Contents

List	of Boxes	xvii
List	of Maps and Figures	xxii
Pref	face	xxiii
1.	The Discipline of International Relations: Imagination, Definition, and Evolution	1
1.1	Imagining International Relations	1
1.2	Defining International Relations	3
	1.2.1 Inter	4
	1.2.2 Nation	6
	1.2.2.1 Territory	7
	1.2.2.2 Permanent Population or Nation	n 9
	1.2.2.3 Government	10
	1.2.2.4 Sovereignty	13
	1.2.2.5 Non-State Actors	15
	1.2.3 Relations	15
1.3	Definition of International Relations	16
1.4	Evolution of International Relations as Separate Discipling in the Social Sciences	e 16
1.5	International Relations as a Discipline in Pakistan	17
Key	Points	18
Que	estions	19
Furi	ther Readings	19
Note	es	19
2.	Historical Development of the International System of States and Non-State Actors	m 20
2.1	What is the international system?	20

xvii

vi CONTENTS

2.2	Internation	nal System in the Ancient World: Empires,	21
	City-states	, and Civilisations	
	2.2.1	The Persian Empire	21
	2.2.2	The Greek city-state system	22
		The Roman Empire	27
	2.2.4	China and the Far East	29
	2.2.5	India	31
2.3	Internation	nal System in the Medieval Era: Empires,	33
	City-states	, and Civilizations	
	2.3.1	The Muslim World	33
	2.3.2	The Middle Ages and Medieval European Society	37
	2.3.3	The Hundred Years' War and Consolidation	39
		of Royal Houses	
	2.3.4	The Italian City-state System	40
	2.3.5	The Thirty Years' War and the Peace	42
		of Westphalia	
	2.3.6	Colonialism and Imperialism	45
2.4	The Mode	rn World	45
	2.4.1	French and American Revolutions and	45
		the Rise of Nationalism	
	2.4.2	Italian and German Unification	48
	2.4.3	The United States in the 19th Century	49
2.5	Internation	nal System in the 20th Century:	51
	The Great	Powers, World Wars, and the End of Empires	
	2.5.1	The First World War, 1914–18	51
	2.5.2	The League of Nations and the Inter-war	53
		Period, 1919-39	
	2.5.3	The Second World War, 1939-45	55
	2.5.4	The Cold War, 1947–89	56
2.6	The End o	f the Cold War and the 21st Century	59
Kev	Points		61
,	stions		61
	her Reading	S	61
Note	_	-	62
1101			02
3.	Theories	of International Relations	66
2.1	Composit D	definition	66
3.1	Concept D		66
	3.1.1	What is Theory and Why study It?	66

		CONTENTS	vii
3.2	Theories o	f International Relations	68
	3.2.1	Liberal Internationalism	68
		3.2.1.1 Evaluating Liberal Internationalism	73
	3.2.2	1930s and the Onset of Realism	74
		3.2.2.1 Morgenthau and Realism	75
		3.2.2.2 Evaluating Realism	79
	3.2.3	English School/International Society	80
		3.2.3.1 Evaluating the English School/	82
		International Society	
	3.2.4	Complex Interdependence	82
		3.2.4.1 Evaluating Complex	84
		Interdependence	
	3.2.5	Neo-realism or Structural Realism	85
		3.2.5.1 Evaluating Neo-realism	88
	3.2.6	Marxism and International Relations	88
		3.2.6.1 Evaluating Marxism	90
	3.2.7	Post-Positivism: Constructivism, Critical	91
		Theory, and Postmodernism	
		3.2.7.1 Evaluating Post-positivism	94
Kev	Points		95
,	stions		95
-	her Reading	s	96
Note		•	96
11011			70
4.	Doing Re	esearch in International Relations:	99
••	_	logical Debates	
	1,100110 000	sogram 2 to mos	
4.1		and Epistemology in IR	99
4.2	Characteri	stics of Scientific Research in IR	102
4.3	Conductin	g Research in International Relations	106
	4.3.1	Sources of Research Topic	106
	4.3.2		109
	4.3.3	Formulating Testable Hypotheses	111
	4.3.4	71	114
4.4	What are V		115
4.5	Research I	C	117
		Correlative, Cross-Sectional/Longitudinal Survey	119
	4.5.2	Case Study	119

viii CONTENTS

Key	Points		123
Que	stions		123
Furt	ther Reading	rs ·	124
Note	es		124
5.	Foreign I	Policy	126
5.1	Concept D	Pefinition	126
	5.1.1	What is Foreign Policy?	126
	5.1.2	Why study Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) in IR?	130
	5.1.3	Defining the Decision-maker	132
5.2	Theories a	nd Models of Foreign Policy Decision-making	133
	5.2.1	Rational Choice Theory	133
	5.2.2	Cognitive-Psychological Theories	137
	5.2.3	Poliheuristic Theory	138
	5.2.4	Organisational Process Model	139
	5.2.5	Governmental/Bureaucratic Politics Model	140
5.3	Media and	Foreign Policy: The CNN Effect vs.	142
	Manufactu	rring Consent	
Key	Points		144
	stions		144
Furt	ther Reading	rs .	145
Note	_		145
6.	Dimensie	ons and Balance of Power	148
0.	Difficusion	ons and Dalance of Fower	140
6.1	Concept D	Definition	148
	6.1.1	What is Power?	148
	6.1.2	Fungibility of Power	150
	6.1.3	Why study the Concept and Dimensions of	151
		Power in IR?	
6.2	Types of P	ower	153
	6.2.1	7, - 1, - 1, - 1, - 1, - 1, - 1, - 1, -	153
	6.2.2	Usable and Unusable Power	155
	6.2.3	Legitimate and Illegitimate Power	155
6.3		Means or End? How much Power is Enough?	156
6.4	Dimension	ns of Power	157
	6.4.1	Relational Dimension	157

CONTENTS	ix	

	6.4.2	Material Dimension/The Concept of National Power	158
	6.4.3	Third Dimension/Ideational Dimension	159
6.5	Balance of		160
6.6		ning, Balancing, Buck-passing, and Hedging	163
Kev	Points		167
	stions		167
-	her Reading	'S	168
Note	_		168
7.	Strategic	Studies and War	171
		- · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
7.1	Concept D	Definition	171
	7.1.1	What is Strategy?	171
	7.1.2	Dimensions of Strategy	173
	7.1.3	Grand Strategy	176
	7.1.4	Why study Strategic Studies in IR?	177
7.2	Levels of S	trategy	179
	7.2.1		179
	7.2.2	Tactical Level	181
		Operational Level	181
	7.2.4	Theatre/State Level	183
7.3	Evolution	of Strategic Thought: Continental, Maritime,	184
	Aerospace	, Revolutionary, and Nuclear Schools of Thought	
	7.3.1	Continental School of Thought	184
	7.3.2	\mathcal{C}	190
	7.3.3	1 0	191
	7.3.4	The Revolutionary School of Thought: Mao Zedong	193
	7.3.5	The Nuclear School of Thought	194
7.4		d Generations of War	195
7.5	Cyber Wai		198
Kev	Points		201
	stions		201
-	her Reading	S	201
Note	_		202

X CONTENTS

8.		ntrol, Disarmament, and Non-Proliferation	206
8.1	Concept D	Definition	206
	8.1.1		206
	8.1.2	Arms Control: Means or End?	209
	8.1.3	Arms Control and Confidence-building Measures	209
8.2	Types of A	rms Control and Disarmament Measures	211
8.3	Arms Race	e in International Relations	214
	8.3.1	Security Dilemma/Spiral Model	215
	8.3.2		216
	8.3.3		218
8.4	Nuclear (N	Non) Proliferation Studies	218
	8.4.1	1 1	220
	8.4.2	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime	223
Key	Points		231
	estions		231
Furi	ther Reading	S	232
Note	es		232
9.	Conflict 1	Resolution and Peace Studies	234
9.1	Concept D	efinition	234
7.1		What is Conflict?	234
		What is Conflict Resolution?	235
		What is Peace and Peace Studies?	235
	9.1.4		236
	7.1.1	in IR?	230
9.2	Theories o	of Conflict Analysis and Conflict Resolution	237
	9.2.1	John Burton and Human Needs Theory	237
	9.2.2	Morton Deutsch and Social-Psychological Theory	238
	9.2.3	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	240
	9.2.4	•	243
9.3	Models of	Conflict (PSC) Conflict Resolution	244
9.5	9.3.1		244
	9.3.1	· ·	244
	9.3.2		247
	9.3.4	Conflict Transformation	249
	,		

CONTENITS	V1
CONTENTS	λI

9.4	Peace Stud	ies	252
	9.4.1	Tripartite Division of Peace Studies	252
	9.4.2	Values in Peace Studies	253
	9.4.3	Peace by Peaceful Conflict Transformation—	256
		The TRANSCEND Approach	
9.5	Conflict Re	esolution Methods	256
	9.5.1	Mediation	256
	9.5.2	Negotiation	257
	9.5.3	Reconciliation	258
Key I	Points		260
Ques	stions		260
Furti	her Readings	;	260
Note	s		261
10	Internation	onal I aw	263
10.	Internation	Mui Duv	203
10.1	Concept D	efinition	263
	10.1.1	What is International Law	263
	10.1.2	Why study International Law in IR	264
		Theories of IR and International Law	265
	10.1.4	Historical Development of International Law	267
10.2		International Law	270
	10.2.1	International Conventions	273
	10.2.2	International Customs	274
	10.2.3	General Principles	275
	10.2.4	Judicial Decisions and the Teachings of Publicists	277
	10.2.5	International Law Commission (ILC)	278
10.3	States as Su	bject of International Law	279
	10.3.1	Recognition	280
	10.3.2	Extinction and Secession of States	281
10.4	Diplomats	and Diplomatic Immunity	283
10.5		nal Humanitarian Law	286
	10.5.1	Jus ad bellum and jus in bello	287
	10.5.2	Three Major Streams of IHL	288
		10.5.2.1 The Hague Stream	288
		10.5.2.2 Geneva Stream	290
		10.5.2.3 The New York Stream	291
Key I	Points		293

xii CONTENTS

Ques	Questions		293
	her Readings	;	294
Note	_		294
11.	Internation	onal Political Economy	297
11.1	Concept D	efinition	297
		What is Political Economy?	297
		What is International Political Economy?	298
		Why study International Political Economy in IR?	298
11.2		f Political Economy	298
11.2		Mercantilism	299
		Liberalism	300
	111212	11.2.2.1 John Maynard Keynes: The	302
		20th Century and the Crisis	
		of Capitalism	
		11.2.2.2 Neo-liberalism: Hayek and	305
		Friedman	
	11.2.3	Marxism: Socialism, the Working Classes,	306
		and Revolution	
11.3	Internation	al Economic Regimes	309
		The International Trading System	309
		General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)	311
		and the World Trade Organisation (WTO)	
	11.3.3	The International Bank for Reconstruction	312
		and Development (the World Bank)	
	11.3.4	The International Monetary Fund (IMF)	314
11.4	The Interna	ational Economic System and the Global South	316
		The Dependency Theory: Core (metropolis)	319
		versus Periphery (satellite)	
	11.4.2	The Modern World-systems theory	321
11.5		on: Definition	322
	11.5.1	The Economics of Globalisation	323
	11.5.2	Globalisation and the Global South	323
Key .	Points		326
Ques	stions		326
Furt	her Readings	;	326
Note	S		327

	•••
CONTENTS	X111
CONTENIS	AIII

12.	Environm	ental Degradation and Preservation	329
12.1	Concept D	efinition	329
	_	What is Environment?	329
	12.1.2	Why study Environment in International	331
		Relations? Sceptics vs. Optimists	
12.2	Environme	ntal Pollution as a Problem	333
	12.2.1	Atmospheric Pollution: Global Warming,	333
		Greenhouse Effect, and Depletion of the	
		Ozone Layer	
	12.2.2	Water: Reduced Supply, Marine Life, and	335
		Rising Ocean Currents	
		Land: Deforestation and Desertification	339
12.3		Development and Environmental Security	340
		Sustainable Development	340
	12.3.2	Environmental Security: Extending the	343
		Frontiers of National Security	
12.4		ntal Politics and International Environmental	345
		he Global North and Global South	
		Stockholm Conference (1972)	346
		Earth Summit, Rio de Janeiro (1992)	349
		Kyoto Protocol (1997)	353
		Johannesburg Summit (2002)	354
	12.4.5	Paris Agreement (2015)	355
Key	Points		357
,	stions		357
	her Readings		357
Note	s		358
13.	Feminism	and Gender	361
13 1	Concept D	ofinition	361
13.1	•	What is Feminism and Gender Studies?	361
		Why study Gender in International Relations?	362
13 2		Gender Studies, and International Relations	364
		The Liberal Perspective	364
		The Marxist Perspective	366
		Standpoint Feminism	368
		Post-structural Feminism	370

xiv CONTENTS

13.3	Gender, Co	onflict, and Security	372		
Key Points					
	Questions				
	Further Readings				
Note	?S		375		
14.	Identity, 1	Nationalism, and Ethnic Conflict	377		
14.1	Concept D	efinition	377		
		Identity as Belongingness	377		
		What is Ethnicity and Nation?	378		
		What is Nationalism?	379		
	14.1.4	Ethnonationalism	379		
	14.1.5	Why study Identity, Nationalism, and	380		
		Ethnic Conflict in IR?			
14.2	Theories of	f Ethnicity and Nationalism	382		
	14.2.1	Primordialism	382		
	14.2.2	Modernism	384		
	14.2.3	Ethno-symbolism	387		
	14.2.4	Constructivism	388		
14.3	B Ethnic Conflict in International Relations		389		
	14.3.1	What are Ethnic Conflicts?	389		
	14.3.2	Why do Ethnic Conflicts take Place?	390		
	14.3.3	Can Ethnic Conflicts be Resolved?	393		
	14.3.4	Ethnic Conflict in Northern Ireland: Causes and Resolution	395		
14.4	Identity Co	onflicts in the post-Cold War Era	398		
	14.4.1	Samuel Huntington and the Clash of Civilisations Thesis	398		
	14.4.2	Populism and the Rise of Right-wing Political Forces	399		
Key .	Key Points				
Questions					
Further Readings					
Notes					

CONTENTS xv

15.	Non-State	Actors in International Relations	404		
15.1	Concept D	efinition	404		
		What are Non-state Actors?	404		
		Why States Cooperate in International Relations?	405		
		Why study Non-state Actors in	407		
		International Relations?			
15.2	United Nat	ions: Structure and Functions	407		
	15.2.1	The Security Council	409		
		The General Assembly	411		
		The Secretariat	412		
	15.2.4	The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)	413		
		The International Court of Justice (ICJ)	413		
		The Trusteeship Council	417		
15.3	Regional O	rganisations	417		
		European Union	417		
		North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)	420		
	15.3.3	South Asian Association for Regional	421		
		Cooperation (SAARC)			
	15.3.4	Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO)	423		
15.4	Terrorism a	and Terrorist Movements	424		
	15.4.1	Al-Qaeda	424		
	15.4.2	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS)	425		
Key	Key Points				
,	Questions				
-	her Readings		429		
	Notes				
16.	Internation	onal Relations Today and Tomorrow	432		
16 1	The Intern	ational Relations Discipline Today and	432		
10.1		Theoretical and Methodological Concerns	432		
		A Cultural Theory of International Relations:	435		
	10.1.1	Spirit, Self-esteem, and Identity	433		
	16.1.2	Quantum Mind and Social Sciences	436		
		Post-international Politics	438		
	16.1.3	Globalising International Relations: Non-Western			
	10.1.4	IR Theory and Practice	440		

xvi CONTENTS

16.2 The World Today and Tomorrow	441		
16.2.1 US-China and the Thucydides Trap	441		
16.2.2 Brexit and the European Union	443		
16.2.3 Arab Spring in the Middle East	444		
16.2.4 Competitive Dynamics in South Asia: Pakista	n, 445		
India, and Afghanistan			
Key Points			
Questions			
Further Readings			
Notes	450		
Index	453		