu 14, 58
 'super-bubble' (Soros) 111
 superpower/s 38, 217, 223
 'supranational' bodies 504, 505
 'supranational' law 338, 346, 347
 supranationalism 440, 465, 489

- supraterritoriality 120
 'supreme emergency' (Walzer) 265
 'survival of fittest' (Spencer) 248, 400
 sustainability 395, 396
 'sustainable development' 79, 364, 393, 397, 476
 Sutherland, C. 184
 Swaziland 371
 Sweden 383, 437t, 488
 Switzerland 163, 437t
 Syria 47, 49, 119, 162, 163, 174, 206, 208, 210, 211, 231, 247, 277, 329, 330, 336, 345, 449, 450
 'system of states' (Bull) 9, 68, 541, 543
 systemic level (foreign policy) 134
 systems theory 61
- Taiwan 91, 153, 176, 180, 242, 375, 447
 Tajikistan 498
 Taliban 48, 49, 209, 230–1, 266, 291, 301, 304, 328–9
 Tamil Tigers 296, 299, 306, 459
 Tanzania 304
 Taoism 398
 Taylor, C. 353, 354
 technological determinism 9, 144
 technological innovation 99, 105
 technology (new) 142–5
 terms of trade 469
 territorial jurisdiction 116–17, 118
 'territorial trap' (Agnew) 6
 territorial sovereignty 339
 territorial waters 348
 terrorism 22, 218, 253, 291, 293, 294, 375, 554, 556–8, 562
 'act', 'perpetrators', 'victims' 291
 'by no means modern phenomenon' 290
 controversies 292
 early examples 290
 'goes global' 296–8
 versus 'guerrilla warfare' 291–2
 'nationalist orientation' (1945–) 290
 'new' 292–6
 prominent victims (1881–1901) 290
 'religious' versus 'secular' 295
 'retail' versus 'wholesale' 294
 significance 296–302
 suicide terrorism 231, 255, 258, 295, 299, 301, 302
 terminology contested 292
 types (Ignatieff) 292–3
- 'terrorism from below' (Laqueur) 291
 Thailand 379, 387, 435, 496, 543
 Thatcher, M. H. 51, 432, 505
 'no such thing as society' (1987) 140
 Thatcherism 93, 130
 theocracy 204
 theoretical reflexivity 75
 theory xix, 23, 55–6
 'always for some purpose' (Cox) 527, 529–30
 importance 515–23
 'inside' versus 'outside' story 519
 'inside-out' 61, 67, 76
 'outside-in' 61, 76
 theory: debated 523–31
 'all in mind' 525–7
 'purposes' 527–30
 paradigms: 'enlightening' versus 'constraining' 524–5
 'between utopia and reality' 530–1
 'value-free and dispassionate' 529
 theory: evaluation 520–3
 correspondence to reality 522
 explanatory power 522
 logical coherence 523
 parsimony and elegance 523
 theory: uses 515–20
 analyzing and explaining events 515–17
 defining ethical horizons 518–19
 providing guide to action 519–20
 simplifying the world 517
 widening perceptual field 517–18
Theory of International Politics (Waltz, 1979) 61, 63, 64, 517, 528, 564
Theory of Moral Sentiments (Smith, 1759) 88
 'Think globally, act locally' (slogan) 132
 thinking globally 80–4
 Third World 36
 third-wave feminism 420–1
 Thirty Years' War (1618–48) 255
 Thucydides 14, 58, 248, 249
 Tiananmen Square (1989) 322
 Tibet 168, 180, 232, 234, 322, 335, 410, 416, 509
 'ticking bomb scenario' 307
 Tickner, J. A. 78, 424, 438, 564
 tiger economies 38, 89, 91, 102, 153, 180, 201, 375, 495, 542, 544
 time-space compression 149
- Tito, J. 41
 Tobin tax 383
 Tokyo Trials (1946–8) 340–1
 Tönnies, F. 141, 186
 Toronto Summit (2010) 482
 torture 304, 351
 total war 29, 247, 295, 431
 Toynbee, A. 515–16
 trade 94, 102, 253
 trade unions 11, 88, 89, 144, 373–4
 traditionalism 191
 'tragedy of commons' 393, 395, 396, 411, 444, 468, 544, 555, 560
 tragic individualization 147
 transition countries 473, 474
 transnational communities 174–6, 176
 transnational corporations (TNCs) 4, 10, 16, 51, 78, 90, 93, 94, 101, 102, 120, 123, 125, 128, 133, 144, 147, 151, 156, 157, 159, 375
 versus 'MNCs' 94
 transnational social movements 156–9, 420
 transnational terrorist networks 301
 transnationalism 6, 6–8, 102
 Treaties of Utrecht (1713) 339
 treaty 341
 Treaty of Asuncion 495
 Treaty of European Union (TEU, Maastricht Treaty) 495, 499, 503, 504, 505, 506, 509, 511
 Treaty of Pelindaba (1996) 285
 Treaty of Rome (1957) 491, 502, 503, 506
 Treaty of Versailles (1919) 30, 34, 65, 167, 256
 trickle down 374, 375
 Tricontinental Conference (Havana, 1966) 200
 Tripartite Pact (1940) 36
 Triple Alliance 29
 TRIPS [Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights] 477
 Truman, H. S. 477
 Truman Doctrine (1947) 38
 trust 444, 468
tsunami (2004) 81
 Tadjman, F. 161
 Tunisia 206, 210, 211
 'turbo-capitalism' 105
 'turbo-consumerism' 150
Turbulence in World Politics (Rosenau, 1990) 83, 561

- Turkey 29, 206, 209, 282, 543
 Turner, M. 389, 555
Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919–1939 (Carr) 34, 60
 Tyndall, J. 404
 'tyranny of majority' 314
- Uganda 356, 386
 Ukraine 181, 259
 uncertainty 145–7, 160, 550
 underclass 142
 'undeserving' poor 362
 unemployment 106–7, 177, 482
 uneven development 73
 unilateralism 229
 unipolarity 226, 229, 233
 United Kingdom 28, 96, 298, 488, 506, 508, 511–12
 anti-terrorist measures 303
 'nation' versus 'state' 162
 quasi-federalism 132
 United Nations 7, 10, 23, 68, 117–18, 267, 312, 439, 440, 446, 449, 460, 565
 aims 442, 447
 banishing 'scourge of war' 447–9
 challenges and reform 455–9
 finances 459
 history 454
 international ceasefires negotiated (1959–62) 447
 'indispensable, successful' 458
 'irrelevant debating society lacking moral compass' 458
 membership (1945–2013) 37f, 116, 442
 military actions 48
 'misnamed' 162, 449
 'new agendas' 458
 'obsolete and unnecessary' 458
 origins 442–6
 peacekeeping 451–3, 457, 459
 programmes, funds, agencies 446, 456
 promotion of economic and social development 453–5
 promotion of peace and security 447–9
 'soft' power 456
 Syrian conflict 450
 UN Charter (1945) 232, 305, 316, 341–2, 345, 348–50, 445, 449, 451, 453
 right to self-defence 345
 UN Commission on Human Rights 316, 459
 UN Conference on Human Environment (UNCHE, Stockholm, 1972) 392, 393
 UN Conference on Trade and Employment 467
 UN Decade for Women (1976–85) 424
 UN Declaration on Torture (1975) 318, 320
 UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) 446, 453, 456
 UN Environment Programme (UNEP) 392, 403
 UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (FCCC) 393, 402, 407
 UN General Assembly 334, 445, 446, 452, 456
 Emergency Special Session 334
 UN High Commissioner for Human Rights 316
 UN Human Development Reports 361–2, 367, 373t, 430, 584
 (1994) 430
 (1999) 367
 (2010) 373t
 UN Human Rights Council (2006–) 316, 459
 UN Peacekeeping Commission (2005) 452–3, 459
 UN Resolutions 266
 UN Secretariat 446, 456
 UN Security Council 285, 333–4, 340, 445, 446, 450, 451, 452, 457, 458
 P-1 449
 P-2 447
 P-4 447
 P-5 272, 277, 355, 356, 445–57
 passim
 reform 455, 457
 veto power 447, 457
 UN Special Commissioners (UNSCOM) 281
 UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) 10, 310–17 *passim*, 321, 325, 332
 UNDP 382, 453–5
 UNESCO 119
 United States 10, 12, 20, 28, 29, 32–3, 38, 46, 155, 158, 298, 369
 'disproportionate influence' 100
 'economic resilience' versus 'economic decline' 234
 energy security 415
 enterprise capitalism 87–8
 federalism 488
 foreign policy 245, 560
 'global hegemon' (debated) 234
 hegemony 43, 227–35, 238
 hegemony ('benevolent' versus 'malign') 233–5
 ideology 227, 228
 'leading terrorist state' (Chomsky) 294
 'military dominance' versus 'redundant military power' 234, 253
 population size 234
 power 17
 priorities at Bretton Woods 467–8
 relations with China (C21) 243
 renewed economic ascendancy 95
 'rogue superpower' 233
 soft power 234
 'structural power' versus 'declining diplomatic influence' 234
 US Constitution (1789) 488
 US Declaration of Independence (1776) 311, 312
 US dollar 473, 481, 511; *see also* dollar imperialism
 US Senate 407, 477
 US Supreme Court 304
 United States: Articles of Confederation (1781–9) 488
 'United States of Europe' (Churchill) 488, 501
 universalism 312
 'unknown unknowns' (Rumsfeld) 547
 Uruguay Round (1986–93) 477, 478, 537
 use of force 358, 551
 'utilitarian compliance' 343
 utilitarianism 81, 134, 152, 396, 400, 562
 utopianism 34, 65, 530
 Uzbekistan 498
- values 135, 136, 414, 518, 529, 538
 van Creveld, M. 257, 564
 van Rompuy, H. 504
 Vasak, K. 312, 315t, 564
 Vatican 223
 Venezuela 417
 Vienna Conventions on Diplomatic and Consular Relations (1961, 1963) 342
 Vietnam 37, 179, 496, 558

- Vietnam War 39, 105, 217, 228, 253
 Vincent, J. 319, 564
 'virtual war' 260
 'virtuous war' (Der Derian) 535, 553
 Vitoria, F. de 263, 325
Vlaams Blok 183
Volkgeist (Herder) 164
- Wachovia 109
 Wahhabism 205, 207
 Wal-Mart 94
 Wales 182
 Wallerstein, I. 90, 103, 104, 374, 564
 Walt, S. 521
 Waltz, K. 61, 63, 64, 133, 134, 248, 274, 517, 521, 528, 564
 state 'wish to survive' 125
 Walzer, M. 263, 265, 565
 war/s 19, 22, 23, 169–71, 248, 517
 banishment 447–9
 'boots-on-ground' 260
 causes 248–50
 'changing face' 252–62
 'continuation of politics' 246, 250–2
 cost-benefit analysis 250–2
 'endless' 253
 gender lens 429–33
 'humanitarian' 253, 262
 inter-state 247, 253, 254, 258, 287, 429, 451
 justifications 262–8
 nature 247–52
 'obsolescence' 253
 'old' versus 'new' 252–8
 'postmodern' 258–62
 structural theories 250
 types 247–8
 'unwinnable' 253
 won by states that started them 250–2
 war crime/s 351, 352
 'war guilt' clause 34
 war and peace 251, 429
 war rape 431, 433
 'war on terror' 20, 25, 45–51, 61, 136, 221, 229–33, 303
 focus 230
 'humanitarian intervention' 328–30
 warlordism 126
 Warsaw Pact 38, 223–4, 259
 Washington Consensus 51, 93, 96, 377, 380, 470, 471, 476, 484, 565
 see also neoliberalism
- Washington Post* 216
 'weak liberals' 67
 'weak realists' 64, 68
 'weak' states 126, 128
Wealth of Nations (Smith, 1776) 88
 weapons of mass destruction (WMD) 231, 258, 271, 272, 288, 295, 300, 521, 556
 'weapons of weak' 291
 Weber, M. 116–17, 129–30, 565
 Wegener, A. 534
 Weiss, T. G. 337, 460, 565
 welfare dilemma 467, 468
 welfare state 123, 177, 179
Weltpolitik (Fischer) 30
 Wendt, A. 77, 526, 528, 549
 anarchy 'what states make of it' 76–7, 274, 565
 identities 'basis of interests' 188
 state identity ('corporate' versus 'social') 125
 West, the 26, 27–8, 155, 356, 360, 556
 challenged 22, 185, 199–214
 debt and austerity 112
 and 'Muslim question' 210, 212–14
 Soviet misperceptions 40
 West African Economic and Monetary Union 499
 West Asia 206
 'westernization' 149
 as modernization 186–7
 Wheeler, N. J. 19, 337, 551, 553, 565
 'where you stand depends on where you sit' 136
 Whitman, J. 486, 565
 Wight, M. 543, 565
 Wikipedia 146
 Wilberforce, W. 10
 Williams, M. 114, 560
 Williamson, J. 96, 565
 Willis, K. 389, 565
 Wilson, T. W. 62, 67, 68, 167–8, 213, 224, 226, 442, 445
 Wilsonianism 214, 445, 521
 Wollman, H. 184, 563
 women 59, 203, 206, 379, 420, 435, 562
 domestic labour 433, 434
 human rights 317, 324, 422
 'missing women' 436
 'mothers of nation' 427
 peacemakers 432
 'woman-identified' 188, 423
 women's movement 156–7, 422
- World Bank 51, 74, 100, 121, 369, 370–1, 380, 467, 468–9, 474–6, 537, 380, 474–6
 miscellaneous 51, 74, 100, 121, 369, 370–1, 467, 468–9, 537, 565
 World Conference on Human Rights (Vienna, 1993) 201, 316, 318, 325
 'world of democracies' 538–9
World Development Report 369, 380
 World Economic Forum 159, 565
 'world on fire' (Chua) 193, 552
 world government 81, 440, 464–5
 'federal' versus 'unitary' models 464
 World Hindu Council 198
 world history (1900–45) 33
 World Meteorological Organization (WMO) 403
 World Social Forum 156, 365
 'world society' (Burton) 141, 551
 World Trade Organization 7, 11, 51, 70, 74, 100, 122, 157, 344, 349, 373, 467, 476–9, 536, 537, 550, 560
 negotiating rounds 478
 WTO: Dispute Settlement Body 477–8, 479, 537
 World War I 29–32, 72–3, 207, 247, 350, 431, 501
 World War II 32–6, 171, 179, 223, 247, 262, 350, 431, 501
 'just war' 263–5
 World War III
 avoidance ('supreme UN achievement') 447
 World Wide Web 145
 world-system theory 21, 73, 90, 103, 104, 364, 374, 470, 544
- xenophobia 171
 Xi Jinping 243
 Xinjiang 168, 180, 322, 416
- Yeltsin, B. N. 181
 Yemen 210, 211, 298, 437t
 Young, A. 245, 565
 Young, J. W. 53, 565
 Young, R. 215, 566
 Yugoslavia 44, 45, 62, 158, 169, 171, 182, 191, 193, 194, 226, 256, 348, 353, 432, 448, 538
 Yunus, M. 384, 437
 Zangl, B. 460, 561

- Zapatista Army of National Liberation
(EZLN) 365, 368
- Zeno 464
- Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai) 25, 238
- Zimbabwe 329–30, 336, 386
- ‘zones of danger and chaos’ 230
- ‘zones of peace’ 67, 69, 253, 254,
562
- ‘zones of safety’ 230
- ‘zones of turmoil’ 67, 69, 326, 562