

# GLOSSARY

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## A

**Abuse:** In humanitarian intervention theory when states cloak power political interests in the guise of humanitarianism.

**Agenda-formation:** This is the processes by which an issue or problem becomes recognized, emerges onto the political stage, is framed for consideration and debate by the relevant policy communities, and rises high enough on the political agenda to initiate negotiations or decision-making processes.

**Anarchic system:** The 'ordering principle' of international politics, and that which defines its structure.

**Anarchy:** Does not imply chaos, but the absence of political authority.

**Anomie:** In the analysis of regimes this is a system operating in the absence of norms or rules.

**Anti-ballistic missiles (ABM):** Efforts to develop anti-ballistic missiles (ABM) that could intercept long-range missiles during their flight path date back to the 1950s. In the late 1960s, the issue of ABM deployments became a major factor in the strategic arms control talks between the United States and the Soviet Union. The ABM Treaty of 1972 thus limited the ABM deployments of the United States and the Soviet Union to two sites, one around each sides' capital city, the other at an Inter-Continental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) site. In 1974, a Protocol to the ABM Treaty restricted such defensive deployments to one site.

**Anti-foundational theories:** Where foundational ethical theories assert that morality rests upon undeniable axioms (for example, the liberal belief in the sanctity of human rights), anti-foundational theories (for example, cultural relativism).

**Apartheid:** system of racial segregation introduced in South Africa in 1948, designed to ensure white minority domination.

**Atomic Energy Act:** Also known as the McMahon Act, this was passed on 1 August 1946, and established the United States Atomic Energy Commission (USAEC) as the sole owner of all fissionable materials and facilities in the United States and prohibited all exchanges of nuclear information with other states.

## B

**balance of power:** a doctrine and an arrangement whereby the power of one state (or group of states) is checked by the countervailing power of other states.

**Balance of power:** Refers to an equilibrium between states; historical realists regard it as the product of diplomacy (contrived balance) whereas structural realists regard the system as having a tendency towards a natural equilibrium (fortuitous balance).

**Battle of the Sexes:** This is a scenario in game theory illustrating the need for a coordination strategy.

**Bond:** This a contractual obligation of a corporation, association or governance agency to make payments of interest and repayments of principle on borrowed funds at certain fixed times.

**Brezhnev Doctrine:** declaration by Soviet premier Leonid Brezhnev in November 1968 that members of the Warsaw pact would enjoy only 'Limited Sovereignty' in their political development

## C

**Capabilities:** Population and size of territory, resources, economic strength, military capability, and competence (Waltz 1979:131).

**Capitalism:** The capitalist mode of production, in Marx's analysis involved a specific set of social relations that were particular to a specific historical period. For Marx there were three main characteristics of capitalism. (1) Everything involved in production (e.g. raw materials, machines, labour involved in the creation of commodities, and the commodities themselves) is given an exchange value, and all can be exchanged, one for the other. In essence, under capitalism everything has its price, including people's working time. (2) Everything that is needed to undertake production (i.e. the factories, and the raw materials) is owned by one class - the capitalists. (3) Workers are 'free', but in order to survive must sell their labour to the capitalist class in order to survive, and because the capitalist class own the *means of production*, and control the *relations of production*, they also control the profit that results from the labour of workers.

**Claim-rights:** the most basic rights - the only true rights, Hofeld believed; the classic example of a claim- right is a right generated by a contract and accompanied by correlative duties.

**coexistence:** the doctrine of live and let live between political communities, or states.

**Collaboration:** In the analysis of regimes this is a form of cooperation requiring parties not to defect from a mutually desirable strategy for an individually preferable strategy.

**Collective governance:** These are non-hierarchical (in the sense of the absence of a central coercive power) systems of management or governance.

**Collective Security:** Proponents of collective security argue that although military force remains an important characteristic of international life, there are nevertheless realistic opportunities to move beyond the self-help world of realism, especially after the end of the cold war. They reject the idea that state behaviour is simply the product of the

structure of the international system. Ideas, it is argued, are also important. According to Charles and Clifford Kupchan, for example, under collective security, states agree to abide by certain norms and rules to maintain stability, and when necessary, band together to stop aggression. This involves a recognition by states that to enhance their security they must agree to three main principles in their inter-state relations.

**Collective Security:** Refers to an arrangement where 'each state in the system accepts that the security of one is the concern of all, and agrees to join in a collective response to aggression' (Roberts and Kingsbury, 1993: 30).

**collectivization of security:** the tendency for security to be organized on a multilateral basis, but without the institutional formality of a fully-fledged collective security system.

**Committee of the Regions:** This is a Brussels-based advisory committee of 222 members representing the interests of local and regional authorities in the EU.

**Common humanity:** The view that we all have human rights by virtue of our common humanity, and these rights generate correlative moral duties for individuals and state leaders.

**communitarianism.** The former sees the bearers of rights and obligations as individuals; the latter sees them as being the state. In the last decade, normative issues have become more relevant to debates about foreign policy, for example in discussions of ethical foreign policy or how to respond to calls for humanitarian intervention.

**Compellence:** The use of threats (usually military or economic) to make someone do something they would otherwise not do.

**Competence:** The right to act in a given area. Such a right may be extended by a government to an international organization, but this does not mean that ultimate responsibility has been transferred, but

only that the international organization is permitted to act on the state's behalf.

**Competition (antitrust) Policy:** Policies that prohibit anti-competitive action and transactions by firms, especially monopolists, including state-owned enterprises

**concert:** the directorial role played by a number of great powers, based on norms of mutual consent.

**Conditionality:** The way in which states or international institutions impose conditions upon developing countries in advance of distributing economic benefits.

**constitutive theories:** These are usually also anti-foundational theories

**Containment:** American political strategy for resisting perceived Soviet expansion, first publicly espoused by an American diplomat, George Kennan, in 1947. Containment became a powerful factor in American policy toward the Soviet Union for the next forty years.

**Contingent Realism:** Contrary to some neo-realists, there are other realist writers who present a rather more optimistic assessment. Charles Glaser, for example, accepts much of the analysis and assumptions of structural realism, but he argues that there are a wide range of conditions in which adversaries can best achieve their security goals through co-operative policies, rather than competitive ones. In such circumstances states will choose to co-operate rather than to compete. Security is therefore seen to be 'contingent' on the circumstances prevailing at the time.

**Coordination:** In the analysis of regimes this is a form of cooperation requiring parties to pursue a common strategy in order to avoid the mutually undesirable outcome arising from the pursuit of divergent strategies.

**Cosmopolitan Model of Democracy:** Associated with David Held, and other neo-idealists, a cosmopolitan model of democracy requires the following: the creation of regional parliaments and

the extension of the authority of such regional bodies (like the European Union) which are already in existence; human rights conventions must be entrenched in national parliaments and monitored by a new International Court of Human Rights; the UN must be replaced with a genuinely democratic and accountable global parliament.

**Council of Europe:** Established in 1949 it has responsibility for deliberation and co-operation in the areas of culture, human rights and democratisation.

**Council of Ministers:** Based in Brussels (with some meetings in Luxembourg), the Council of Ministers has responsibility for representing the views of national governments and determining the ultimate shape of EU legislation

**Counter-restrictionists:** Those international lawyers who argue that there is a legal right of humanitarian intervention in both UN Charter and customary international law.

**Crisis diplomacy:** This refers to the delicate communications and negotiations involved in a crisis. A crisis may be defined as a short, intense period in which the possibility of (nuclear) war is perceived to increase dramatically.

**Critical Security Studies:** For critical security theorists states should not be the centre of analysis because they are often part of the problem of insecurity in the international system. Attention should be focused on the individual rather than the state. Ken Booth, for example, focuses on human emancipation.

**Critical Theory:** This has its roots in Marxism, and developed out of the Frankfurt School in the 1920s. Its most influential proponent since 1945 has been Jurgen Habermas. One of the founders of critical theory, Max Horkheimer, distinguished between traditional and critical theory. Robert Cox writes of the difference between problem-solving and critical theory.

The former takes the world as given and reifies existing distributions of power. The latter enquires into how the current distribution of power came into existence. This leading Critical IR scholar argues that theory is always for someone and for some purpose, and that there is no such thing as theory in itself.

**Cultural feminists:** These include those who see women as different from men, more nurturing and peaceable for example. They do not reject 'women's values', as liberal feminists do, but they argue that these values are just what world politics, and ecology, now need. Some cultural feminists are accused of essentialism, of representing these values as naturally women's, and so reinforcing the gendered stereotypes that underpin women's oppression.

**Cyberwar:** The use of digital networks and communications to attack enemies as an act of war or terrorism

## D

**Democratic Peace:** A central plank of liberal internationalist thought, the democratic peace thesis holds that war has become unthinkable between liberal states. This theory has been largely associated with the writings of Michael Doyle and Bruce Russett. Doyle points to the importance of the insights contained in Immanuel Kant's 1795 essay, *Perpetual Peace*. Democratic representation, an ideological commitment to human rights, and transnational interdependence can explain the 'peace-prone' tendencies of democratic states.

**Deregulation:** The removal of all regulation so that market forces not government policy control economic developments.

**Derivative:** This a financial contract that 'derives' its value from an underlying asset, exchange rate, interest level, or market index.

**Détente:** The relaxation of tension between East and West; Soviet-American *détente* lasted

**Deterrence:** The use of threats (usually military or economic) to prevent someone from doing something they would otherwise do.

**Digital Divide:** The division of digital haves and have nots within and between countries with regard to access to advanced communications and information services.

**Dual morality:** The idea that there are two principles or standards of right and wrong: one for the individual citizen and different one for the state.

## E

**E-Commerce:** Electronic commerce sold over the Web. Usually divided between business-to-business and business-to-consumer E-commerce

**Economic and Social Committee:** This Brussels-based advisory committee of 222 members represents the interests of labour, employers' and consumer organisations in the EU.

**EEC:** Established in 1958 the EEC had responsibility for creating a customs union and Single market among its members. It is now the EU.

**Empire:** a state which possesses both a home territory and foreign territories: an imperial state.

**Enlightenment:** Associated with rationalist thinkers of the eighteenth century. Key ideas (which some would argue remain mottoes for our age) include: secularism, progress, reason, science, knowledge, and freedom.

**Environmental regime:** This is an international regime addressing an environmental issue.

**Epistemic communities:** These are knowledge-based transnational communities of experts with shared understandings of an issue or problem or preferred policy responses.

**Equity:** Also called stock or share, this a number of equal portions in the nominal capital of a company; the shareholder thereby owns part of the enterprise.

**Ethic of responsibility:** For historical realists, an ethic of responsibility is the limits of ethics in international politics; it involves the weighing up of consequences and the realization that positive outcomes may result from amoral actions.

**Euratom:** Established in 1958 this has responsibility for co-operation and joint research in the area of nuclear energy and particle physics.

**Eurobond:** This is a bond denominated in a currency that is alien to a substantial proportion of the underwriters through whom it is distributed and investors to whom it is sold; the borrower, the syndicate of managers, the investors, and the securities exchange on which the bond is listed are spread over a number of countries.

**Eurocurrency:** This is national money in the hands of persons and institutions domiciled outside the currency's territorial 'home': hence 'eurodollar', 'eurozloty', etc.

**Euroequity:** a share issue that is offered simultaneously in different stock markets, usually across several time zones; also called global equity.

**European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM):** This came into being on 1 January 1958 as an organization of the European Community. EURATOM has since had the task of co-ordinating nuclear energy development within the Community (now European Union) and implementing a regional safeguards system.

**European Audit Office:** Based in Luxembourg, the EU's audit office is responsible for auditing the revenues and the expenditure under the EU budget.

**European Central Bank:** Based in Frankfurt, the central bank is responsible for setting the interest rates and controlling the money supply of the single European currency, the Euro.

**European Commission:** Based in Brussels and Luxembourg the

Commission has responsibility for initiating, administering and overseeing the implementation of EU policies and legislation.

**European Council:** Based in a city of the member state holding the Presidency, the European Council has responsibility for regular summits of Heads of State, setting the EU's broad agenda and a forum of last resort to find agreement on divisive issues. The European Council is not the same as the Council of Europe.

**European Court of Justice:** Based in Luxembourg, the ECJ is the EU's highest court, ruling in disputes on matters of EU law between member states, EU institutions and, on appeal from national courts, private persons. The ECJ is not the same as the European Court of Human Rights.

**European Parliament:** Based in Strasbourg (plenary sessions), Brussels (MEP offices and meeting committees) and Luxembourg (administration), the Parliament members are the directly elected representatives of EU citizens. Parliament has responsibility for scrutinising the operation of the other institutions and, in certain areas, sharing with the Council the power to determine EU legislation

**European Union (EU):** Formerly the EC and established in 1965 this arose from the merger of ECSC, EEC and Euratom. It has responsibility for developing a common legal order and common policies in most aspects of economic and social life, providing for cooperation and joint action in home and justice affairs, foreign policy and defence

**Explanatory theories:** These are usually also foundational theories

**Exponential growth:** In the analysis of regimes this is a situation where the rate of growth is not constant or linear but increases over time.

**Extraterritoriality:** This arises when one government attempts to exercise its legal authority in the territory of another state. It mainly arises when the US federal government deliberately

tries to use domestic law to control the global activity of TNCs.

## F

**Failed states:** States that have collapsed into civil war and disorder, and where the government of the state has ceased to exist inside the territorial borders of the state. Citizens find themselves in a quasi-state of nature.

**Forcible humanitarian intervention:** Military intervention which breaches the principle of state sovereignty where the primary purpose is to alleviate the human suffering of some or all within a state's borders.

**Framework convention:** This is an international convention establishing principles, norms, goals, organizations, and procedures for consultation, decision-making and review, with provision for flexible subsequent revision or development of rules or commitments.

from the late 1960s to the late 1970s, and was characterised by negotiations and nuclear arms control agreements.

**Funds and Programmes:** These are institutions which are subject to the supervision of the General Assembly and which depend upon voluntary funding by states and other donors.

## G

**Game theory:** This is a branch of mathematics which explores strategic interaction.

**Glasnost :** policy of greater openness pursued by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev from 1985, involving greater toleration of internal dissent and criticism.

**Global commons:** These are resources open for use by the international community, and not under the jurisdiction of any state, such as: oceans, atmosphere, deep sea-bed, Antarctica.

**Global covenant:** the rules, values, and norms which govern the global society of states.

**Global governance:** the loose framework of global regulation, both

institutional and normative, that constrains conduct. It has many elements: international organizations and law; transnational organizations and frameworks; elements of global civil society; and shared normative principles.

**Global Network:** Digital networks that span the globe allowing instant voice and data communication worldwide - the global information highway

**Globalist International Security:** Writers from the 'global society' school of thought argue that at the end of the twentieth century the process of globalization (which has been developing for centuries) has accelerated to the point 'where the clear outlines of a global society' are now evident. The emergence of a global economic system, global communications, and the elements of a global culture have helped to provide a wide network of social relationships which transcend state frontiers and encompass people all over the world.

**Globalized state:** the notion of a particular kind of state that helps sustain globalization, as well as responding to its pressures. The distinctive feature of this concept is that the state is not 'in retreat' but simply behaving differently.

## H

**Hegemonic Stability Theory:** A realist based explanation for cooperation that argues that a dominant state is required to ensure a liberal, free-trade international political economy.

**Hegemony:** Power and control exercised by a leading state over other states. The influence a great power is able to establish on other states in the system; extent of influence ranges from leadership to dominance. Political (and/or economic) domination of a region, usually by superpower.

**High Politics:** The distinction between high politics and low politics is made by Realists but not by Pluralists or

Liberals. However, the policy questions associated with 'High Politics' concern matters of peace and security with the situation having high priority or even being a crisis. The decision-makers are heads of government and senior ministers with minimal involvement of non-state actors.

**Historical sociology:** This has a long history, having been a subject of study for several centuries. Its central focus is with how societies develop the forms that they do. Contemporary historical sociology is concerned above all with how the state has developed since the Middle Ages. It is basically a study of the interactions between states, classes, capitalism and war. Historical sociology claims to undercut neo-realism because it shows that the state is not one functionally similar organization, but instead has altered over time. But, like neo-realism, it too is interested in war and therefore the two approaches have quite a bit in common.

**Human Development Index (HDI):** This is based on three measures: life expectancy at birth, educational attainment, and standard of living. The Gender Development Index (GDI) measures these too, but adjusts for the disparity between women and men in each case. The Gender Empowerment Index (GEM) measures relative empowerment between men and women in political and economic spheres, and in terms of political representation.

## I

**Idealism:** Holds that ideas have important causal effect on events in international politics, and that ideas can change. Referred to by realists as utopianism since it underestimates the logic of power politics and the constraints this imposes upon political action. Idealists seek to apply liberal thinking in domestic politics to international relations, in other words, institutionalize the rule of law. This

reasoning is known as the domestic analogy. According to idealists in the early twentieth century, there were two principal requirements for a new world order. First: state leaders, intellectuals, and public opinion had to believe that progress was possible. Second: an international organization had to be created to facilitate peaceful change, disarmament, arbitration, and (where necessary) enforcement. The League of Nations was founded in 1920 but its collective security system failed to prevent the descent into world war in the 1930s.

**Immunity:** the essence of this is that others are disbarred from making claims under certain circumstances, for example, to be legally insane, or under age, is to be *immune* from criminal prosecution.

**Implementation:** This is the carrying out adopted decisions or policies.

**Integration:** A process of ever closer union between states, in a regional or international context. The process often begins by co-operation to solve technical problems, referred to by Mitrany as ramification.

**Intellectual Property Rights:** Rules that protect the owners of content through copyright, patent, trademark and trade secrets

**Interdependence:** A condition where states (or peoples) are affected by decisions taken by others; for example, a decision to raise interest rates in Germany automatically exerts upward pressure on interest rates in other European states. Interdependence can be symmetric, i.e. both sets of actors are affected equally, or it can be asymmetric, where the impact varies between actors.

**Inter-dependence:** A condition where the actions of one state impact upon other states (can be strategic interdependence or economic). Realists equate interdependence with vulnerability.

**International institutions:** These are sets of internationally agreed principles, norms, rules, common

understandings, organizations, and consultation and decision-making procedures that govern or shape activities in a particular area.

**International law:** the formal rules of conduct that states acknowledge or contract between themselves.

**International order:** a shared value and condition of stability and predictability in the relations of states. It is the normative and the institutional pattern in the relationship between states. The elements of this might be thought to include such things as sovereignty, the forms of diplomacy, international law, the role of the great powers, and the codes circumscribing the use of force.

**International regime:** a concept developed by Neo-Realists to analyse the paradox – for them – that international co-operation occurs in some issue areas, despite the struggle for power between states. They assume regimes are created and maintained by a dominant state and/or participation in a regime is the result of a rational cost-benefit calculation by each state. In contrast, Pluralists would also stress the independent impact of institutions, the importance of leadership, the involvement of transnational NGOs and companies, and processes of cognitive change, such as growing concern about human rights or the environment. For most, but not all writers, regimes are embodied in intergovernmental organisations.

**International system:** A set of interrelated parts connected to form a whole. Systems have defining principles such as hierarchy (in domestic politics and anarchy (in international politics).

**Internationalization:** this term is used to denote high levels of international interaction and interdependence, most commonly with regard to the world economy. In this context it refers to the volume of international trade and investment and to the organization of production. The term is often used to distinguish this condition from

globalization as the latter implies that there are no longer distinct national economies in a position to interact.

**Inter-paradigm debate:** Theoretical debates in IR between Realists, Liberals and Marxists were based on a set of positivist assumptions, namely that a denial of the idea that social science theories can use the same methodologies as theories of the natural sciences, that facts and values can be distinguished, that neutral facts can act as arbiters between rival truth claims, and that the social world has regularities which theories can ‘discover’.

**Intervention:** This is when there is direct involvement within a state by an outside actor to achieve an outcome preferred by the intervening agency without the consent of the host state. In this chapter the word ‘intervention’ is placed in inverted commas when it is unclear whether consent has been given. Otherwise the word involvement is used.

**Intra-firm trade:** international trade from one branch of a TNC to an affiliate of the same company in a different country.

## J

**Justice:** Fair or morally defensible treatment for individuals, in the light of standards of human rights or economic or social well-being. In this chapter the term is interpreted broadly to include satisfactory standards with regard to human rights and economic conditions, such as adequate food, housing, and health care.

## L

**Liberal feminism:** This looks at the roles women play in world politics and asks why they are marginalised. It wants the same opportunities afforded to women as are afforded to men.

**Liberal feminists:** These are equality feminists, seeking an end to women’s exclusion from or under representation in office, power and employment. They seek women’s equal rights in the



military, including in combat, for they see women's 'protection' as a way of keeping them from power, and their dependence on men as compromising their claims to full citizenship, which is usually understood to include fighting for one's country.

**Liberal Institutionalism:** In the 1940s, liberals turned to international institutions to carry out a number of functions the state could not perform. This was the catalyst for integration theory in Europe and pluralism in the United States. By the early 1970s, pluralism had mounted a significant challenge to realism. It focused on new actors (transnational corporations, non-governmental organizations) and new patterns of interaction (interdependence, integration).

**Liberal Internationalism:** The strand in liberal thinking which holds that the natural order has been corrupted by undemocratic state leaders and outdated policies such as the balance of power. Prescriptively, liberal internationalists believe that contact between the peoples of the world, through commerce or travel, will facilitate a more pacific form of international relations. Central is the idea of a harmony of interests. The strategy adopted by leading western states and institutions – particularly the US – to use instruments of foreign and economic policy to spread liberal values. Advocates make an explicit linkage between the mutually reinforcing effects of democratisation and open markets.

**Liberal rights:** the agenda of human rights that is driven largely from a Western perspective and derived from classical liberal positions.

**Liberalism:** An ideology whose central concern is the liberty of the individual. For most liberals, the establishment of the state is necessary to preserve individual liberty from being destroyed or harmed by other individuals or by other states. But the state must always be the servant of the

collective will and not (as in the case of Realism) the master.

**Liberty-rights:** these occur when I have the right to do something in the sense that I have no obligation *not* to do it - for example, to dress as I please. Here there is no correlative duty, except perhaps the duty to let me do as I choose. Sometimes a right involves the exercise of a power. For example, to have the *right* to vote means to be *empowered* to vote, to be enfranchised.

**Low Politics:** The distinction between high politics and low politics is made by Realists but not by Pluralists or Liberals. However, the policy questions associated with 'Low Politics' concern economics, social questions, human rights, environment with the situation having low priority or involving routine activities. The decision-makers are usually junior ministers or officials with extensive involvement of non-state actors.

## M

**Market failure:** This results from the inability of the market to produce goods which require collaborative strategies.

**Marxist/socialist feminists:** These focus on the international capitalist system. Marxist feminists see the oppression of women as a bi-product of capitalism, whereas socialist feminists see both capitalism and patriarchy as the structures to be overcome if women are to have any hope of equality.

**Mature Anarchy:** This concept is used to explain why it is possible to ameliorate the security dilemma through greater co-operation between states. Barry Buzan has argued for the gradual emergence of a 'mature anarchy' since the 1980s and 1990s. States have recognized the intense dangers of continuing to compete aggressively in a nuclear world. While accepting the tendency of states to focus on their own narrow parochial security interests, Buzan argues that there is a growing recognition amongst

the more 'mature' states in the international system that there are good (security) reasons for taking into account the interests of their neighbours when making their own policies.

**Means (or Forces) of Production:**

For Marxists, these are the elements that combine in the production process. They include labour as well as the tools and technology available during any given historical period.

**Merchant bank:** This is also called an investment bank or securities house; a bank specializing in securities business, as opposed to a commercial bank engaged primarily in deposit and lending business. (That said, many major investment banks have in recent years become arms of global commercial banks: for example, Deutsche Morgan Grenfell and UBS Warburg.)

**Microeconomics:** The branch of economics studying the behaviour of the firm in a market setting

**Minimum order:** a view of international order that is concerned with peace and stability, rather than with the attainment of other values, such as justice.

**Multilateralism:** the tendency for functional aspects of international relations (such as security, trade, or environmental management) to be organized around large numbers of states, or universally, rather than by unilateral state action.

**Multipolarity:** a distribution of power among a number (at least three) of major powers or 'poles'.

**Murderous states:** In humanitarian intervention theory when the sovereign government is massively abusing the human rights of its citizens, engaging in acts of mass murder and/or genocide.

**Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD):** condition in which both superpowers possessed the capacity to destroy their adversary even after being attacked first with nuclear weapons.

N

**Nation:** a group of people who recognize each other as sharing a common identity, with a focus on a homeland. This identity does not have to be acknowledged by other political groups for it to exist.

**National Interest:** Invoked by realists and state leaders to signify that which is most important to the state – survival being at the top of the list.

**National Missile Defense (NMD):**

The US Congress passed the NMD Act in 1999. This Act proposed that the United States should develop the technical means to counter a possible small-scale ballistic missile attack on the US mainland from states hostile to it.

**National security:** a fundamental value in the foreign policy of states.

**Nation-state:** would exist if nearly all the members of a single nation were organized in a single state, without any other national communities being present. Although the term is widely used, no such entities exist.

**Natural law:** The origin of Natural law thinking can be traced to the classical Greeks and early Christians, but in its modern form it is based on Medieval Catholic Theology. The central idea is that human beings have an essential nature which dictates that certain kinds of human goods are always and everywhere desired; because of this there are common moral standards that govern all human relations and these common standards can be discerned by the application of reason to human affairs.

**Neo-neo synthesis:** This approach dominates the professional literature in the discipline of International Relations. This theoretical debate between neo-realism and neo-liberalism focuses on the kinds of international political relations that concern many Western governments, particularly the debate about the future security structure of the international system. It is also very strong at looking

at economic foreign policy, as the discussions on the relative gains/absolute gains issue suggests.

**Neo-Realism:** This approach, most closely associated with Kenneth Waltz, views the international state system as anarchic. States claiming sovereignty will inevitably develop offensive military capabilities to defend themselves and extend their power. Uncertainty is inherent in the international system as states can never be sure of the intentions of other states. States will want to maintain their independence and sovereignty, and, as a result, survival will be the most basic driving force influencing their behaviour.

**Network:** any structure of communication for individuals and/or NGOs to exchange information, share experiences or discuss political goals and tactics. There is no clear boundary between a network and an NGO. A network is less likely than an NGO to become permanent, to have formal membership, to have identifiable leaders or to engage in collective action. The simplest type of network may be no more than an e-mail database, an Internet discussion group or a website. At the other end of the spectrum, a group calling itself a network may become institutionalized and gain recognition at the UN as an NGO.

**Non-discrimination:** a doctrine of equal treatment between states.

**Non-forcible/non-violent intervention:** Pacific intervention which can be either consensual (Red Cross) or non-consensual (Médecins Sans Frontières) and which is practised by states, international organizations and INGOs (international non-governmental organizations). It can be short-term (delivery of humanitarian aid) or long-term (conflict-resolution and reconstruction of political life within failed states).

**Non-governmental organization (NGO):** any group of people relating to each other regularly in some formal

manner and engaging in collective action, provided that the activities are non-commercial, non-violent and are not on behalf of a government. NGOs based in a local community are rarely engaged in global politics. 'National NGOs', based in a single country, may engage in transnational activities, but usually only the largest and richest ones do so. International NGOs (INGOs) are a major influence upon all global diplomacy. At the UN, groups that challenge the legitimacy of specific governments or focus on human rights in one country will not be accepted as NGOs. People are often baffled by the dry, bland term, 'non-governmental organization'. Nevertheless, some of the international NGOs are better known than some of the smaller countries. They include Amnesty International, Greenpeace, Red Cross, and Save the Children. Many other international NGOs are not so well known, but are of major importance, such as economic bodies, e.g. International Chamber of Shipping; technical bodies e.g. International Organization for Standardization; or professional bodies, e.g. World Medical Association.

**Non-state actor:** a term widely used to mean any actor that is not a government. Often it is not clear whether the term is being used to cover bodies such as the United Nations. Ambiguity is best avoided by referring separately to two categories, transnational actors and international organizations.

**Normative theory:** Chris Brown identifies three main areas of debate in contemporary normative theory: the autonomy of the state, the ethics of the use of force, and international justice. The key distinction in normative theory is between **cosmopolitanism** and

**Normative:** The belief that theories should be concerned with what ought to be, rather than merely diagnosing what is. Norm creation refers to the

setting of standards in international relations which governments (and other actors) ought to meet.

**North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO):** organisation established by treaty in April 1949 comprising 12 (later 16) countries from Western Europe and North America. The most important aspect of the NATO alliance was the American commitment to the defence of Western Europe.

**Nuclear diplomacy:** This refers to the interactions between states that possess nuclear weapons where one or more states threatens to use them either to dissuade an opponent from undertaking an action or to persuade them to call a halt to some action that has begun. The former is also known as deterrence and the latter as compellence or coercive diplomacy.

**Nuclear taboo:** Barry Buzan and Eric Herring suggest it is 'a strategic cultural prohibition against the use of nuclear weapons...an assumption that nuclear weapons should not be used rather than a conscious cost-benefit calculation' (1998: 165).

**Nuclear weapons:** Although only five states (China, France, Russia (formerly, Soviet Union), United Kingdom and United States) are acknowledged by the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) as possessing nuclear weapons, India and Pakistan have also tested nuclear weapons.

**Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone (NWFZ):** In Latin America, Southeast Asia, Africa and Central Asia, the trend has been to establish and consolidate the region as a Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone.

## O

**Offshore finance centre:** This is a site for financial business offering inducements such as tax reductions, regulation waivers, subsidies and rebates, secrecy guarantees, and so on; most are located in island and other mini-states, though offshore provisions also cover arrangements like

International Banking Facilities in New York (since 1981), the Tokyo-based Japan Offshore Market (since 1986) and the Bangkok International Banking Facility (since 1993).

**Order:** This is when relationships between actors, such as states, are stable, predictable, controlled, and not characterized by violence, turbulence, or chaos irrespective of 'justice'. It may denote any regular or discernible pattern of relationships that are stable over time, or may additionally refer to a condition that allows certain goals to be achieved.

## Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

**(OECD):** Formerly the OEEC and founded in 1948, this body has responsibility for co-operation in economic policy, economic forecasting and the development of rules for corporate governance.

**Ostpolitik:** The West German government's 'Eastern Policy' of the mid to late 1960s, designed to develop relations between West Germany and members of the Warsaw Pact.

**Over-exploitation:** This is the unsustainable exploitation of a resource.

## P

**Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT):** In 1963, the Soviet Union, United Kingdom, and United States agreed the PTBT. This prohibited nuclear testing in the atmosphere, in outer space and underwater. It meant, in effect, that future testing by states party to the PTBT had to be conducted underground.

**Peaceful nuclear explosion (PNE):** In 1974, India conducted an underground test of what its government termed was a PNE. The idea of using controlled nuclear explosions for civil, rather than military, purposes had gained credence during the early years of nuclear development. But it is precisely because the technologies involved in PNEs are indistinguishable from those

used in military applications, as the India test made apparent, that it raises problems of determining nuclear weapon possession.

**Perestroika:** policy of restructuring, pursued by Gorbachev in tandem with *Glasnost*, and intended to modernise the Soviet political and economic system.

**Petrodollars:** These are earnings from oil exports deposited outside the USA; they provided the largest single spur to growth in the euromarkets in the 1970s.

**Pluralism:** An umbrella term, borrowed from American political science, used to signify International Relations theorists who rejected the realist view of the primacy of the state and the coherence of the state-as-actor. The theoretical approach that analyses all organized groups as being potential political actors (where Realism focuses on states) and analyses the processes by which actors mobilize support to achieve policy goals. Pluralism can encompass non-governmental organizations, companies, and international organizations.

**Pluralist international society theory:** States are conscious of sharing common interests and common values, but these are limited to norms of sovereignty and non-intervention. Humanitarian intervention is illegitimate in the society of states.

**Positivism:** Usually meant as the approach to knowledge that endeavours to use the same methods in the social sciences as that of the empirical natural sciences. In International Relations, Realism and Liberalism are thought to be the most 'positivist'.

**Post-modernism:** This is defined by Lyotard as incredulity towards metanarratives, meaning that it denies the possibility of foundations for establishing the truth of statements existing outside of a discourse. Post-modern approaches are attacked by the mainstream for being too theoretical and not enough concerned with the

'real' world; but post-modernists reply that in the social world there is no such thing as the 'real' world in the sense of a reality that is not interpreted by us. Jaques Derrida argues that the world is like a text in that it cannot simply be grasped, but has to be interpreted. He looks at how texts are constructed, and proposes two main tools to enable us to see how arbitrary are the seemingly 'natural' oppositions of language.

**Post-modernist feminists:** These are concerned with gender as opposed to the position of women as such. They enquire into the ways in which masculinity and femininity get constructed, and are especially interested in how world politics constructs certain types of 'men' and women'.

**Power:** For Realists, the ability to control outcomes e.g. state A is able to get state B to act in a way which maximises the interests of A.

**Power-knowledge relationship:** Foucault argued that power and knowledge were mutually constituted. It implies that there can be no truth outside of regimes of truth. How can history have a truth if truth has a history? He proposed a genealogical approach, common to post-modern, approaches to look at history, and this approach uncovers how certain regimes of truth have dominated others.

**Primordialism:** the belief that certain human or social characteristics, such as ethnicity, are deeply embedded in historical conditions.

**Prisoners' dilemma:** This is a scenario in game theory illustrating the need for a collaboration strategy.

**Problem of Cheating:** Realists like Waltz and Mearsheimer argue that though some cooperation may exist states remain fearful that others will cheat on any agreements reached and attempt to gain advantages over them. It is argued that this is one of the major problems facing moves towards arms control.

**Problem of Relative-Gains:** Co-operation is inhibited, according to many neo-realists, because states tend to be concerned with 'relative-gains', rather than 'absolute gains'. Instead of being interested in co-operation because it will benefit both partners, states always have to be aware of how much they are gaining compared with the state they are co-operating with. Because all states will be attempting to maximize their gains in a competitive, mistrustful, and uncertain international environment, co-operation will always be very difficult to achieve and hard to maintain.

**Public bads:** These are the negative consequences which can arise when actors fail to collaborate.

**Public goods:** These are goods which can only be produced by a collective decision, and cannot, therefore, be produced in the market place.

## R

**Radical feminists:** These see women's subordination as universal, though taking different forms at different times. Some argue women are a sex-class, systematically and everywhere subject to men's sex-right, or their claims for access to their bodies, children, and labour. Violence against women is seen as key to keeping women resourceless and 'in their place'. They also draw attention to sexuality as politics.

**Rapprochement:** re-establishment of more friendlier relations between the People's Republic of China and the United States in the early 1970s.

**Rationalist theories:** theories that are essentially the latest versions of the realist and liberal theories.

**Rationality:** This is reflected in the ability of individuals to rank order their preferences and choose the best available preference

**reason of state:** the practical application of the doctrine of realism and virtually synonymous with it.

**Reciprocity:** In the analysis of regimes this reflects a 'tit for tat' strategy, only cooperating if others do likewise.

**Recognition:** This is the act, at present carried out by governments individually and separately, of acknowledging the status of another entity as a legal person, thus granting it a license to act in international society, and to enter into contracts with its members. At present recognition is symbolized by establishing diplomatic relations, exchanging ambassadors, and accepting the other's membership in the United Nations.

**Regimes:** These are sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations.

**Relations of Production:** Relations of production link and organise the means of production in the production process, according to Marxists. They involve both the technical and institutional relationships necessary to allow the production process to proceed, as well as the broader structures that govern the control of the means of production, and control of the end-product(s) of that process. Private property and wage labour are two of the key features of the relations of production in capitalist society.

**Restrictionists:** International lawyers who argue that humanitarian intervention violates Article 2(4) of the UN Charter and is illegal under both UN Charter law and Customary international law.

**Right of self-defence:** a state's right to wage war in its own defence.

**Rule-consequentialism:** International order and hence general well-being is better served by a general prohibition against humanitarian intervention than by sanctioning humanitarian intervention in the absence of agreement on what principles should govern a right of unilateral humanitarian intervention.

**Security Dilemma:** The view that war is a constant historical feature of international politics and is unlikely to disappear is based on the notion that states face what has been described as a security dilemma from which it is largely impossible to escape. The idea of a security dilemma is based on the notion that actions to make one state *more* secure (such as the development of more weapons) often have the effect of making other states feel *less* secure.

**Security:** This usually implies individual and group freedom from threats to core values. However, there is a major disagreement about whether the main focus of enquiry should be on 'individual', 'national', or 'international' security. The main area of interest for both academics and statesmen tended to be on the military capabilities that their own states should develop to deal with the threats that faced them. More recently, a number of writers have expanded the concept of security to include political, economic, societal, environmental as well as military security.

**security:** a contract with a claim to future payments in which (in contrast to bank credits) there is a direct and formally identified relationship between the investor and the borrower; also unlike bank loans, securities are traded in markets.

**Selectivity:** An agreed moral principle is at stake in more than one situation, but national interest dictates a divergence of response.

**Self-determination:** the right of a political community or state to become a sovereign state.

**Self-help:** In an anarchical environment, states cannot assume other states will come to their defence even if they are allies.

**Shadow of the future:** In the analysis of regimes this is a metaphor indicating that decision makers are conscious of the future when making decision.

**Sinatra Doctrine:** statement by the Soviet foreign ministry in October

1989 that countries of Eastern Europe were "doing it their way" (a reference to Frank Sinatra's song 'I did it my way') and which marked the end of the Brezhnev doctrine and Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe.

**Social constructivism:** This theoretical approach offers the prospect of bridging the gap between rationalist and reflectivist theories. It suggests that international relations are not only affected by power politics but also by ideas. According to this view, the fundamental structures of international politics are social rather than strictly material.

**Social movement:** people with a diffuse sense of collective identity, solidarity and common purpose that usually leads to collective political behaviour. The concept covers all the different NGOs and networks, plus all their members and all the other individuals who share the common value(s). Thus, the women's movement and the environmental movement are much more than the specific NGOs who provide leadership and focus the desire for social change.

**Socialist feminists:** These put together class and gender, finding that a class analysis alone leaves out much that women experience. It cannot explain why women are those responsible for reproductive and family labour, why women are so over-represented among the poor, or why gender inequities, often reinforced by violence against women, continue even where women are integrated into the workforce.

**society of states:** an association of sovereign states based on their common interests, values, and norms.

**Solidarist international society theory:** International society is agreed or capable of agreeing on universal standards of justice and morality which would legitimize practices of humanitarian intervention.

**Sovereignty:** a condition necessary for states in that they are not subject to any higher authority. The government of a sovereign state is ultimately

responsible for its citizens. In practice sovereignty has often been conditional. Internally governments have been subject to conventional standards, and externally conditions may mean that governments are more or less free to act independently. A sovereign government is free to choose within the framework of these conventions and standards.

**Special Drawing Right:** The supraterritorial denomination issued since 1969 through the International Monetary Fund and used as its unit of account. As of March 2000, 21.4 billion SDRs were in circulation at a value of 1 SDR = US \$1.34. A further allocation to double the amount of SDRs is pending.

**Specialized Agencies:** The international institutions have a special relationship with the central system of the United Nations but which are constitutionally independent, having their own assessed budgets, executive heads and committees, and assemblies of the representatives of all state members.

**Standards War:** Conflict between countries or firms over which standards to adopt.

**Standpoint feminists:** These writers such as J Ann Tickner want to correct the male dominance of our knowledge of the world. Tickner does this by re-describing the six 'objective' principles of international politics developed by Hans Morgenthau according to a female version of the world.

**State of war:** The conditions (often described by classical realists) where there is no actual conflict, but a permanent cold war that could become a 'hot' war at any time.

**State sovereignty:** a state's characteristic being politically independent of all other states.

**State system:** the regular patterns of interaction between states, but without implying any shared values between them. This is distinguished from the view of a 'society' of states.

**State:** A legal territorial entity composed of a stable population and a government; it possesses a monopoly over the legitimate use of force; its sovereignty is recognized by other states in the international system. It is used to refer to three distinct concepts: 1. In international law, a state is an entity that is recognized to exist when a government is in control of a community of people within a defined territory. It is comparable to the idea in domestic law of a company being a legal person. 2. In the study of international politics, each state is a country. It is a community of people who interact in the same political system and who have some common values. 3. In philosophy and sociology, the state consists of the apparatus of government, in its broadest sense, covering the executive, the legislature, the administration, the judiciary, the armed forces, and the police.

**Statism:** The ideology which supports the organization of humankind into particular communities; the values and beliefs of that community are protected and sustained by the state. It is the moral claim that states only have duties to their own citizens, and that they should not risk their soldiers' lives on humanitarian crusades.

**Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI):** In 1983, the United States embarked on a system of ballistic missile defence intended to protect US territory from a potential Soviet attack. SDI involved research and development of a multi-tiered or astrodome defence system designed for the purpose of intercepting large numbers of ballistic missiles during various stages of their flight path.

**Strategic interaction:** In the analysis of regimes this occurs when an outcome is the product of decisions arrived at independently.

**Structure:** In the philosophy of the social sciences a structure is something which exists independently of the actor (e.g. social class) but is an important determinant in the nature of the action



(e.g. revolution). For contemporary structural realists, the number of great powers in the international system constitutes the structure.

**Summit diplomacy:** This refers to a direct meeting between heads of government (of the superpowers in particular) to resolve major problems. The 'summit' became a regular mode of contact during the cold war.

**Superpower:** term used to describe the United States and the Soviet Union after 1945, denoting their global political involvements and military capabilities, including in particular their nuclear arsenals

**Survival:** The first priority for state leaders, emphasized by historical realists such as Machiavelli, Meinecke, and Weber.

**Sustainable development:** This is the economic and social development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs; programmes which maintain an appropriate balance between economic development, social development, and environmental protection. In practice, this is a contested concept, in that groups with differing political, economic, social, and environmental perspectives disagree about its exact meaning.

**Suzerain state:** a state which dominates and subordinates neighbouring states, without taking them over.

**Syndicated eurocredit:** This a loan provided in the euromarkets by an ad hoc association of a number of commercial banks.

## T

**territory:** a portion of the earth's surface appropriated by a political community, or state.

**Theatre Missile Defence (TMD):** These systems are designed to protect a given territory or specific combinations of military forces in a regional context.

**theocracy:** a state based on religion.

**Tilly, Charles:** This thinker looks at how the three main kinds of state forms that existed at the end of the Middle Ages eventually converged on one form, namely the national state. He argues that the decisive reason was the ability of the national state to fight wars.

**Tragedy of the commons:** This is the over-exploitation of open-access resources by users 'rationally' pursuing their individual interests.

**Transnational Actor:** Any non-governmental actor from one country that has relations with any actor from another country or with an international organization.

**Transnational company:** in the most general sense any company based on one country that has dealings with the society or government in a different country. However, the term transnational company (TNC) is normally reserved for a company that has affiliates in another country. The affiliates may be branches of the parent company, separately incorporated subsidiaries or associates, with large minority shareholdings.

## Transnational Women's

**Movements:** There are now different transnational women's movements, for example, for women's health and reproductive rights. International conferences, especially women's conferences, have been very important in building transnational women's networks, and in putting women's issues on the global agenda.

**Transnational:** The cutting across national boundaries; linking the international and domestic sphere. Thus, for example, transnational processes are non-state processes that cut across national boundaries.

**triads:** the three economic groupings (North America, Europe and East Asia)

**Truman doctrine:** statement made by President Harry Truman in March 1947 that it 'must be the policy of the United States to support free people who are resisting attempted

subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures'. Intended to persuade Congress to support limited aid to Turkey and Greece the doctrine came to underpin the policy of containment and American economic and political support for its allies.

**U**

**Unipolarity:** a distribution of power internationally in which there is clearly only one dominant power or 'pole'. Some analysts argue that the international system became unipolar in the 1990s since there was no longer any rival to American power.

**United Nations (UN):** The UN was established at the end of the Second World War as a result of initiatives taken by the governments of the states which had led the war against Germany and Japan, namely Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union. They were determined to build upon the experience of the League of Nations from the interwar period, but to correct the problems that had been found with the earlier organization. Its main purpose was to maintain international peace and security, in the sense of dissuading states from attacking each other, and to organize counter-measures if this happened. *See*

**Weapons of Mass Destruction:** The United Nations Commission for Conventional Armaments in 1948 introduced a new category of 'weapons of mass destruction' (WMD) to distinguish nuclear weapons from conventional forms. As the Commission outlined the category, WMD included 'atomic explosive weapons, radioactive material weapons, lethal chemical and biological weapons, and any weapons developed in the future which have characteristics comparable in destructive effect to those of the atomic bomb or other weapons mentioned above'.

**W**

**Wendt, Alexander:** His key claim is that international anarchy is not fixed,

and does not automatically involve the self-interested state behaviour that rationalists see as built into the system. Instead he thinks that anarchy could take on several different forms because the selfish identities and interests assumed by rationalists are in fact the products of interaction and are not prior it.

**West European Union:** Established in 1954 the WEU has responsibility for mutual defence guarantees among its members, limited co-operation in peace-making activities.

**Wind of Change:** A reference by British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan in a speech in South Africa in 1960 to the political changes taking place across Africa heralding the end of European imperialism

**Wireless Internet:** Communication data and voice traffic through microwave and satellite connections

**Women and Nationalism:** Nationalism is usually called up in gendered language. Women get caught up in nationalist politics in their construction as mothers of the nation and as markers of difference. Women also participate in or oppose nationalist politics. Women's symbolic significance in nationalism makes them vulnerable to violence, including war rape.

**Women in Development**

**(WID):** There are very different approaches to WID, including between liberal feminists who seek to integrate women more equally into development, and other feminists who see development, currently defined, as damaging to women. They seek the empowerment of women, including through participation in development decisions that affect their own lives and choices.

**World Government:** Associated in particular with those idealists who believe that peace can never be achieved in a world divided into separate sovereign states. Just as the state of nature in civil society was abolished by governments, the state of

war in international society must be ended by the establishment of a world government.

**World order:** this is a wider category of order than the 'international'. It takes as its units of order, not states, but individual human beings and

assesses the degree of order on the basis of the delivery of certain kinds of goods (be it security, human rights, basic needs or justice) for humanity as a whole.

**World society:** the society produced by globalization.

Note: this glossary is adapted from the key concepts defined in the chapters of *The Globalization of World Politics* 2nd Edn