

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

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Glossary terms are highlighted in bold throughout the text. Words in italics are defined elsewhere in the glossary.

A. Q. Khan network – An illicit global network for the proliferation of nuclear weapons technology named after one of its leading figures, Pakistani nuclear scientist, Abdul Qadeer Khan.

Alliance – A formal agreement between two or more *sovereign states* to cooperate on matters of *security* and defence.

Alter-casting – A strategy wherein one actor cajoles another (or others) into a certain way of being or behaving by treating the other(s) consistently with their view of appropriate conduct.

Anarchy – The absence of rule or government. In international relations it does not mean disorder and chaos.

Anti-colonialism – The ideology and struggle opposed to *colonialism*; it helped fuel the *decolonisation* process.

ANZUS – A *security* agreement between Australia, New Zealand and the US which came into force in 1952. Each party agrees, under certain conditions, to assist others in the case of armed attack. Since 1986, when New Zealand refused entry to US ships that may have been carrying nuclear weapons, the US has not recognised its commitment to New Zealand.

APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) – A forum for countries of the Asia-Pacific region to discuss and negotiate matters of common economic interest, especially trade matters. Members include: Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Canada, Chile, China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Republic of Korea, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Singapore, Chinese Taipei, Thailand and the US.

Arms control – The exercise of restraint in the development, acquisition, stockpiling and use of weapons. The management of this process is usually achieved through negotiated agreements or treaties.

ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) – Formed in 1967 to promote regional stability and economic cooperation, it currently comprises 10 state members: Brunei, Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam.

Balance of payments – A *state's* capital account surplus or deficit, based on the difference between the amount of money flowing in or out of the state. It is the account of a state's financial transactions with the rest of the world.

Balance of power – Refers to a mechanism that operates to prevent one *state* from achieving such a preponderance of *power* that it is in a position to lay down and enforce the law over all others. Central to *realist* theories, it can be viewed as the deliberate product of foreign policies, or as the unintended consequence of several states seeking to protect themselves. In any case, states align with others to counter-balance the growth in another's power, seeking to preserve international *order* and a degree of equilibrium.

Balance of trade – A *state's* annual net trade surplus or deficit, based on the difference in value between imports and exports. It is the account of a state's trade relations with the rest of the world.

Bilateralism – A term referring to discussions, negotiations and decisions made by two *states* on matters of mutual interest. Compare with *unilateralism* and *multilateralism*.

Bipolarity – Refers to an *international system* where two overwhelmingly powerful *states* dominate. Like magnetic poles, the two *powers* both attract and repel at the same time. They attract friends and allies, and repel rivals and enemies. The *Cold War* is the best example of a bipolar system. Compare with *unipolarity* and *multipolarity*.

Bretton Woods – Refers to the post-World War II system of international trade and finance. It saw the establishment of the *International Monetary Fund (IMF)* and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, popularly known as the *World Bank*. Together with the *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)* which was established by the *UN*, it formed the system which was intended to stabilise the international economy under liberal economic policy goals. It is named for the place in New Hampshire, US where the original agreement was struck.

Capitalism – A social system that favours free and open markets based on private property and the accumulation of private wealth. Eighteenth-century Scotsman Adam Smith is conventionally associated with the ideological defence of capitalism, while Karl Marx is capitalism's greatest critic.

Civil war – War fought largely within the territorial boundaries of a single *sovereign state*.

Clausewitzian – An adjective describing strategic thought influenced by the work of Prussian military officer, Carl von Clausewitz (1780–1831). His *On war*, published posthumously in 1832, is still widely recognised as the most important treatise ever written on military strategy. For Clausewitz, *war* is a decisive encounter between two or more armed forces of a *state*. His most famous proposition is that war is simply the continuation of politics by other, namely violent, means.

Cold War – Describes a condition of hostile encounter between two *states* or *alliances* which falls just short of 'hot war' or direct violent conflict. It is mostly used to name the conflict between the US and USSR from roughly 1946 to 1989. Though the two *superpowers* did not apparently fight one another directly, they often fought by proxy. Because it is historically unusual for two preeminent *powers* not to wage war against each other, some commentators also refer to the Cold War as a 'long *peace*'.

Collateral damage – A euphemism used to refer to the unintended damage done to civilians and civilian infrastructure by military action.

Collective defence – Draws from the Three Musketeers' motto, 'one for all and all for one', but the collective is limited to those who are members of a particular *security* or defence agreement. Examples include *ANZUS*, *NATO* and the *Warsaw Pact*.

Collective security – Also draws from the Three Musketeers' motto, 'one for all and all for one'. Rather than leave *security* in the hands of each individual *state*, security for all is shared by all. If one state is threatened or attacked, the collective will react. Collective security is embodied in the *UN Charter*.

Colonialism – The practice of occupying foreign lands by forceful or peaceful means with the intention of developing or civilising 'backward' peoples of the non-European world. In the twentieth century colonialism has earned a bad name because it often reinforces racial stereotypes or discriminatory practices. Compare *decolonisation*.

Common security – Underpinned by the idea that *security* is best achieved with others rather than against them. Common security is promoted through *arms control* and *confidence and security-building measures (CSBMs)*. It originated in the *UN Palme Commission Report* of 1982 but found energetic political support in former Soviet premier, Mikhail Gorbachev, and former Australian foreign minister, Gareth Evans. It is premised on the belief that the *security dilemma* can be overcome or at least lessened.

Communism – A social system that favours government-controlled markets based on collective ownership and the distribution of wealth according to need. Karl Marx was communism's greatest

advocate. Communist ideology is also said to have governed the USSR, though Marx probably would have disagreed.

Communitarianism – A political theory that emphasises individuals' attachments to the community in which they grew up. The communities in which we grow up are thought to be the source of all moral values. Communitarianism adopts the ethical position that a person's moral obligations are always first and foremost to members of our own community and that they cannot be extended beyond that community's boundaries. Moreover, it believes that communities should not be expected to submit to abstract or universal values or obligations advocated by *cosmopolitanism*.

Confidence and security-building measures (CSBMs) – The attempt to build mutual trust and reassurance through demilitarisation, *disarmament*, *arms control*, joint military training exercises and greater consultation and dialogue. The purpose is to reduce fear, suspicion, misperception and uncertainty, the elements that make up the *security dilemma*.

Constitutionalism – The exercise of decision-making power or governance on the basis of an original constitution, charter or set of foundational rules.

Constitutive – Having the power of bringing something (an actor or set of rules) into existence. A constitutive rule specifies who counts as a legitimate actor and what kind of acts or moves are legitimate. See *regulative* rule.

Constructivism – A theory that challenges the belief that social structures are more or less natural phenomena. Constructivists argue that the social world is formed through *constitutive* linguistic and social practices, thus leaving open the possibility for societies to transform their social worlds. In this respect constructivism converges with *critical theories* such as *feminism* and *Frankfurt School Critical Theory* as well as some *Marxist* theories. However, some critical theorists believe that constructivism sometimes remains too close to *positivist methodologies*.

Containment – A *Cold War* US strategy for keeping the USSR within its extant boundaries and preventing the further spread of *communism*. The *Truman Doctrine* and *Marshall Plan* are said to be respectively the military and economic aspects of containment.

Cosmopolitanism – A political *theory* that emphasises individuals' obligations to all other human beings. It rejects the *communitarian* position that a person's moral obligations end at the political borders of our community. When asked where he came from, the ancient Greek philosopher, Diogenes the Cynic responded by saying he was a 'citizen of the world'. Cosmopolitanism does not deny local or national attachments and obligations; it just does not see why they must always be privileged. *Critical theories* often have strong inclinations to cosmopolitanism.

Counter-insurgency – The government's response to *insurgency*.

Critical theory – Any *theory* that seeks to question traditional theoretical methods and purposes. It is usually guided by a suspicion towards *empiricism* and *positivism* and a commitment to overcoming forms of social, economic and political domination. It thus includes, among others, *feminism*, *postmodernism*, *Marxism* and *Critical Theory* – all of which are sceptical of claims that the world is as it must be. In this respect it converges with *constructivism* too.

Critical Theory – A specific type of *Marxist*-inspired *critical theory* deriving from the *Frankfurt School* of social theory.

Cuban missile crisis – Occurred in 1962. The US discovered that the USSR was installing medium-range nuclear missiles in Cuba, only miles from the coast of Florida. When US President Kennedy imposed a naval blockade, a thirteen-day stand-off ensued in which the world came very close to nuclear *war*. Kennedy and Soviet leader Khrushchev eventually reached a compromise that allowed the Soviets to 'save face' and the Americans to remove the missiles. It inaugurated a period of *détente* between the *superpowers*.

Decolonisation – The process by which *colonial powers* withdrew from or were expelled from foreign territories over which they ruled. It granted *sovereign* independence to peoples formerly ruled by colonial powers. The years following World War II saw the height of this process. See *anti-colonialism*.

Deconstruction – A theoretical mode developed by Jacques Derrida aimed at destabilising taken-for-granted assumptions and binary oppositions.

Democracy – Born in ancient Athens, it is a powerful idea and popular political practice for ensuring that individuals and communities rule themselves by participating in decision-making processes that affect their lives. In his Gettysburg Address, Abraham Lincoln famously defined democracy as ‘government of the people, by the people, for the people’. Democracy may be direct, as in ancient Athens where small face-to-face communities deliberated and decided on their own political futures, or indirect, where representatives are elected to govern on behalf of the people.

Democratic peace theory – The theory that democratic *states* do not fight *war* against each other. A good amount of *empirical* evidence has been collected indicating that war has never been fought between two stable *democracies*. Closely associated with Michael Doyle.

Détente – Relaxation of tensions between rivals. A period of the *Cold War* that commenced in the early 1960s after the *Cuban missile crisis* and was reinforced by the initiatives of US President Nixon and his National Security Advisor, Henry Kissinger.

Deterrence – A policy or strategy based on the threat of massive retaliation in the event of an attack. It is premised on the notion that if the destruction threatened in retaliation is great enough, it will deter any initial attack. It is mostly associated with nuclear weapons. Nuclear deterrence is also known as mutually assured destruction (MAD).

Diplomacy – The formal and informal activity by which *states* interact with each other. Somewhat romantically described as ‘the art of negotiation’, diplomacy involves the exchange of agents (diplomats, envoys, consular officials) who represent the *state’s* interests abroad and negotiate on its behalf. Diplomacy may take place secretly or publicly, *bilaterally* or *multilaterally* (for example, at the *UN*).

Disarmament – A means and an end involving the reduction or elimination of weapons.

Discipline – A branch of learning focused on a relatively distinct subject matter, including a distinctive focus, set of institutions and traditions of thought.

Emancipation – The process and condition of being free from all forms of domination, oppression, exclusion and injustice. It is thus central to *liberalism* as well as *critical theories*, including *Marxism*, *feminism* and *Frankfurt School Critical Theory*, though how each theory defines freedom differs greatly.

Empiricism – A philosophy based on the idea that experience is the source of knowledge. Empiricist *methods* proceed through examination of phenomena that can be perceived through the senses, predominantly observable phenomena. It is sceptical of knowledge drawn from ideas, beliefs and *norms*, or any knowledge that does not appear empirically verifiable.

English School – An approach to international relations that focuses on the rules and institutions that bring *order* to *international society*. It holds the view that while *states* exist in a formal *anarchy*, they still form a society. It draws upon and is closely associated with the *Grotian* tradition.

Enlightenment – A period commencing in the late seventeenth century and culminating at the end of eighteenth-century Europe that saw tremendous intellectual change in the natural, human and social sciences, including the rise of *liberalism* and the American and French *revolutions*. It also refers to the process of employing reason to challenge received ways of thinking and acting. Though diverse, enlightenment as process includes some common features: the exercise

of suspicion towards authority, especially traditional modes of religious and political thinking; the expression of moral, legal and political equality among all humans; the commitment to *emancipation* from unnecessary constraints.

Epistemology – The branch of philosophy that studies how we produce and acquire knowledge. It is concerned with establishing the conditions for producing valid knowledge, and establishing criteria for testing and justifying knowledge claims.

Ethnic cleansing – The systematic, deliberate and violent attempt to expel or eliminate targeted ethnic groups from disputed or conflict-ridden territories. Ethnic cleansing was conducted, probably by all sides, but most prominently by Serbian militia, during the break-up of Yugoslavia in the 1990s.

Explanation – A method of accounting for effects or outcomes by focusing on facts and causes that exist independently of the observer. Closely associated with *empiricism* and *positivism*. It is often contrasted with *interpretation* and *hermeneutics*.

Failed state – A state where the government is no longer able to exert authority or *power* over its people and territory.

Fascism – A twentieth-century doctrine of authoritarianism hostile to peace and characterised by militarism, aggressive *nationalism*, racism and *imperialism*.

Feminism – A *critical theory* that focuses on the place of women and on the role of gender in international relations. It highlights the way women are historically marginalised and disempowered by the prevailing structures of domestic and international politics. Additionally, it has explored the way gendered stereotypes (masculinity and femininity) shape actors' identities and expectations.

Foreign aid – The transfer of money and resources to less developed or developing countries from developed countries. Usually the aid is given as a long-term loan with conditions attached.

Foundationalism – Adherence to the belief that knowledge can and must be built on firm foundations or grounds. This quest for certainty, often associated with *positivism*, is a response to the uncertainty thought to result from *interpretive theories*.

Frankfurt School – The name given to a group of German émigrés, led by Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, who fled to New York and California during World War II after working in the Frankfurt Institute of Social Research. They pioneered a form of critical social *theory* influenced by German thinkers Immanuel *Kant*, G. W. F. Hegel and Karl *Marx*, among others, that challenged prevailing social, political and economic structures in an effort to *emancipate* all individuals and communities from unjust forms of domination and exclusion. It is the inspiration behind *Critical Theory*.

Free trade – The idea that governments should not interfere in cross-border trade. Closely associated with *liberalism* and *capitalism*, it is also the governing ideology of the *WTO* (*World Trade Organization*), formerly the *GATT* (*General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade*).

Fundamentalism – Refers to the tendency to suppose that one's own ideological or belief system is unquestionably true and should be adhered to absolutely. Anyone who does not adhere to the purity of this system of beliefs is thought to be a heretic or infidel, and is often cast as evil. It is often associated with religions, for example, Islamic or Christian fundamentalism, but any ideology or belief may be susceptible to fundamentalism.

G20, G8 – The Group of 20, Group of 8, or 'G-system' refers to the forums established by the world's leading industrial states to manage global economic affairs. The formation of these Groups began in the 1970s and the composition and number of the Group has expanded over time to its present size of twenty members who meet to deliberate on matters predominantly of global economic concern.

G77 – The Group of seventy-seven developing countries formed in 1964 to promote the collective interests and the negotiating power of the global South, especially in relation to global economic issues.

Genealogy – A mode of doing history (or counter-history) that exposes the relations between *power* and knowledge and that questions dominant notions of origins and progress.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) – Established under the *UN* to develop rules governing international trade. Founded on *liberal* principles of *free trade*, its main objectives are to reduce and eliminate tariff barriers and to provide a forum in which *states* can mediate disputes and negotiate a more open system of trade. In 1995 the GATT was replaced by the *World Trade Organization (WTO)*.

Geneva conventions – Comprised of four *international humanitarian law* treaties codified in 1949, and the additional protocols of 1977. The 1949 conventions relate to the treatment of prisoners of *war*, the treatment of military personnel when sick or wounded at sea or on land, and the protection of civilians during war. The two additional protocols of 1977 outline protections due to the victims of international and *civil wars*.

Genocide – The deliberate and systematic act of destroying in whole or in part a national, ethnic, racial or religious group. It is outlawed under the *UN* Convention on the Punishment and Prevention of the Crime of Genocide. Twentieth-century cases of genocide include the Turkish genocide of the Armenians, the Nazi genocide of the Jews and others, and the Hutu genocide of Tutsi in Rwanda.

Geopolitics – The study of the effects of geography (human and physical) on international politics. It is often closely related to the *balance of power*.

Globalisation – The stretching and intensification of social and economic relations across the globe made possible by new communication and computer technologies and advances in transport. It is thought by many to inaugurate an unprecedented degree of global interconnectedness, although some deny its novelty by pointing to similar levels of *interdependence* in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Still others criticise globalisation for being a vehicle of *neoliberal* ideology.

Gramscian – An adjective describing a perspective on international relations influenced by the work of Italian socialist and union organiser, Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937). Gramsci was a *Marxist* who cautioned against overemphasising the economic ‘base’ of society. He argued that the ‘superstructure’ of society, which includes schools, churches and civil society more generally, also played a vital part in the reproduction of *capitalist* societies and in their possible transformation. In international relations his work has been adapted to focus on the way ideas and *states* interact to maintain dominant world *orders*.

Great power – A state possessing, and seen to possess, multiple dimensions of *power* and its sources, including military, political, economic, ideological, territorial, natural resources, people and so on.

Grotian – An adjective describing a perspective on international relations influenced by the work of Dutch seventeenth-century jurist, Hugo Grotius (1583–1645). Closely associated with the *English School*, the Grotian tradition of international thought places great emphasis on the rules and *norms* of international relations. It aims to secure *order* and coexistence among *states* rather than the *Kantian* ideal of perpetual *peace* or the *Hobbesian* horror of ‘*war* of all against all’.

Guerrilla warfare – ‘Hit and run’ tactics employed by small, highly mobile bands of armed forces against more conventional armed, and usually invading or occupying, forces. Guerrillas operate by taking full advantage of their environment, both physical and urban. It was a tactic employed to good effect by Germanic tribes against the Roman army, and by the Vietcong against the US in Vietnam.

Hegemony – The preponderance of *power* and influence by a *state* (the hegemon). Though it involves coercive power, hegemony without ideological or political suasion is unlikely. *Gramsci* proposed thinking of hegemony as a centaur (half man, half beast).

Hermeneutics – The art or *method* of *interpretation*. Derived from Hermes, the messenger god, hermeneutics originally referred to the textual interpretation of the Bible, but in modern times it refers more generally to the interpretation of texts, *theories* and ideas, as well as the action and behaviour of social and political agents. Its main purpose is to further understanding of others' meanings or intentions. It is often contrasted with *explanation*.

Hierarchy – The structured differentiation of rank and authority. In the study of international relations hierarchy is often opposed to *anarchy*.

Hobbesian – An adjective describing a perspective on international relations influenced by the work of seventeenth-century political philosopher, Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679). He emphasised the political importance of *state sovereignty* and the necessity of *states* to be prepared to use threats and force to achieve *security*. He is thought to have likened international relations to a 'state of *war*', a lawless, insecure and conflict-ridden condition which he described as a 'war of all against all'.

Human rights – The entitlements thought to be due to all humans simply by virtue of their humanity. Human rights are enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) which is a non-binding document, and in the legally binding Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (both 1966).

Humanitarian intervention – The coercive interference in a *sovereign state* to prevent or end massive *human rights* violations. Generally thought to be prohibited by *international law* and the *UN Charter*, it has enjoyed increased international support since the brutal conflicts, *ethnic cleansing* and *genocides* witnessed in the 1990s. NATO's 1999 bombing of Serbia to protect Kosovars remains the most controversial instance of humanitarian intervention. See *responsibility to protect*.

Humanitarianism – Refers to the array of moral, political, medical and logistical practices designed to alleviate human suffering, especially in the aftermath of natural or political disasters.

Idealism – A *theory* of international relations whose chief purpose is to eradicate *war*. Flourishing after World War I, it embraced the *Enlightenment* and *liberal* values of *peace* and progress, believing that peace could be achieved through *collective security* arrangements, respect for the rule of law and greater *interdependence*. See also *utopianism*.

Identity – The distinctive purpose ascribed to a state, including self-understandings. A key term in *constructivism*.

Imperialism – The projection or expansion of a *state's* domination over foreign lands and peoples through conquest and control. Often associated with a high-handed and rather brutal treatment of those under imperial *power*.

Institutionalism – The view that institutions (both formal and informal sets of rules and norms) matter in international relations by setting standards, shaping expectations, constraining behaviour and establishing patterns of interaction. See *regime*.

Insurgency – Political violence with the subversive intent of destabilising or overthrowing a ruling government.

Interdependence – The mutual dependence developed among *states* by utilising new technologies and through the growth of international cross-border commerce, communication and travel. A term used before *globalisation* became popular.

International humanitarian law – Set of rules integrating *human rights* into *international law* with the purpose of protecting individuals (civilians and combatants) during times of *war*.

It comprises the four *Geneva conventions* and two additional protocols. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is the custodian of these rules.

International law – Set of rules applying to *sovereign states*. Traditionally it has focused exclusively on *states*, but since World War II it has increasingly incorporated rights and duties of individuals. The sources of international law include custom, treaties, judicial decisions and esteemed legal opinion. Because they define law as orders backed by force, *realists* are sceptical that international law, which lacks an enforcement mechanism, deserves the status of law.

International Monetary Fund (IMF) – Established as part of the *Bretton Woods* system, its main task is to create a stable international exchange rate system and to provide emergency assistance to *states* facing temporary *balance of payments* problems.

International society – Exists when two or more *states* become conscious of being bound by common rules and institutions. One of the *English School's* key concepts, international society, or the society of states, allows for cooperation in institutions such as *diplomacy* and *international law*.

International system – Exists when two or more states have sufficient contact with each other that they become conscious of existing in the same environment and conscious of the need to consider other *states'* interests and capabilities in the pursuit of their own interests.

Interpretation – A mode of giving meaning to something, whether an act, an event, a history, an art object, a novel, a poem and so on. See *hermeneutics* and, for contrast, *explanation*.

Intersubjective – Ideas and beliefs existing among conscious actors or social agents. Generally refers to the sets of ideas and beliefs shared collectively by actors (such as states in international society). Key term in *constructivism* and *Critical Theory*.

Jihad – Militant Muslims use the word to mean the violent struggle against infidels and heretics who threaten Islam. In its original theological sense it means the self-discipline or internal struggle to pursue noble goals. Western commentators often mistakenly equate *jihad* with the Christian notion of 'holy war'.

Just war – A war deemed to be conducted justly or lawfully (*jus in bello* in Latin) and for a just or lawful cause (*jus ad bellum*). The tradition of distinguishing between just and unjust wars goes back to antiquity, was continued by Christian theologians throughout the Middle Ages and persists in secular form today. Since the late nineteenth century numerous *international humanitarian law* treaties outlining prohibited conduct during war have come into force. *Humanitarian intervention* has, however, forced a reconsideration of rules relating to *jus ad bellum*.

Kantian – An adjective describing a perspective on international relations influenced by the work of eighteenth-century *Enlightenment* philosopher, Immanuel Kant (1724–1804). Most famous in international relations for his essay, 'Towards perpetual peace', Kant argued that *states* ought to subject their conduct to political, legal and moral rules consistent with *liberalism* so that *peace*, justice and freedom can flourish for the whole community of humankind.

Keynesian – Adjective describing an economic doctrine based on the thought of British economist, John Maynard Keynes (1883–1946). He argued that free market principles must be tempered by measured governmental interventions to maintain social *order*.

Kyoto Protocol – An agreement signed at the 1997 Kyoto (Japan) climate change conference to address global warming. *States*, excluding most notably Australia and the US, committed themselves to reducing greenhouse gas emissions to 5 per cent below 1990 levels by the year 2012.

Liberalism – A political *theory* that prizes individual freedom. It believes individuals should be free to do as they please, without the interference of others, so long as they do not harm or limit the freedom of others. In international relations it has tended to focus on the development of *international law*, the spread of *democracy* (*democratic peace theory*) and the expansion of *free trade*. Immanuel *Kant* is one of the leading liberal theorists of international relations.

Lockean – An adjective describing a political worldview informed by the ideas of John Locke (1632–1704). Often associated with the *English School*, and holding affinities with the *Grotian* tradition, Lockean political thought emphasises individual rights, the rule of law and the rational capacities of humankind as the key elements of political *order* within and between *states*. Locke did not conceive the state of nature as a *Hobbesian* state of war, but as a condition where reason may still prevail and foster sociability and cooperation.

Machiavellianism – A term usually employed pejoratively to criticise cunning or ruthless political behaviour. It derives from the name of Florentine diplomat, Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), especially the advice he gives to rulers in his infamous tract, *The prince*, written in 1513 though not published until after his death in 1532. It would be wrong to assume, however, that Machiavelli was Machiavellian.

Marshall Plan – The US aid program designed to reconstruct and stimulate the economies of Western Europe after World War II. Introduced in 1947, it is best understood as the economic aspect of the US strategy of *containment* alongside the *Truman Doctrine*. It aimed to stabilise Western Europe's economies and immunise them against the threat of *communism*.

Marxism – An adjective describing a perspective on international relations influenced by the work of nineteenth-century thinker, Karl Marx (1818–1883). Marxism's most central feature is its powerful critique of *capitalism* for exploiting and dehumanising workers. Marxists believe that international relations is shaped by the changing patterns of capitalism and the conflict it generates between classes. It thus tends to see *states* and the *international system* as a reflection of deeper socio-economic structures and processes. Marxists believe that capitalism is only a stage on the way to a truly *emancipated* society of humankind.

Meaning – The significance or symbolic value held by an object or attributed to it.

Mercantilism – A policy-system developed by many early modern European *states* to increase national wealth for the purposes of enhancing the state's *power*. This wealth was produced by a mix of *protectionism* and favourable *balance of payments* to grow the state's stocks of gold bullion. Often contrasted to *free trade*.

Meta-theory – Theoretical reflection on *theory*.

Method – A way or means of producing or attaining knowledge. Some ways are more *hermeneutic* or *interpretive*, others are more *positivist*, *empiricist* or *explanatory*.

Methodology – The study of different ways (*methods*) of producing valid knowledge.

Multilateralism – A term referring to international structures and processes in which many *states* discuss, negotiate and decide on matters of international significance. Compare with *bilateralism* and *unilateralism*.

Multinational corporation (MNC) – A commercial actor with branches or operations in several countries and interconnected business strategies. Increasingly such corporations see the globe rather than any single national economy as their marketplace. They tend to advocate *globalisation* and *neoliberal* policy ideals. Also see *transnational corporation (TNC)*.

Multipolarity – Refers to an *international system* where more than two powerful *states* dominate. *Realism* sees multipolar systems as more unstable than *bipolar* ones.

Nation – A community of people bound together by belief in common historical, cultural, ethnic, religious or linguistic ties. Nations quite often, but not always, demand exclusive allegiance from their citizens.

National interest – A notoriously plastic term that refers to the *state's* foreign policy aims. The national interest is said to be the same regardless of the government in *power*, but different governments will hold different ideological agendas and priorities, meaning that the national interest will change accordingly.

Nationalism – The political ideology that prizes and exults in the *nation* as the primary and exclusive source of allegiance.

NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) – A military *alliance* formed in 1949 by Western European and Northern American countries aligned against the USSR during the *Cold War*. Unlike the *Warsaw Pact*, it did not die with the end of the Cold War. Instead, it expanded by absorbing former Warsaw Pact countries into its membership.

Neoliberalism – Used in two senses. One is as a *theory* of international relations which argues, contrary to *realism* and *neorealism*, that cooperation is possible even in conditions of international *anarchy*. A revised version of *liberalism*, this neoliberalism focuses on the rules and *norms* states are socialised to accept by working through international institutions or *regimes*. It is most closely associated with the work of Robert Keohane. The other use of neoliberalism is as a late form of *liberalism* that focuses heavily on free market economic policies of trade liberalisation, deregulation of financial markets and the workplace, and privatisation of government-owned industries and utilities. In Australia this latter sense often goes by the name of 'economic *rationalism*'.

Neorealism – A *theory* of international relations which seeks to improve upon *realism* by making it more scientific (based on *positivism*) and by obtaining a more objective picture of how the structure of *anarchy* shapes and shoves *states*. Most closely associated with the work of Kenneth Waltz, neorealism argues, contrary to older versions of realism, that states seek to maximise *security* rather than *power*.

Nesting – A strategy whereby a group of actors collectively subsume themselves under a broader identity, thereby changing the identity of all the actors in the process.

Non-governmental organisation (NGO) – Specialised not-for-profit *non-state actors* that seek to raise consciousness and change the activities of governments and populations on a variety of issues. NGOs have proliferated over the last century, advocating and lobbying on issues such as *human rights*, landmines, poverty, animal rights and the environment, among many others.

Non-state actor – An actor not part of the official *state* or governmental apparatuses.

Normative – An adjective referring to the moral quality of something. For example, normative *theories* of international relations are primarily concerned with posing moral questions of actors or assessing the moral justification and evaluation of structures and processes.

Norms – Moral standards or expectations.

Ontology – The branch of philosophy that studies the nature of being. It is concerned with determining what exists in the world and the character of the different things that exist. In other words, it regards the 'furniture' of the world.

Order – A sustained pattern of social arrangements. Order should not be confused with *peace* or stability. Peace is a particular order whereby the pattern of social arrangements excludes *war*. But, unlike peace and war, order and war are not mutually exclusive conditions. Order is also distinguishable from stability because stability and instability are properties of order. That is, orders may be more or less stable or unstable.

Patriarchy – A form of social organisation where men dominate and govern at the expense of women. It is an important concept in *feminism*.

pax americana – A Latin phrase that translates as 'American peace'. Drawing upon the older phrase *pax romana* (Roman peace), it conjures ideas of American *imperialism*.

Peace – Most simply, it is the absence of *war*. This definition has been found wanting because it says nothing about the positive requirements of peace, which are usually thought to include justice and basic human needs, among other things.

Peacebuilding – Initiatives taken to rebuild political and legal institutions and civilian infrastructure, including markets, in post-conflict situations. It has the long-term objective of establishing lasting *peace* and prosperity within stable political conditions.

Peacekeeping – Military operations undertaken with the consent of all major parties to a conflict with the purpose of maintaining the terms of a truce or ceasefire. Only a temporary or provisional measure, peacekeeping is intended to open opportunities for dialogue among the parties that will lead to lasting *peace*.

Positivism – An approach to knowledge based on the conviction that the human and social sciences, including the study of international relations, must emulate the physical or natural sciences by employing *empiricist* methods. This means facts must be separated from values and beliefs to allow for objective investigation and explanation of *empirical* or observable phenomena (namely, facts). *Critical theories* dispute the feasibility and desirability of completely separating facts and values in the human and social sciences.

Postmodernism – A theoretical approach to the social and human sciences that questions not just *positivism* but aspects of *hermeneutics* too for believing that all questions can be finally resolved by attaining the Truth. For postmodernism there are likely to be as many truths as there are perspectives on any given issue since there is no single vantage point from which all social, political and moral questions can be addressed. It is closely associated with *deconstruction* and *genealogy*.

Power – Classically defined as the ability to get an actor to do what they would otherwise not do. This is power in the sense of domination or power over others. But power can also be thought of in terms of capability or power to do or act. *Realist* theories hold the belief that international relations are a constant struggle for power, usually defined in materials terms. See also *soft power*.

Power politics – A nickname given to hard-nosed *realist* policies because of the great emphasis realists place on the struggle for *power*.

Protectionism – An economic policy designed to cushion or protect national industries from international competition. Often pursued by the imposition of taxes, tariffs and quotas on imports.

Raison d'état – French for *reason of state*. It refers to the logic that drives policies employed in the service of the *state* itself. Such policies do not serve the common good or the welfare of the population, they are intended to preserve and strengthen the state apparatus alone. Commonly associated with *realist* policies.

Ratification – A legal term describing the act by which a state confirms being bound by a treaty or convention. The legislative procedures for ratification may vary from one state to another.

Rationalism – In the US the term is most commonly used to refer to theories employing *positivist methods*, in contrast to *reflectivism*. Elsewhere, rationalism is sometimes used, by Martin Wight, for example, to refer to *Grotianism*. See also *realism* and *reflectivism*.

Realism – A tradition of thought that posits the struggle for *power* and the condition of *anarchy* as two fundamental realities of international relations. These are realities with which both *states* and students of the subject must grapple.

Realpolitik – German term connoting hard-nosed *realist* politics. It is more or less a synonym of the English term *power politics*.

Reason of state – See *raison d'état*.

Reflectivism – A term used in the US to refer to *critical theories* in contrast to *rationalism*.

Refugee – A person forced to flee his or her country because of persecution. For centuries refugees have fled their homelands because their lives and livelihoods were in grave danger for no other reason than their religion, their ethnicity, their race, their gender or their political beliefs. The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the formation of the *UN* High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) have helped draw attention to the global flows and plight of refugees.

Regime – Agreed rules, norms and decision-making procedures that set standards, shape expectations, constrain behaviour and establish patterns of interaction. Also see *institutionalism*.

Regulative – Having the power of governing or controlling the behaviour of an actor. A regulative rule specifies the range of actions considered legitimate by distinguishing between proscribed and permitted actions. See *constitutive* rule.

Responsibility to protect (R2P) – The doctrine that neither individual *states* nor the international community can stand idly by while large-scale violations of *human rights* occur. According to R2P, states, individually and collectively, have a duty to undertake some form of preventative or ameliorative action. R2P was given its most important formulation in 2001 by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty chaired by Gareth Evans and Mohamed Sahnoun. See also *humanitarian intervention*.

Revisionist – An adjective used to describe *states* intent on challenging the prevailing international *order*. Also used to describe histories written to offer a different political viewpoint.

Revolution – A sudden, usually violent change of government. The great revolutions (England in 1688, America in 1776, France in 1789, Russia in 1917) promised to *emancipate* the people from the tyranny of the so-called ‘old regime’, although on occasion the revolutionaries have brutally *terrorised* the people after seizing *power*.

Revolution in military affairs – The transformation in the way *war* is fought. In the West, especially the US, technological advances have led to changes in the organisation and operation of armed forces, and in the military hardware and weapons systems available to them. Some commentators now speak of a ‘Western way of war’ which depends heavily on taking full advantage of new war technologies to fight wars from the skies or from afar so as to minimise their casualties. The accuracy of so-called ‘smart’ weapons is also claimed to minimise civilian casualties.

Revolutionism – A tradition of thought committed to the *cosmopolitan* ideal of realising the moral and political community of humankind. It often possesses a missionary character and is committed to the *revolutionary* transformation of international order.

Rogue state – A *state* deemed to be a serial violator of *international society's* rules, *norms* and standards of expected behaviour. A highly subjective political term, the rogue state has been used by the US to decry its enemies, but critics of US foreign policy have also labelled the US a rogue state for its perceived violations of international rules and norms.

SEATO (Southeast Asian Treaty Organization) – Designed to serve as a collective defence organisation during the Cold War, it existed from 1955 to 1977. Its eight member states included Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, UK and US.

Secession – Breaking away or separating from an existing *state* to become an independent *sovereign state*.

Secularism – A movement aimed at depriving religion of political effects in the public sphere. Privileging the temporal (earthly) over the transcendental, it seeks to cultivate spheres of social and political life free from references to a deity or the afterlife.

Secularist settlement – A mode of containing and managing religion along *secularist* lines. Rather than construe secularism as a fixed, final achievement, it views it as a historically and politically contingent attempt to determine the relationship between politics and religion.

Security – The condition of being free from harm or threat. Over recent decades scholars and practitioners have increasingly spoken of human security, but traditionally, the *state* is the referent of security, that is, the actor to be made secure. One of the enduring difficulties for states in achieving security, according to *realists*, is that they must deal with the *security dilemma*. But in recent decades attempts have been made to overcome the dilemma by reconceptualising security in terms of *common security*.

Security community – A group of *states* that have integrated their social, economic and political structures to a degree where *war* no longer seems likely among them. The European Union (EU) is the best example.

Security dilemma – A condition in which *states* find themselves because every measure taken to make themselves more secure may simply urge other states to respond in such a manner that all states end up feeling less secure and more anxious. The security dilemma arises because states will never know with absolute certainty what the intentions and capabilities are of other states. *Realists* believe there is nothing that can be done to overcome this dilemma. *Liberals* believe *confidence and security-building measures* may open opportunities for going beyond the security dilemma. Also see *common security*.

Self-determination – The doctrine proclaiming that each *nation* or people should possess independence and govern themselves. It is a key concept of *liberalism* and was advocated by US President Woodrow Wilson in the early twentieth century. It was also an important feature of *anti-colonial* struggles and the *decolonisation* process and has a natural affinity with *nationalism*.

Soft power – Coined by US IR scholar, Joseph S. Nye, to refer to the intangible, non-material and non-military elements of US *power*, including its ideas, ideology, culture, institutions and so on. As a form of power it works through attraction and persuasion rather than coercion ('hard' power).

Sovereign state – The modern form of political society in which authority is concentrated in a single, supreme decision-maker. See *state* and *sovereignty*.

Sovereignty – Denotes a single, supreme political decision-making authority. In early modern Europe the monarch was the sovereign. In modern *states* sovereignty tends to lie with the executive arm of government. A controversial term, sovereignty depends on authority, not *power*. That is, the sovereign claims the right or authority to decide matters of interest to the state, even if it cannot control everything that occurs within its territory.

Sphere of influence – A *geopolitical* term referring to an area (composed of multiple countries) under the informal control of a *superpower*. During the *Cold War* there was a mutual unspoken understanding between the US and USSR about the rights of the superpower to intervene within its sphere of influence.

State – A political society comprising a government that extends its authority and *power* over a territory and its inhabitants (citizens and foreign visitors). Several features have become characteristic of the modern state: *sovereignty*, *nationalism* and the monopoly over the instruments of violence.

State-centric – A view of international relations that places the *state* at the centre. State-centrism underplays the significance of *non-state actors*, believing that they have little impact on issues of international importance.

Status quo – The existing state of affairs.

Superpower – A preeminent *state* whose *power* is vastly greater than other states. The term was first used to describe the US, USSR and UK immediately after World War II. For the duration of the *Cold War* only the US and USSR retained the title.

Terrorism – The use of violence designed to spread fear for political purposes. Sometimes this violence is aimed at so-called 'legitimate' targets such as politicians or military forces; at other times it is aimed at civilians.

Theory – Reflective or abstract thought aimed at an understanding or explanation of social phenomena that goes beyond common sense. It makes us more self-conscious of our assumptions and prejudices. Some theories, such as *positivism*, may aim for universal explanatory laws. Others, such as *critical theories*, tend to be more *hermeneutic* in approach.

Transnational corporation (TNC) – A commercial actor with branches or operations in several countries and interconnected business strategies. Increasingly such corporations see the globe rather than any single national economy as their marketplace. TNCs tend to see the globe as a borderless market, which is why they advocate *globalisation* and *neoliberal* policy ideals. Also see *multinational corporation (MNC)*.

Transnationalism – The process and condition of cross-border interaction. *Globalisation* is often associated with increased levels of transnational or cross-border activity.

Truman Doctrine – US policy commitment to provide military aid to Western European countries in an effort to resist *communism*. Originally offered to Turkey and Greece, the military aid and support was eventually extended to other European countries thought to be under threat of communist subversion. Announced in 1947, it is best thought of as the political-military aspect of the US strategy of *containment* alongside the *Marshall Plan*.

UN (United Nations) – An international organisation whose membership is open to all *sovereign states*. Founded in 1945, its primary purpose is to maintain international *peace* and *security* through *diplomacy* and negotiation where possible. It comprises six principal organs: the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Secretariat, the Trusteeship Council, the Economic and Social Council, and the International Court of Justice, of which the first is the most important politically because it has the authority to pass binding resolutions.

UN Charter – The set of rules that acts as a kind of constitution for the UN. Among other things, the Charter prohibits *war* or the threat of war except in self-defence or when the UN Security Council authorises war. It also prohibits intervention in a *sovereign state's* domestic affairs, unless authorised by the Security Council.

Unilateralism – A term referring to decisions and actions taken by a *state* on its own, without consulting others, not even friends and allies, on matters of international significance. Compare with *bilateralism* and *multilateralism*.

Unipolarity – Refers to an *international system* where one overwhelmingly powerful *state* dominates. Some commentators regard the post-*Cold War* era as unipolar because the US seems unchallengeable as the sole *superpower*. Compare with *bipolarity* and *multipolarity*.

Utilitarianism – A philosophical doctrine, proposed by Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832), that all of our actions should be aimed at producing the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people.

Utopianism – A belief, doctrine or ideology committed to utopia; that is, an imaginary place of ideal social, moral and political conditions. A term often used to disparage *idealism*.

War – Organised political violence or armed conflict. The opposite of *peace*. Conventionally understood, war involves two armed forces, but the term is also used to cover asymmetrical wars where an official armed force confronts an unofficial force of *insurgents*, *guerrillas* or *terrorists*.

Warsaw Pact – A military *alliance* formed in 1955 by Eastern European countries aligned with the USSR during the *Cold War*. It was largely a response to the formation of *NATO*. Its members were: USSR, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania and Albania (until 1961). It dissolved when the Cold War ended.

Washington Consensus – A set of *neoliberal* policy prescriptions that find strong support among the Washington-based *multilateral* economic institutions: the *IMF*, the *World Bank* and the US Treasury.

Weapons of mass destruction (WMD) – A term referring to nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. These three classes of weapon are thought to be more destructive than conventional weapons and likely to inflict greater *collateral damage*. Each is also the subject of an international convention or treaty.

Westphalia, Peace of – Refers to the two treaties (of Osnabrück and Münster) that brought the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) to an end. The Thirty Years' War was essentially fought over the German lands of the Holy Roman Empire to resolve disputes relating to religion and the relative political rights of the Emperor and the emerging territorial *states* under the Empire's jurisdiction. As significant as the year 1648 is, it is overstating things to say, as many scholars do, that the *sovereign state* was born in the treaties of Westphalia.

World Bank – Originally formed to help post-World War II economic reconstruction, the World Bank provides funds and long-term loans at reduced interest rates to developing countries. Part of the *Bretton Woods* system, its policy prescriptions are consistent with the *Washington Consensus*. The Bank has been subject to a good deal of intense criticism for uncritically accepting and promoting *neoliberal* principles.

World Trade Organization (WTO) – Formerly the *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)*, the WTO provides a more permanent institution in which *states* can work towards the reduction and elimination of tariff barriers and in which they can mediate disputes and negotiate a more open, *free trade* system.

Zero-sum game – A situation in which gains made by one actor unavoidably come at the expense of another or others.

Mega Lecture