History

A new millennium found the world breaking free of the logic of the two world wars and the Cold War that dominated the twentieth century. New possibilities were emerging everywhere, some good and some bad. With so much change, one might wonder whether history is still relevant to understanding the world. It is. The basic structures and principles of international relations are deeply rooted in historical developments. Our brief discussion of these developments begins with a long-term perspective and gradually focuses on more recent history.

World Civilizations to 2000

The present-day international system is the product of a particular civilization—Western civilization, centered in Europe. The international system as we know it developed among the European states of 300 to 500 years ago, was exported to the rest of the world, and in the past century subsumed virtually all of the world's territory into sovereign states. It is important to keep in mind that other civilizations existed in other world regions for centuries before Europeans ever arrived. These cultural traditions continue to exert an influence on IR, especially when the styles and expectations of these cultures come into play in international interactions.

North American students should note that much of the world differs from North America, whose indigenous cultures were largely exterminated or pushed aside by European settlers. Today's North American population is overwhelmingly descended

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World Civilizations, 1000–2000

	Before A.D. 1000	A.D. 1000	1250	1500	1750–2000
Japan	Korean and Chinese influences	samurai; shoguns →	→	Tokugawa isolation →	→ Meiji restoration; WW II; prosperity
China	Dynasties; Great Wall begun; Taoism; Buddhism; paper, gunpowder	Sung dynasty	Mongol dynasty; Ming dynasty	Manchu dynasty	European dominance; People's Republic
S. Asia	Emergence of Hinduism, Buddhism; Ancient India; Arab conquest	Turkish period		Taj Mahal built; European colonialism	→ independence
Africa	Kingdom of Ghana	Yoruba, Mali, Benin (kingdoms)	Congo; slave trade →; Zimbabwe	Buganda; Ashanti	→ European colonialism; independence
Middle East	Mesopotamia, Egypt, Persia; Jews, Christians; Greeks/Romans; Islam	Crusades; — Arab empire →	→	Ottoman Empire →	→ Arab nationalism; European colonialism; Islamic rev.
W. Europe	Ancient Greece; Roman Empire; Vikings; Feudalism	"Dark Ages"	Venice; Renaissance	Empires →; Protestantism	→ French Revolution; German/Italian unifica-tions; WW I/II; loss of empires
Russia & E. Europe	Khazars	Genghis Khan		Ivan the Terrible; czars →	→ Lenin; USSR; WW II; CIS
N. America	(Preagricultural)		Columbus	European colonization	American Revolution; U.S. Civil War; westward expansion; WW II; Cold War
Latin America	Mayans	Aztec & Inca Empires →	→	Portuguese & Spanish conquest; colonialism →	→ independence; European & U.S. interventions; wars, debts, dictators, revolutions

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from immigrants. In other regions, however (especially in Africa and Asia), European empires incorporated rather than pushed aside indigenous populations. Today's populations are descended primarily from indigenous inhabitants, not immigrants. These populations are therefore strongly rooted in their own cultural traditions and history.

European civilization evolved from roots in the Eastern Mediterranean—Egypt, Mesopotamia (Iraq), and especially Greece. Of special importance for IR is the classical period of Greek city-states around 400 B.C., which exemplified some of the fundamental principles of interstate power politics. By that time, states were carrying out sophisticated trade relations and warfare with each other in a broad swath of the world from the Mediterranean through India to East Asia. Much of this area came under Greek influence with the conquests of Alexander the Great around 300 B.C., under the Roman Empire around A.D. 1, and then under an Arab empire (around A.D. 600).

China remained an independent civilization during this time. In the "warring states" period, about the same time as the Greek city-states, sophisticated states (organized as territorial political units) first used warfare as an instrument of power politics. By about A.D. 800, when Europe was in its "dark ages" and Arab civilization in its golden age, China under the T'ang dynasty was a highly advanced civilization independent of Western influence. Japan, strongly influenced by Chinese civilization, flowered on its own in the centuries leading up to the Shoguns (around A.D. 1200). Japan isolated itself from Western influence under the Tokugawa shogunate for several centuries, ending after 1850 when the Meiji restoration began Japanese industrialization and international trade. Latin America also had flourishing civilizations—the Mayans around A.D. 100 to 900 and the Aztecs and Incas around 1200—independent of Western influence until conquered by Spain around 1500. In Africa, the great kingdoms arose around A.D. 1000 (as early as A.D. 600 in Ghana) and were highly developed when the European slave traders arrived around 1500.

The Arab empire of about A.D. 600 to 1200 plays a special role in the international relations of the Middle East. Almost the whole of the region was once united in this empire, which arose and spread with the religion of Islam. European invaders—the Crusaders—were driven out. In the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, the eastern Mediterranean came under the Turkish-based Ottoman Empire, which gave relative autonomy to local cultures if they paid tribute. This history of empires continued to influence the region in the twentieth century. For example, *Pan-Arabism* (or Arab nationalism), especially strong in the 1950s and 1960s, saw the region as potentially one nation again, with a single religion, language, and identity. The strength of Islamic fundamentalism throughout the region today, as well as the emotions attached to the Arab-Israeli conflict, reflect the continuing importance of the historic Arab empire.

Europe itself began its rise to world dominance around 1500, during the Renaissance. The Italian city-states of the period rediscovered the rules of interstate power politics, as described by Niccolò Machiavelli. Feudal units began to merge into large territorial nation-states under single authoritarian rulers (monarchs). The military revolution of the period created the first modern armies. European monarchs put cannons on sailing ships and began to "discover" the world. The development of the international system, of imperialism, of trade and war, were all greatly accelerated by the *Industrial Revolution* after about 1750. Ultimately, the European conquest of the world brought about a single world civilization, albeit with regional variants and subcultures. In recent decades, the world regions formerly dominated by Europe have gained independence.

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The Great-Power System, 1500–2000

	1500–1600	1600–1700	1700–1800	1800–1900	1900–2000
Wars	Spain conquers Portugal Spanish Armada	**30 Years' War**	War of the Spanish Succession 7 Years' War	**Napoleonic Wars** Franco-Prussian War	**World War I** **World War II** Cold War
Major Alliances	Turkey (Muslim) vs. Europe (Christian) Hapsburgs (Austria-Spain) vs. France, Britain, Netherlands, Sweden		France vs. Britain, Spain	France vs. Britain, Netherlands	Germany (& Japan) vs. Britain, France, Russia, United States, China Russia vs. U.S., W. Eur., Japan
Rules & Norms	Nation-states (France, Austria) Dutch independence	Grotius on int'l law **Treaty of Westphalia 1648**	Treaty of Utrecht 1713 Kant on peace	Congress of Vienna 1815 Concert of Europe	League of Nations Geneva conventions Communism UN Security Council 1945- Human rights
Rising Powers	Britain France Netherlands	Russia **Netherlands hegemony**	Prussia →	United States Germany Japan Italy **British hegemony**	China **U.S. hegemony**
Declining Powers	Venice	Spain	Netherlands Sweden Ottoman Empire		Britain France Austria Italy Russia

1500 1600 1700 1800 1900 2000

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The Great-Power System, 1500–2000

The modern international system is sometimes dated from the *Treaty of Westphalia* in 1648, which enshrined the principles of independent, sovereign states that continue to shape the international system today. These rules of state relations did not, however, originate at Westphalia; they took form in Europe in the sixteenth century. Key to this system was the ability of one state, or a coalition, to balance the power of another state so that it could not gobble up smaller units and create a universal empire.

This power-balancing system placed special importance on the handful of great powers with strong military capabilities, global interests and outlooks, and intense interactions with each other. (Great powers are defined and discussed on pp. 62–64.) A system of great-power relations has existed since around A.D. 1500, and the structure and rules of that system have remained fairly stable through time, although the particular members change. The structure is a balance of power among the six or so most powerful states, which form and break alliances, fight wars, and make peace, letting no single state conquer the others.

The most powerful states in sixteenth-century Europe were Britain (England), France, Austria-Hungary, and Spain. The Ottoman Empire (Turkey) recurrently fought with the European powers, especially with Austria-Hungary. Today, that historic conflict between the (Islamic) Ottoman Empire and (Christian) Austria-Hungary is a source of ethnic conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

Within Europe, Austria-Hungary and Spain were allied under control of the Hapsburg family, which also owned the territory of the Netherlands. The Catholic Hapsburg countries were defeated by mostly Protestant countries in northern Europe—France, Britain, Sweden, and the newly independent Netherlands—in the *Thirty Years' War* of 1618–1648. The 1648 Treaty of Westphalia set out the basic rules that have defined the international system ever since—the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states as equal and independent members of an international system. Since then, states defeated in war might have been stripped of some territories but were generally allowed to continue as independent states rather than being subsumed by the victor.

In the eighteenth century, the power of Britain increased as it industrialized, and Britain's great rival was France. Sweden, the Netherlands, and the Ottoman Empire declined in power, but Russia and later Prussia (the forerunner of modern-day Germany) emerged as major players. In the *Napoleonic Wars* (1803–1815), France was defeated by a coalition of Britain, the Netherlands, Austria-Hungary, Spain, Russia, and Prussia. The *Congress of Vienna* (1815) ending that war reasserted the principles of state sovereignty in reaction to the challenges of the French Revolution and Napoleon's empire. In the *Concert of Europe* that dominated the following decades, the five most powerful states tried, with some success, to cooperate on major issues to prevent war—a possible precedent for today's UN Security Council. In this period, Britain became a balancer, joining alliances against whichever state emerged as the most powerful in Europe.

By the outset of the twentieth century, three new rising powers had appeared on the scene: the United States (which had become the world's largest economy), Japan, and Italy. The great-power system became globalized instead of European. Powerful states were industrializing, extending the scope of their world activities and the might of their militaries. After Prussia defeated Austria and France in wars, a larger Germany emerged to challenge Britain's position. In *World War I* (1914–1918), Germany, Austria-Hungary, and

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the Ottoman Empire were defeated by a coalition that included Britain, France, Russia, Italy, and the United States. After a 20-year lull, Germany, Italy, and Japan were defeated in *World War II* (1939–1945) by a coalition of the United States, Britain, France, Russia (the Soviet Union), and China. Those five winners of World War II make up the permanent membership of today's UN Security Council.

After World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union, allies in the war against Germany, became adversaries for 40 years in the Cold War. Europe was split into rival blocs—East and West—with Germany itself split into two states. The rest of the world became contested terrain where each bloc tried to gain allies or influence, often by sponsoring opposing sides in regional and civil wars. The end of the Cold War around 1990, when the Soviet Union collapsed, returned the international system to a more cooperative arrangement of the great powers somewhat similar to the Concert of Europe in the nineteenth century.

Imperialism, 1500–2000

European imperialism (see Chapter 7) got its start in the fifteenth century with the development of oceangoing sailing ships in which a small crew could transport a sizable cargo over a long distance. Portugal pioneered the first voyages of exploration beyond Europe. Spain, France, and Britain soon followed. With superior military technology, Europeans gained control of coastal cities and of resupply outposts along major trade routes. Gradually this control extended farther inland, first in Latin America, then in North America, and later throughout Asia and Africa.

In the sixteenth century, Spain and Portugal had extensive empires in Central America and Brazil, respectively. Britain and France had colonies in North America and the Caribbean. The imperialists bought slaves in Africa and shipped them to Mexico and Brazil, where they worked in agriculture and in mining. The wealth produced was exported to Europe, where monarchs used it to buy armies and build states. These empires decimated indigenous populations and cultures, causing immense suffering. Over time, the economies of the colonies developed with the creation of basic transportation and communication infrastructure, factories, and so forth. But these economies were often molded to the needs of the colonizers, not the local populations.

Decolonization began with the British colonists in the United States who declared independence in 1776. Most of Latin America gained independence a few decades later. The new states in North America and Latin America were, of course, still run by the descendants of Europeans, to the disadvantage of Native Americans and African slaves.

Acquisition of new colonies by Europe through the end of the nineteenth century culminated in a scramble for colonies in Africa in the 1890s. Latecomers such as Germany and Italy were frustrated to find few attractive territories remaining in the world when they tried to build overseas empires in the late nineteenth century. India became Britain's largest and most important colony in the nineteenth century. Only a few non-European areas of the world retained their independence: Japan, most of China, Iran, Turkey, and a few other areas. Japan began building its own empire, as did the United States, at the end of the nineteenth century. China became weaker and its coastal regions fell under the domination, if not the formal control, of European powers.

In the wave of decolonization after World War II, it was not local colonists (as in the Americas) but indigenous populations in Asia and Africa which won independence.

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Imperialism, 1500–2000

Region	1500–1600	1600–1700	1700–1800	1800–1900	1900–2000
North America	Columbus	British & French colonization	U.S. independence	War of 1812; Canada →	
Latin America	Brazil (Portuguese); Central & S. America (Spanish)			Independence; European & U.S. interventions →	Mexican Revolution
East Asia		Russian conquest of Siberia	(China) →	Opium Wars; T'ai P'ing Rebellion; Boxer Rebellion	Taiwan & Korea (Japanese); Japanese empire; Korea split Taiwan autonomous; Communist China; Hong Kong to China
South Asia	European explorers; Dutch East Indies Company	Indonesia (Dutch) →		India (British); Philippines (U.S.)	Indian independence; Vietnam War
Africa	European explorers; Slave trade →; Angola, Mozambique (Portuguese)			Scramble for colonies (Brit., Fr., Ger.)	Independence
Middle East	Ottoman Empire →				British & French mandates (Palestine); Algerian independence

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Decolonization continued through the mid-1970s until almost no European colonies remained. Most of the newly independent states have faced tremendous challenges and difficulties in the postcolonial era. Because long-established economic patterns continue despite political independence, some refer to the postcolonial era as being *neocolonial*. Although the global North no longer imports slave labor from the South, it continues to rely on the South for cheap labor, for energy and minerals, and for the products of tropical agriculture. However, the North in turn makes vital contributions to the South in capital investment, technology transfer, and foreign assistance (see Chapter 7).

The collapse of the Soviet Union and its bloc, which reduced Russia to its size of a century earlier, can be seen as an extension of the post–World War II wave of decolonization and self-determination. There, as in much of the global South, imperialism has left ethnic conflict in its wake, as new political units come to terms with territorial divisions created in distant imperial capitals.

Nationalism, 1500–2000

Many people consider **nationalism**—devotion to the interests of one's nation—to be the most important force in world politics in the past two centuries. A nation is a population that shares an identity, usually including a language and culture. But nationality is a difficult concept to define precisely. To some degree, the extension of political control over large territories creates the commonality needed for nationhood—states create nations. At the same time, the perceived existence of a nation has often led to the creation of a corresponding state as a people win sovereignty over their own affairs—nations created states.

Around A.D. 1500, countries such as France and Austria began to bring entire nations together into single states. These new nation-states were very large and powerful; they overran smaller neighbors. Over time, many small territorial units were conquered and incorporated into nation-states. Eventually the idea of nationalism itself became a powerful force and contributed to the disintegration of large, multinational states such as Austria-Hungary (in World War I), the Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia.

The principle of *self-determination* implies that people who identify as a nation should have the right to form a state and exercise sovereignty over their affairs. Self-determination is a widely praised principle in international affairs today (not historically). But it is generally secondary to the principles of sovereignty (noninterference in other states' internal affairs) and territorial integrity, with which it frequently conflicts. Self-determination does not give groups the right to change international borders, even those imposed arbitrarily by colonialism, in order to unify a group with a common national identity. Generally, though not always, self-determination has been achieved by violence. When the borders of (perceived) nations do not match those of states, conflicts almost inevitably arise. Today such conflicts are widespread—in Northern Ireland, Quebec, Israel-Palestine, India-Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Tibet, Sudan, and many other places.

The Netherlands helped to establish the principle of self-determination when it broke free of Spanish ownership around 1600 and set up a self-governing Dutch republic. The struggle over control of the Netherlands was a leading cause of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), in which states mobilized for war in new ways. For instance, Sweden drafted one man out of ten for long-term military service, while the Netherlands used the wealth

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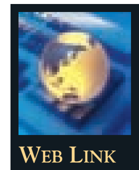
derived from global trade to finance a standing professional army. This process of popular mobilization intensified greatly in the French Revolution and the subsequent Napoleonic Wars, when France instituted a universal draft and a centrally run "command" economy. Its motivated citizen armies, composed for the first time of Frenchmen rather than mercenaries, marched longer and faster. People participated in part because their nation-state embodied their aspirations and brought them together in a common national identity.

The United States meanwhile declared independence in 1776, held together in the Civil War of the 1860s, and developed a surprisingly strong sense of nationalism, considering its size and diversity. Latin American states gained independence early in the nineteenth century, and Germany and Italy unified their nations out of multiple political units (through war) later in that century.



Understanding Fascism

Before World War I, socialist workers from different European countries had banded together as workers to fight for workers' rights. In that war, however, most abandoned such solidarity and instead fought for their own nation. Before World War II, nationalism helped Germany, Italy, and Japan to build political orders based on *fascism*—an extreme authoritarianism undergirded by national chauvinism. And in World War II it was nationalism and patriotism (not communism) that rallied the Soviet people to sacrifice by the millions to turn back Germany's invasion.

In the past 50 years, third world nations by the dozens have gained independence and statehood. Jews worked persistently in the first half of the twentieth century to create the state of Israel, and Palestinians aspired in the second half to create a Palestinian state. While multinational states such as the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia have fragmented in recent years, ethnic and territorial units such as Ukraine, Slovenia, and East Timor have established themselves as independent nation-states. Others, such as Kosovo, are seeking to do so. More than ever, the influence of nationalism is a major factor in international conflict and war.

National identity is psychologically reinforced on a daily basis by symbols such as the national flag and by various practices designed to reinforce the identification of a population with its nation and government. In truth, people have multiple identities, belonging to various circles from their immediate family through their town, ethnic or religious group, nation or state, and humanity as a whole (see pp. 133–135). Nationalism has been remarkably successful in establishing national identity as many people's primary affiliation.

Democracy can be a force for peace, constraining the power of state leaders to commit their nations to war. But popular influence over governments can also increase conflict with other nations. Over time, democratic participation has broadened to more countries and more people within those countries. The trend toward democracy seems to be continuing in most regions of the world—in Russia and Eastern Europe, Africa, Latin America, and Asia. Both nationalism and democracy remain great historical forces exerting strong influences in IR.

The World Economy, 1750–2000

In 1750, Britain, the world's most advanced economy, had a GDP of about $1,500 per capita (in today's dollars)—below the present level of most of the global South. However, today Britain produces more than ten times that much per person (with a much larger

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population than in 1750). This accomplishment was due to **industrialization**—the use of energy to drive machinery and the accumulation of such machinery along with the products created by it. The Industrial Revolution started in Britain in the eighteenth century (notably with the inventions of a new steam engine in 1769, a mechanized thread-spinner in 1770, and the cotton gin in America in 1794). It was tied to Britain's emerging leadership role in the world economy. Industrialization—a process at the world level of analysis—spread to the other advanced economies.

By around 1850, the wooden sailing ships of earlier centuries had been replaced by larger and faster coal-powered iron steamships. Coal-fueled steam engines also drove factories producing textiles and other commodities. The great age of railroad building was taking off. These developments not only increased the volume of world production and trade, but also tied distant locations more closely together economically. In this period of mechanization, however, factory conditions were extremely harsh, especially for women and children operating machines.

Britain dominated world trade in the nineteenth century. Because Britain's economy was the most technologically advanced in the world, its products were competitive worldwide. Thus British policy favored **free trade.** Britain served as the financial capital of the world, managing an increasingly complex world market in goods and services. The British currency, pounds sterling (silver), became the world standard. International monetary relations were still based on the value of precious metals, as they had been in the sixteenth century when Spain bought its armies with Mexican silver and gold.

By the outset of the twentieth century, however, the world's largest and most advanced economy was not Britain but the United States. The industrialization of the U.S. economy was fueled by territorial expansion throughout the nineteenth century, adding vast natural resources. The U.S. economy was attracting huge pools of immigrant labor from Europe as well. The United States led the world in converting from coal to oil and from horse-drawn transportation to motor vehicles. New technical innovations, from electricity to airplanes, also helped push the U.S. economy into a dominant world position.

In the 1930s, the U.S. and world economies suffered a severe setback in the Great Depression. Adopting the principles of *Keynesian economics*, the U.S. government used deficit spending to stimulate the economy. The government role in the economy intensified during World War II.

Following World War II, the capitalist world economy was restructured under U.S. leadership. The World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) date from this period. The United States provided massive assistance to resuscitate the Western European economies (through the Marshall Plan) as well as Japan's economy. World trade greatly expanded, and the world market became more integrated through air transportation and telecommunications. Electronics emerged as a new leading sector, and technological progress accelerated.

Standing apart from this world capitalist economy in the years after World War II were the economies of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, organized on communist principles of central planning and state ownership. The Soviet economy had some notable successes in rapidly industrializing the country in the 1930s, surviving the German assault in the 1940s, and developing world-class aerospace and military production capability in the 1950s and 1960s. It launched the world's first satellite (*Sputnik*) in 1957, and in the early 1960s its leaders boasted that communist economies

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The World Economy, 1750–2000

	1750–1800	1800–1850	1850–1900	1900–1950	1950–2000
Production	industrialization →			WW I; WW II; world depression; assembly line; Soviet industrialization	postwar prosperity; globalization; Cold War arms race; Japanese & German growth; Soviet collapse
Energy	coal →			oil →	nuclear power →; nat. gas →
Leading Sectors	steam engine; cotton gin	iron & steam →; textiles →	steel →	electricity →; motor vehicles →	electronics →; computers →; plastics →; biotech →
Transportation	(wooden sailing ships)	iron steamships →; railroads →	Suez Canal	airplanes →; Trans-Siberian Railroad; automobiles →; Panama Canal	jets →; freeways →; high speed rail →
Trade		British dominance	(free trade)	protectionism	U.S. dominance; GATT →; WTO; European integration; NAFTA
Money		sterling (British) as world currency →		post- WW I inflation; Keynes	U.S. dollar as world currency; Marshall Plan; U.S. drops gold standard; Russia joins IMF; IMF →; Bretton Woods; debt crises
Communication		telegraph →	telephone invented	transoceanic cables; radio →	communication satellites; information revolution →; Internet; fax, modem, cellular, etc.

1750 | 1800 | 1850 | 1900 | 1950 | 2000

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would outperform capitalist ones within decades. Instead, the Soviet bloc economies stagnated under the weight of bureaucracy, ideological rigidity, environmental destruction, corruption, and extremely high military spending. In the 1990s, the former Soviet republics and their Eastern European neighbors tried—with mixed success—to make a transition to some form of capitalist market economy, but found it difficult.

Today, there is a single integrated world economy that almost no country can resist joining. At the same time, the imperfections and problems of that world economy are evident in the periodic crises and recessions of recent years. The emergence of a global capitalist economy has sharpened disparities between the richest and poorest world regions. While the United States enjoys unprecedented prosperity, Africa's increasing poverty has created a human catastrophe on a continental scale.

The Two World Wars, 1900–1950

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

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

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

The war was neither short nor decisive, however, and certainly not glorious. It bogged down in *trench warfare* along a fixed front, with occasional charges over the top into the enemy machine guns. In one 1917 battle, the British in three months fired five tons of artillery shells per yard of front line, over an 11-mile-wide front, and then lost 400,000 men in a failed ground attack. The horrific conditions were worsened by chemical weapons and by the attempts of Britain and Germany to starve each other into surrender.

Russia was the first state to crumble. Revolution at home removed Russia from the war in 1917 (and led to the founding of the Soviet Union). But the entry of the United States into the war on the anti-German side that year quickly turned the tide. In the *Treaty of Versailles* of 1919, Germany was forced to give up territory, pay reparations, limit its future

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The Two World Wars, 1900–1950

	1900–1910	1910–1920	1920–1930	1930–1940	1940–1950
Europe	mobilization plans developed; Balkan crises	**World War I**; Sarajevo; U.S. enters war		Italy invades Ethiopia; Munich Agreement	**World War II**; U.S. enters war; D Day
Germany	naval arms race with Britain →	Defeat	Weimar Republic; hyperinflation	Hitler wins power; rearmament; occupation of Austria, Czech.; invasion of Poland	occupation of Europe; The Holocaust; strategic bombing; Defeat; occupied by Allied forces
Russia		Russian Revolution; USSR formed	(civil war)	(industrialization); pact with Hitler	German invasion; Victory
Asia	U.S. in Philippines; Russo-Japanese War	Japan neutral in WW I		Japan occupies Manchuria (China); Japan invades China	Pearl Harbor; island battles; Japan occupies S.E. Asia; Hiroshima; Occupied by U.S.
International Norms & Law	Hague Peace Conferences	Versailles treaty	League of Nations →; Washington Naval Treaty	U.S. isolationism; Japan quits League of Nations	Nuremberg Tribunal; United Nations →
Technology	destroyers	trench warfare; chemical weapons; tanks; submarines		mechanized armor	air war; radar; nuclear weapons

1900 1910 1920 1930 1940 1950

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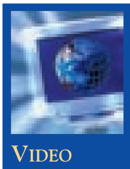
armaments, and admit guilt for the war. German resentment against the harsh terms of Versailles would contribute to Adolf Hitler's rise to power in the 1930s. After World War I, U.S. President Woodrow Wilson led the effort to create the **League of Nations,** a forerunner of today's United Nations. But the U.S. Senate did not approve, and the League proved ineffective. U.S. isolationism between the world wars, along with declining British power and a Russia crippled by its own revolution, left a power vacuum in world politics.

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

In Europe, meanwhile, Nazi Germany under Hitler in the 1930s had rearmed, intervened to help fascists win the Spanish Civil War, and grabbed territory from its neighbors under the rationale of reuniting ethnic Germans in those territories with their homeland. In an effort to appease German ambitions, Britain and France agreed in the **Munich Agreement** of 1938 to let Germany occupy part of Czechoslovakia (known as the Sudetenland). Appeasement has since had a negative connotation in IR, because the Munich Agreement seemed only to encourage Hitler's further conquests.

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

The United States joined World War II against Germany in 1942. The U.S. economy produced critically important weapons and supplies for allied armies. The United States played an important role with Britain in the strategic bombing of German cities—including the killing of 100,000 civilians in the firebombing of Dresden in February 1945. In 1944, after crossing the English Channel on June 6 (*D Day*), British-American American forces pushed into Germany from the west while the Soviets pushed from the east. A ruined Germany surrendered and was occupied by the allied powers.



Video

Remembering Auschwitz

At its peak, Nazi Germany and its allies occupied virtually all of Europe, except Britain and part of Russia. Under its fanatical policies of racial purity, Germany rounded up and exterminated 6 million Jews and millions of others, including homosexuals, Gypsies, and communists. The mass murders, now known as the Holocaust, along with the sheer scale of war unleashed by Nazi aggression, are considered among the greatest *crimes against humanity* in history. Responsible German officials faced justice in the *Nuremberg Tribunal* after the war (see p. 273).

While the war in Europe was raging, Japan fought a war over control of Southeast Asia with the United States and its allies. Japan's expansionism in the 1930s had only underscored its dependence on foreign resources: the United States punished Japan by cutting off U.S. oil exports. Japan then destroyed much of the U.S. Navy in a surprise attack at *Pearl Harbor* (Hawaii) in 1941, and seized desired territories including

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Indonesia, whose oil replaced that of the United States. The United States, however, built vast new military forces and retook a series of Pacific islands in subsequent years. The strategic bombing of Japanese cities by the United States culminated in the only historical use of nuclear weapons in war—the destruction of the cities of *Hiroshima* and *Nagasaki* in August 1945—which triggered Japan's quick surrender.

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

The Cold War, 1945–1990

The United States and the Soviet Union became the two superpowers of the post–World War II era: Each had its ideological mission (capitalist democracy versus communism), its networks of alliances and third world clients, and its deadly arsenal of nuclear weapons. Europe was divided, with massive military forces of the United States and its *North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)* allies on one side and massive forces of the Soviet Union and its *Warsaw Pact* allies on the other. Germany itself was split, with three-quarters of the country—and three-quarters of the capital city of Berlin—occupied by the United States, Britain, and France. The remainder, surrounding West Berlin, was occupied by the Soviet Union. In 1961, East Germany built the Berlin Wall separating East from West Berlin. It symbolized the division of Europe by what Winston Churchill had called the "iron curtain."

Despite the hostility of East-West relations during the **Cold War,** a relatively stable framework of relations emerged, and conflicts never escalated to all-out war. Although the Soviet bloc did not join Western economic institutions, all the world's major states joined the United Nations (unlike the ill-fated League of Nations).

The central concern of the West during the Cold War was that the Soviet Union might gain control of Western Europe—either through outright invasion or through communists' taking power in the war-weary and impoverished countries of Western Europe. This could have put the entire industrial base of the Eurasian landmass (from Europe to Siberia) under one state. The *Marshall Plan*—U.S. financial aid to rebuild European economies—responded to these fears, as did the creation of the NATO alliance. Half of the entire world's military spending was devoted to the European standoff. Much spending was also devoted to a superpower nuclear arms race, in which each superpower produced tens of thousands of nuclear weapons (see pp. 170–171).

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

The *Chinese communist revolution* in 1949 led to a Sino-Soviet alliance (*Sino* means Chinese). But China became fiercely independent in the 1960s following the **Sino-Soviet**

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The Cold War, 1945–1990

	1940–1950	1950–1960	1960–1970	1970–1980	1980–1990
Soviet leaders	Stalin	Stalin; Khrushchev	Khrushchev; Brezhnev	Brezhnev	Brezhnev; Andropov; Chernenko; Gorbachev
Soviet Union	(WW II alliance); A-bomb	Sputnik; Warsaw Pact →		nuclear parity with U.S.	reforms (perestroika, glasnost)
Soviet Union / United States	nuclear arms race →				
United States	NATO →; containment policy →	(nuclear superiority over USSR)		human rights; (Iran crisis)	military buildup; "Star Wars" (SDI)
U.S. presidents	F. D. Roosevelt; Truman	Truman; Eisenhower	Kennedy; Johnson	Nixon; Ford; Carter	Reagan; Bush
China	civil war (Nationalists-Communists)	Sino-Soviet alliance; People's Republic (Taiwan nationalist) →; Taiwan Straits crises (vs. U.S.)	Sino-Soviet split; A-bomb; Soviet border clashes; Cultural Revolution	joins UN; U.S.-China rapprochement; death of Mao	neutral to pro-U.S.; student protests
Confrontations	Berlin crisis	**Korean War**; Soviet invasion of Hungary; U-2 incident	Berlin Wall; Berlin crisis; **Cuban Missile Crisis**; **Vietnam War**; USSR invades Czechoslovakia		**Afghanistan War**; U.S. invasion of Grenada
Proxy Wars	Greek civil war	Cuban revolution; Suez crisis	Indonesia; Arab-Israeli wars	Chile coup; Somalia vs. Ethiopia; Cambodia →; Angola →	Nicaragua →; El Salvador →
Co-operation	Yalta summit	Geneva summit	Limited Test Ban Treaty; Non-Proliferation Treaty	détente; SALT I; SALT II	START talks; Paris summit (CFE); INF treaty

1940 | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | 1990

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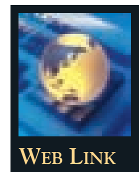
split, when China opposed Soviet moves toward *peaceful coexistence* with the United States. In the late 1960s, young radicals, opposed to both superpowers, ran China during the chaotic and destructive *Cultural Revolution*. But feeling threatened by Soviet power, China's leaders developed a growing affiliation with the United States during the 1970s, starting with a dramatic visit to China by U.S. President Richard Nixon in 1972. During the Cold War, China generally tried to play a balancer role against whichever superpower seemed most threatening at the time.

In 1950, the *Korean War* broke out when communist North Korea attacked and overran most of U.S.-allied South Korea. The United States and its allies (under UN authority obtained after the Soviets walked out of the Security Council in protest) counterattacked and overran most of North Korea. China sent "volunteers" to help North Korea, and the war bogged down near the original border until a 1953 truce. The Korean War hardened U.S. attitudes toward communism.

The Cold War thawed after Stalin died in 1953. The first **summit meeting** between superpower leaders took place in Geneva in 1955. But the Soviet Union sent tanks to crush a popular uprising in Hungary in 1956 (an action it repeated in 1968 in Czechoslovakia), and the Soviet missile program that orbited *Sputnik* in 1957 alarmed the United States. In Cuba, after Fidel Castro's communist revolution in 1959, the United States attempted a counterrevolution in the botched 1961 *Bay of Pigs* invasion.



Cuban Missile Crisis

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

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

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

Vietnam War

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

In June 1989, massive pro-democracy demonstrations in China's capital of Beijing (Tiananmen Square) were put down violently by the communist government. Around 1990, as the Soviet Union stood by, one after another Eastern European country replaced its communist government after mass demonstrations. The toppling of the Berlin Wall in late 1989 symbolized the end of the Cold War division of Europe. Germany formally reunified in 1990. The Soviet leader, Gorbachev, allowed these losses of power in hopes of concentrating on Soviet domestic restructuring under *perestroika* (economic reform) and *glasnost* (openness in political discussion). In 1991, however, the Soviet Union itself broke apart. Russia and many of the other former republics struggled throughout the 1990s against economic and financial collapse, inflation, corruption, war, and military weakness, although they remained political democracies. China remained a communist, authoritarian government but liberalized its economy and avoided military conflicts. In contrast to the Cold War era, China developed close ties with both the United States and Russia, and joined the world's liberal trading regime.

Scholars do not agree on the important question of why the Cold War ended. One view is that U.S. military strength under President Reagan forced the Soviet Union into bankruptcy as it tried to keep up in the arms race. Others claim that the Soviet Union suffered from internal stagnation over decades and imploded because of weaknesses in governance that had little to do with external pressure.

The Early Post–Cold War Era, 1990–2006

The post–Cold War era began with a bang, while the Soviet Union was still disintegrating. In 1990, perhaps believing that the end of the Cold War had left a power vacuum in its region, Iraq occupied its neighbor Kuwait in an aggressive grab for control of Middle East oil. Western powers were alarmed—both about the example that unpunished aggression could set in a new era, and about the direct threat to energy supplies for the world economy. The United States mobilized a coalition of the world's major countries (with almost no opposition) to counter Iraq. Working through the UN, the U.S.-led coalition applied escalating sanctions against Iraq.

When Iraq did not withdraw from Kuwait by the UN's deadline, the United States and its allies easily smashed Iraq's military and evicted its army from Kuwait in the *Gulf War*. But the coalition did not occupy Iraq or overthrow its government. The costs of the Gulf War were shared among the participants in the coalition, with Britain and France making military commitments while Japan and Germany made substantial financial contributions. This pass-the-hat financing was an innovation, one that worked fairly well.

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The final collapse of the Soviet Union followed only months after the Gulf War. The 15 republics of the Union—Russia under President Boris Yeltsin was just one—had begun taking power from a weakened central government, declaring themselves sovereign states. This process raised complex problems ranging from issues of national self-determination to the reallocation of property. The *Union Treaty* outlining a new structure with stronger republics and a weaker center provoked hard-liners in the old central government to try to seize control of the Soviet Union in a military coup in 1991. The failure of the coup—and the role of Russian President Yeltsin in opposing it—accelerated the collapse of the Soviet Union. Soon both capitalism and democracy were adopted as the basis of the economies and political systems of the former Soviet states. The republics became independent states and formed a loose coordinating structure—the **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).** Of the former Soviet republics, only the three small Baltic states are nonmembers. Russia and Belarus formed a quasi-union in 2000.

Western relations with Russia and the other republics have been mixed since the 1990s. Because of their own economic problems and a sense that Russia needed internal reform more than external aid, Western countries provided only limited aid for the region's harsh economic transition, which had drastically reduced living standards. Russia's brutal suppression of its secessionist province of Chechnya in 1995 and 1999 provoked Western fears. Russian leaders in turn feared NATO expansion into Eastern Europe that placed threatening Western military forces on Russia's borders. Meanwhile, Japan and Russia could not resolve a lingering, mostly symbolic, territorial dispute.

Despite these problems, the world's great powers increased their cooperation after the Cold War. Russia was accepted as the successor state to the Soviet Union and took its seat on the United Nations Security Council. Russia and the United States carried out major reductions in their nuclear weapons in the 1990s.

The Gulf War was intended to set valuable precedents for the future—punishment of aggression, reaffirmation of sovereignty and territorial integrity (of both Kuwait and Iraq), utility of the UN Security Council, and willingness of the United States to lead the post–Cold War order, which then-President Bush named the "New World Order." The "New World Order" of the early 1990s in many ways followed Franklin D. Roosevelt's vision in the 1940s of a U.S.-led great-power collaboration through a new United Nations.

Hopes for a "New World Order" quickly collided with less pleasant realities, however. Just after the Gulf War in 1991, the former Yugoslavia broke apart, with several of its republics declaring independence. Ethnic Serbs, who were minorities in Croatia and Bosnia, seized territory to form a "Greater Serbia." With help from Serbia, which controlled the Yugoslav army, they killed hundreds of thousands of non-Serb Bosnians and Croatians and expelled millions more, to create an ethnically pure state.

The international community recognized the independence of Croatia and Bosnia, admitting them to the UN and passing dozens of Security Council resolutions to protect their territorial integrity and their civilian populations. But in contrast to the Gulf War, the great powers showed no willingness to bear major costs to protect Bosnia. Instead, they tried to contain the conflict by assuming a neutral role as peacekeeper and intermediary. An arms embargo was imposed on unarmed Bosnia and heavily armed Serbia alike, despite the UN resolutions declaring Serbia the aggressor. The UN sent almost 40,000 peacekeepers to Bosnia and Croatia, at a cost of more than $1 billion per year. NATO threatened military

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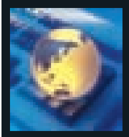
actions repeatedly, only to back down when costs appeared too high. In 1995, Serbian forces overran two UN-designated "safe areas" in eastern Bosnia, expelling the women and slaughtering thousands of the men. Finally, two weeks of NATO air strikes (the alliance's first-ever military engagement), along with losses to Croatia on the ground, induced Serb forces to come to terms. U.S. negotiators pushed through the *Dayton Agreement*, which formally held Bosnia together but granted Serb forces autonomy on half of its territory. About 60,000 heavily armed troops, mostly from NATO, established a stable cease-fire.



Kosovo War

In contrast to their indecision early in the Bosnia crisis, the Western powers acted decisively in 1999 when Serbian forces carried out "ethnic cleansing" in the Serbian province of Kosovo, predominantly populated by ethnic Albanian. The guerrilla Kosovo Liberation Army had been conducting a violent campaign for independence, and Serbian forces had responded with massacres and forced displacements. After a Western-sponsored peace initiative collapsed, NATO launched an air war that escalated over ten weeks. Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic was indicted for war crimes by the UN tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, delivered to the tribunal in 2001 after losing power, and died in 2006 near the end of a lengthy trial. NATO came under criticism from Russia and China for acting without explicit UN authorization and interfering in Serbia's internal affairs. (The international community and the UN considered Kosovo, unlike Bosnia, to be a part of Serbia.) In the end, Serbian forces withdrew from Kosovo and the UN has controlled the province since, with independence still uncertain.

Other Western military intervention decisions since 1990—outside the strategically important locations of the Persian Gulf and former Yugoslavia—do not easily map onto a "New World Order." In Somalia, a U.S.-led coalition sent tens of thousands of troops to suppress factional fighting and deliver relief supplies to a large population that was starving. However, when those forces were drawn into the fighting and sustained casualties, the United States abruptly pulled out. In Rwanda in 1994, the genocide of more than half a million civilians in a matter of weeks was virtually ignored by the international community. The great powers, burned by failures in Somalia and Bosnia, decided that their vital interests were not at stake. In 1997, the Rwanda conflict spilled into neighboring Zaire (now Democratic Congo), where rebels overthrew a corrupt dictator. Neighboring countries were drawn into the fighting but the international community steered clear even as conditions worsened and millions of civilians died. The U.S. military intervened in Haiti to restore the elected president, but today Haiti remains mired in poverty and political instability.

Vladimir Putin succeeded Yeltsin as Russia's president in 1999, while the war against Chechen rebels, which Putin had led, was still popular with Russians. Despite the leadership change, Russian relations with the West have been strained by the continuing challenges of conflicting interests in multiple areas. From Russia's perspective, problems include NATO expansion, Ukraine's pro-Western tilt, the lack of foreign aid, the construction of new pipelines to bypass Russian territory in moving oil from former Soviet republics to Western consumers, American withdrawal from the ABM Treaty, and criticism of Russia's war in Chechnya.

New rifts opened in 2001 between the United States and both China and Europe. The United States stood nearly alone against the rest of the international community on a range of issues—missile defenses, the Kyoto treaty on global warming, a treaty to enforce the prohibition on biological weapons, a proposal to curb international small-

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arms sales, a proposed International Criminal Court (to replace the ad hoc war crimes tribunals of the 1990s), and a proposal to curb tobacco marketing in poor countries. Signaling aspects of this shifting alignment, Russia and China signed a treaty of friendship in 2001, and European countries helped vote the United States off two important UN commissions.

These divisive issues receded when the United States was attacked by terrorists on September 11, 2001. The attack destroyed the World Trade Center in New York and a wing of the Pentagon in Washington, DC, killing thousands of Americans and citizens of about 60 other countries. The attacks mobilized support for the United States by a very broad coalition of states, out of a realization that terrorism threatens the interstate system itself. President Bush declared a "war on terrorism" that was expected to last years and span continents, employing both conventional and unconventional means. In late 2001, U.S. and British forces and their Afghan allies ousted the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, which had harbored and supported the al Qaeda network (led by Osama bin Laden) responsible for attacks on the United States.

CHANGE IN THE AIR

Peaceful trends mark the post-Cold War era, but war and terrorism continue. The uneasy relationship of Islam with the West will influence the directions of the unfolding era. Here, women begin to remove the burqa covering after the liberation of Kabul, Afghanistan, December 2001.

The great-power divisions reappeared, however, as the United States and Britain tried to assemble a coalition to oust Iraq's Saddam Hussein by force. France and Germany (along with Russia and China) bitterly opposed the war, as did millions of protesters around the world. As the U.S. secretary of defense called France and Germany "old Europe"—in contrast to the more pro-American "new Europe" states of Eastern Europe just joining NATO—the dispute brought the Atlantic alliance to a low point and wrecked France's dream of leading a unified European foreign policy. The Iraq War also weakened the UN's post–Cold War security role, since the U.S.-led coalition went forward despite its failure to win explicit authorization for war from the Security Council.

The invasion itself was brief and decisive. Iraq was overpowered in three weeks by a regional U.S. military force of 250,000 troops with advanced technology. Many Iraqis welcomed the end of a dictatorial regime, as had most Afghans in late 2001, but the war inflamed anti-American sentiment especially in Muslim countries such as Egypt and Pakistan. Insurgent forces in Iraq gained strength in the first three years of the U.S. occupation, and by early 2006 U.S. public opinion had turned against the war as violence continued with seemingly no end in sight. Sectarian violence between Shi'ite and Sunni communities (rival wings of Islam) pushed the country to the brink of all-out civil war, despite several successful elections for a new government. Estimates of Iraqi deaths caused by the war ranged from tens of thousands to more than 100,000. With many

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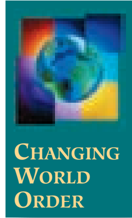
This icon indicates a Changing World Order discussion is available on the Companion Website (see p. xvii).



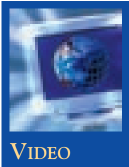
A New Era?

scenes of the destruction in Iraq broadcast regionally and worldwide, anti-Americanism exploded in Muslim countries. Following several other coalition partners, Italy announced it would withdraw its 3,000 troops from Iraq in 2006, leaving the United States and Britain increasingly alone in their efforts.

At the same time, the United States faced new crises involving nuclear weapons programs. North Korea restarted its program, producing possibly a half dozen nuclear bombs in 2003. Iran, in an agreement with Europe, suspended enriching uranium that could be used to build nuclear weapons, but then in 2006 began enrichment again—causing the UN Security Council to take up the issue.

The post–Cold War era may seem a conflict-prone period in which savage wars flare up with unexpected intensity around the world, in places such as Bosnia and Rwanda—even New York City. It is true that the era is complex and unpredictable, leaving some U.S. policy makers susceptible to Cold War nostalgia—longing for a time when world politics followed simpler rules based on a bipolar world order. Despite these new complexities, however, *the post–Cold War era has been more peaceful than the Cold War*. World military spending decreased by about one-third from its peak in the 1980s, though it began rising again after 2001. Old wars have ended faster than new ones have begun. Latin America and Russia/Eastern Europe have nearly extinguished significant interstate war in their regions, joining a zone of peace already encompassing North America, Western Europe, Japan/Pacific, and China.

Warfare is diminishing even in the arc of conflict from Africa through the Middle East to South Asia. Long, bloody wars ended in South Africa, Mozambique, Angola, Democratic Congo, southern Sudan, and Ethiopia-Eritrea, as did the Cold War conflicts in Central America. More recent wars in Sri Lanka, Ivory Coast, Rwanda, Indonesia, and the Philippines have also largely wound down. After the Cold War, world order did not spiral out of control with rampant aggression and war. However, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which saw rising expectations of peace in the 1990s, worsened again in 2000 after a proposed deal fell through. With the 2006 Palestinian election victory of the militant Islamist party Hamas, responsible for many terrorist bombings in Israel, hopes for a durable peace faded. And the continuing war in Iraq threatened the broader stability of the Middle East. Tensions between Muslim and Western countries heightened in 2006 after the publication of anti-Muslim cartoons in a Danish newspaper sparked riots from Africa to South Asia.



Hamas Wins Palestinian Election

In international economic relations, the post–Cold War era is one of globalization. Countries worldwide are integrating into a world market, for better or worse. New hubs of economic growth are emerging, notably in parts of Asia with remarkable economic growth since the 1990s. At the same time, disparities between the rich and poor are growing, globally and within individual countries (including the United States). Globalization has created backlashes among people who are adversely affected or who believe their identities are threatened by foreign influences. The resurgence of nationalism and ethnic-religious conflict—occasionally in brutal form—results partly from that backlash. So does the growing protest movement against capitalist-led globalization.

With increasing globalization, transnational concerns such as environmental degradation and disease have become more prominent as well. Global warming looms as an ever more present danger, underscored in 2005 by the toll of Hurricane Katrina on New Orleans and the accelerating melting of arctic ice. In early 2006, a virulent bird flu

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spread worldwide, faster than expected, and triggered panicky efforts to prepare for a possible human pandemic if the flu virus mutates and spreads person-to-person.

China is becoming more central to world politics in the new century. Its size and rapid growth make China a rising power—a situation that some scholars liken to Germany's rise a century earlier. Historically, such shifts in power relations have caused instability in the international system. China is the only great power that is not a democracy. Its poor record on human rights—symbolized by the killing of hundreds of peaceful demonstrators in Tiananmen Square (Beijing) in 1989—makes it a frequent target of Western criticism from both governments and NGOs.

China holds (but seldom uses) veto power in the UN Security Council, and it has a credible nuclear arsenal. China adjoins several regional conflict areas and affects the global proliferation of missiles and nuclear weapons. It claims disputed territory in the resource-rich South China Sea, but has not fought a military battle in 25 years. China is the only great power from the global South. Its population size and rapid industrialization make China a big factor in the future of global environmental trends such as global warming. All these elements make China an important actor in the coming decades.

The transition to the post–Cold War era has been a turbulent time, full of changes and new possibilities both good and bad. It is likely, however, that basic rules and principles of IR—those that scholars have long struggled to understand—will continue to apply, though their contexts and outcomes may change. Most central to those rules and principles is the concept of power, to which we now turn.

THINKING CRITICALLY

1. Pick a current area in which interesting international events are taking place. Can you think of possible explanations for those events from each of the four levels of analysis? (See Table 1.1, p. 12.) Do explanations from different levels provide insights into different aspects of the events?
2. For a given nation-state that was once a *colony*, can you think of ways in which the state's current foreign policies might be influenced by this past history?
3. Given the contradictory lessons of World War I and World War II, for which situations in today's world would appeasement (a conciliatory policy) be the best course? For which situations would hard-line containment policies be best? Why?

CHAPTER SUMMARY

- IR affects daily life profoundly; we all participate in IR.
- IR is a field of political science, concerned mainly with explaining political outcomes in international security affairs and international political economy.
- Theories complement descriptive narratives in explaining international events, but scholars do not agree on a single set of theories or methods to use in studying IR.
- States are the most important actors in IR; the international system is based on the sovereignty of (about 200) independent territorial states.

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- States vary greatly in size of population and economy, from tiny microstates to great powers.
- Nonstate actors such as multinational corporations (MNCs), nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) exert a growing influence on international relations.
- The worldwide revolution in information technologies will profoundly reshape the capabilities and preferences of actors in IR, in ways that we do not yet understand.
- Four levels of analysis—individual, domestic, interstate, and global—suggest multiple explanations (operating simultaneously) for outcomes observed in IR.
- A variety of world civilizations were conquered by Europeans over several centuries and forcefully absorbed into a single global international system initially centered in Europe.
- The great-power system is made up of about half a dozen states (with membership changing over time). Great powers have restructured world order through recurrent wars, alliances, and the reign of hegemons (states that temporarily gain a preponderance of power in the international system).
- Nationalism strongly influences IR; conflict often results from the perception of nationhood leading to demands for statehood or for the adjustment of state borders.
- Democracy is a force of growing importance: more states are becoming democratically governed, and democracies rarely fight each other in wars.
- The world economy has generated wealth at an accelerating pace in the past two centuries and is increasingly integrated on a global scale, although with huge inequalities.
- World War I and World War II dominated the twentieth century, yet offer contradictory lessons about the utility of hard-line or conciliatory foreign policies.
- For nearly 50 years after World War II, world politics revolved around the East-West rivalry of the Cold War. This standoff created stability and avoided great-power wars, including nuclear war, but turned poor states into proxy battlegrounds.
- The post–Cold War era that began in the 1990s holds hope of general great-power cooperation despite the appearance of new ethnic and regional conflicts.
- A "war on terrorism"—with broad international support but uncertain scope and duration—began in 2001 after the September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States.
- The U.S. military campaign in Iraq overthrew a dictator, but divided the great powers and heightened anti-Americanism worldwide.

ONLINE PRACTICE TEST

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❑ A
❑ B
☑ C
❑ D

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