### Contents

Preface xi

# Theoretical Approaches to International Relations 1

Introduction 1
Early Approaches to International-Relations Theory 8
Modern Approaches to International-Relations Theory 13
The Development of International-Relations Theory 16
The Definition and Scope of International Relations 19
Traditional Theory: Balance of Power 40
Conclusion 48
Notes 50

# From Realist to Neorealist and Neoclassical Realist Theory 63

Theoretical Foundations 63
Neorealist Theory 80
Realism, Neorealism, Neoclassical Realist Theory: Limitations and Contributions 93
Notes 98

## 3 System, Structure, Agent, and International Relations Theory 104

System and Structure 104
Structuralism and Structuration 106
Other Uses of System 107
Systems at the International Level 118
Theories of Polarity and International Stability 121
System Structure and Stability 123
Regional Subsystems in the International System 135
Conclusion 140
Notes 140

## The Physical/Social/Environing Context: Constructing Reality 149

From Structure-Agent to Constructivism 149
Environing Factors: Earlier Twentieth-Century Approaches 156
Geographical Factors of National Power 157
Mahan, the Seas, and National Power 159
The Sprouts and Human-Milieu Relationships 164
Spatial Relationships and Conflict: Recent Work 172
The Clash of Civilizations? 176
Redefining the Meaning of Borders 177
Critiques of Environmental Theories 178
Conclusion 180
Notes 181

#### 5 The Older Theories of Conflict and War 188

Prerequisites of a General Theory of Conflict and War
Micro- and Macro-Theories of Conflict 192
Individuals and International Conflict 193
Conflict and Social Integration 194
Varieties of Conflict 194
Theories of War and Its Causes in Antiquity 195
The Philosophical Theories of the Nation-State Period 201
Modern Pacifist Theories 202
Bellicist Theories 206
Bellicists and Antidemocratic Theorists 209
Anarchism and the Marxist Socialists 210
The Normative Theory of Just War in the Nuclear Age 212
Notes 219

#### 6 Microcosmic Theories of Violent Conflict 231

Modern Studies of Motivations and War 231
Biological and Psychological Theories 232
Instinct Theories of Aggression 233
Animal Behavior Studies 235
Lorenz: Intraspecific Aggression 236
Frustration-Aggression Theory 238
Socialization, Displacement, and Projection 240
Learned Aggression and Military Training 242
Learning, Images, and International Conflict 243
Aggression Diversion and Reduction 246
Other Psychological Theories 249
Conclusion: Microcosmic Theories in Perspective 252
Notes 254

#### Macrocosmic Theories of Violent Conflict: International War 264

Inside Versus Outside Dimensions of Conflict 265 Lessons from Primitive and Other Societies 268 Other Insights from Theorists of Society 271 Revolution and War 274 The Internationalization of Internal War and Low-Intensity Conflict 277 Political Science and the Causes of War 282 The Scientific Study of War 286 The Correlates of War Project and Statistical Analyses of War 288 Arms Races, Alliances, and War 291 National Growth and International Violence 298 Power as Distance and Power Transition 301 Capability, Risk, Expected Utility, and Probability of War 303 Cyclical and Long-Cycle Theories of War Democracies, War, and Peace Conclusion Notes 321

# 8 Theories of Deterrence: Arms Control and Strategic Stability 344

Historical Background 345 The Theoretical Debate 351 Dilemmas of Deterrence 354 Rationality Versus Irrationality 357
Nuclear Deterrence and Conventional Defense 366
Empirical Studies of Deterrence 371
Disarmament, Arms Control, and Deterrence 374
The End of the Cold War 378
Rethinking Deterrence After the Cold War 382
International Terrorism 386
Deterrence in the Twenty-First Century 390
Conclusion 397
Notes 397

### 9 International Political Economy 416

Mercantilism 418 Liberalism 419 The Resurgence of Realism/Nationalism in the Interwar Period Marxist/Dependency Theory 428 The Theory of Imperialism Lenin and Conflict Theory 433 Marxist-Leninist Theory Since the 1950s 436 Realist and Liberal Critics of the Economic Theories of Imperialism 437 Post-World War II Economic Liberalism Marxists, Neo-Marxists, and the Third World 446 Critique of Marxists and Neo-Marxists 450 Imperialism as Political Slogan 452 The Theory of Dependency 454 The Capitalist World Economy 458 Oil, Inflation, and the Debt Crisis 460 The North-South Debate and the NIEO 464 Multinational Corporations and Governments 469 Post-Marxist Critical International Theory 477 The Three Models Revisited 478 The Global Financial Crisis 480 Conclusion 483 Notes 484

422

# 10 Theories of International Cooperation and Integration 505

Cooperation and International Integration 505
Joseph Nye and Neofunctionalism 515
Transactions and Communications: Implications for Security
Communities 519

Alliances 532
NATO After the Cold War 540
Integration Theory: Problems of Conceptualization and
Measurement 542
Limitations of Functionalism and Neofunctionalism 544
The Development of Theories of Integration and Cooperation 545
Notes 546

## 11 Decision-Making Theories: Choice and the Unit Level Actor 553

Decision-Making Analysis: Its Nature and Origins Approaches to Decision-Making Theory 554 Bureaucratic Politics 556 Motivations and Characteristics of Decision Makers The Decision-Making Process 559 Game Theory and Decision Making 562 International Relations as a Game 568 Allison's Three Models 571 The Refinements of Snyder and Diesing 574 The Cybernetic Theory of Decision Making 576 Decision Making in Crises 578 Toward a Theory of Crisis Behavior 585 The Systematic Study of International Crisis Behavior 589 Psychology and Decision Making 592 Foreign Policy Decision Making and Domestic Politics 598 Conclusion 599 Notes 600

### 12 International Relations Theory: Into the Third Millennium 616

Major Focal Points of Contemporary Theory 623
Emerging Substantive Interests 626
Policymaking and International-Relations Theory 644
Theorizing about the Future 646
The Role of Normative Theory 649
Notes 653

Name Index 662 Subject Index 680