

DOWNLOAD PDF COOPER, R. N. ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE AND FOREIGN POLICY IN THE SEVENTIES.

Chapter 1 : Economic interdependence explained

Cooper, R. N. () *'Economic interdependence and foreign policy in the seventies J. S. (eds) () Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition.*

A Brief History A central function of the U. A nation is a sovereign country, and as such, possesses the highest authority over its territories. All sovereign states are theoretically equal. Foreign policy determines how America conducts relations with other countries. It is designed to further certain goals. National interest shapes foreign policy and covers a wide range of political, economic, military, ideological, and humanitarian concerns. Protected by the Atlantic Ocean, its major foreign policy, as typified by the Monroe Doctrine, was to limit European attempts of further colonization of the Western Hemisphere. Through the 19th century, America concentrated on creating a nation that spanned the continent, and it avoided foreign entanglements. Once industrialized and more prosperous, it began looking for foreign markets and colonies. By the turn of the 20th century, the United States had become a minor imperial power, fighting a war with Spain for Cuba and the Philippines and annexing Hawaii and several other territories. World War I engaged the United States in European affairs, but after the war, a wave of isolationist feeling swept the country. Refusing membership in the League of Nations, America turned inward once again. Absorbed by the prosperity of the s and the Great Depression of the s, America let its military strength erode. It was not prepared for war when the Japanese struck the U. It took the lead in founding the United Nations. It invested billions of dollars through the Marshall Plan to help strengthen war-devastated European democracies. During the Cold War, the United States and its allies competed with the Soviet Union and its allies militarily, economically, and ideologically. Both sides created massive military forces and huge stockpiles of nuclear weapons. Although the two superpowers never went to war, the policy of containment led the United States into the bloody Korean and Vietnam wars. The Cold War ended when the Soviet Union, economically exhausted from competing with the West, disintegrated. This left the United States the only remaining superpower in a world no longer ruled by the logic of containing the Soviet Union. Through time, various constitutional principles and values have shaped American foreign policy. American foreign policy has favored the self-determination of nations for independence. Based on our commitment to constitutional government, we often favor and support nations that practice democracy. These principles, however, sometimes have conflicted with the goals of national security, economics, or the realities of international politics. In certain cases, America has supported dictatorial governments or intervened to curtail popular political movements. It includes establishing and maintaining diplomatic relations with other countries and international organizations such as the United Nations and the Organization of American States. It includes peacekeeping functions such as working with allies to assure regional and international security and arms-control efforts. It covers a range of international economic issues including trade, travel, and business. It involves foreign aid and disaster relief. As a superpower, the United States has also taken a leadership role in peacemaking around the globe by trying to negotiate treaties and agreements to end regional conflicts. Also, as a world leader, the United States has a longstanding role in trying to address international economic and environmental problems. The president and the executive branch have the most significant role in making foreign policy and are responsible for carrying it out. With the advice and consent of the Senate, the president makes treaties and appoints ambassadors. The president can hold summit meetings with world leaders. As commander in chief of the military, the president can, by executive order, rapidly project U. The secretary of state heads the U. State Department and often represents the president abroad. The State Department carries out foreign policy decisions and helps develop foreign policy for every region of the world. Attached to the State Department is the U. Foreign Service, or diplomatic corps. It sets quotas on immigration, chooses which countries will benefit for most-favored-nation status in trade agreements, votes on foreign aid, and sets the defense budget. But Congress is usually in the role of accepting, changing, or rejecting policies proposed by the president. The Supreme Court plays a

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limited role in foreign policy. It has jurisdiction over cases involving treaties, admiralty and maritime law, and ambassadors and other public ministers. It also is charged with deciding disputes between states and foreign states and their citizens and subjects. At different times, tensions have arisen between the branches in the conduct of foreign policy. Presidents sometimes favor treaties that the Senate does not want to approve. Presidents have committed American armed forces to major conflicts such as the Korean, Vietnam, and Gulf wars without a declaration of war by Congress. The public also plays a role in influencing foreign policy. Advocacy groups for foreign countries often try to influence Congress and the president about issues. Business associations lobby the government about international economic and trade issues. Groups and individuals with strong views on certain foreign policy issues, especially military intervention, often organize protests or other political actions to influence decisions. What is foreign policy? How would you characterize American foreign policy during most of the 19th century? At the beginning of the 20th century? Following World War II? What do you think accounts for the differences? What role do the three branches of government have in creating American foreign policy? What tensions sometimes arise between the branches over foreign policy? Who else influences foreign policy? What principles and values have helped shaped American foreign policy?

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Chapter 2 : Economic interdependence | Revolv

Economic interdependence is a consequence of specialization or the division of labor. Participants in any economic system must be part of a trading network to obtain the products they cannot produce efficiently for themselves.

Updated on 20 November The previous version of this content can be found here. Personal use only; commercial use is strictly prohibited for details see Privacy Policy and Legal Notice. While ambiguity exists over the concept and its usage, interdependence is central for explaining the nature and dynamics of international organization IO , as well as international relations more broadly conceived. Yet, interdependence means more than simple interconnectedness. The concept of interdependence is used in several areas. In general international systems, a system functions as a whole because of the interdependence of its parts. Another important analytical thread in interdependence theorizing has been international integration, where the creation of cooperative transnational linkages for dealing with technical issues could result in a learning process that changed attitudes about cooperation. Finally, with interdependence as a core element, more systematic frameworks for analyzing and explaining the nature and role of transnational relations in world politics can be made. As the world has become more globalized—creating a seemingly endless but not unbroken web of world politics—individuals, groups, and polities have become increasingly linked together as never before on a worldwide scale. Describing and explaining the nature and implications of such dynamic interrelatedness is crucial for understanding world politics, international organization, and global governance. The authors endeavored to build a more rigorous theory for explaining international cooperation in the face of an increasing complex and globalizing world order. As Keohane , p. This article provides an overview of interdependence scholarship and analyzes its potential for serving as a tool for explaining and understanding the dynamics of international organization and the role of international institutions therein. The concept of interdependence has been associated with and integral to several other main areas of international relations scholarship that lie beyond the focus here, including international conflict, arms races, alliances, balance of power, and international political economy. This article will not attempt to deal systematically with these areas; the discussion touches on them only as necessary to explicate the nature, origins, underpinnings, and orientations of interdependence theorizing and analysis as related to international organization and cooperation. The article begins with an overview of differing approaches to and conceptualizations of interdependence and the associated definitions: What is interdependence and why does it matter? Then the nature and role of interdependence thinking in contemporary international relations theorizing is explored, broadly speaking, to provide the context necessary for understanding its use and potential for understanding the dynamics of international organization and global governance. What role has interdependence thinking played in international relations and international organization theorizing? In this regard, the analysis examines how the concept has been used in the study of general international systems, world-systems theory, dependency, international integration, transnational relations, and international institutions and regimes. Differing Approaches and Conceptualizations of Interdependence So what is interdependence and why does it matter? As Milner , pp. She argues that anarchy and interdependence do not stand in opposition to one another as is frequently claimed. To the contrary, anarchy and interdependence are different features of the international system. She discusses two related meanings of interdependence. The second meaning is structural interdependence resulting from the nature of the relationship itself. Baldwin , Rosecrance and Stein , and others have repeated that the concept is not new. Interdependence thinking and theorizing have been at play for a long time and have served as fundamental building blocks in international relations scholarship. Baldwin , p. The boat was leaking and rapidly taking on water. One man rowed frantically as the other desperately bailed. If either stopped, the boat would sink and both would drown. They were equally dependent on one another. Baldwin suggested that the story reveals several elements commonly addressed by most pre-WWII

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interdependency writers: Clearly, these examples show that interdependence is relational and refers to the situation of parties engaged in a system of action. Deutsch defined interdependence as a situation involving interlocking relationships between parties and a related division of labor that affects the satisfaction of valued outcomes. In short, the parties are dependent to some degree on each other. This usage has become standard. Interdependence most simply defined means mutual dependence. They differentiate interdependence from simple interconnectedness by the existence of costly reciprocal effects. They argue that this distinction is crucial for understanding the politics of interdependence. Keohane and Nye distinguish between two dimensions of interdependence for understanding power and interdependence: In a similar vein, Haas, p. In this context, Baldwin, p. One is when an actor is significantly affected or constrained in attaining valued outcomes by someone or something else. This meaning denotes a causal relationship in which an effect is contingent on, conditioned, or caused by something else. The second meaning focuses more on the nature and structure of a relationship, in which one party is subordinate or reliant on another party. It is a relationship of structural inequality and is costly to break. Duvall, pp. Definitions of interdependence, however, are not without contention. For example, Rosecrance et al. The first focused on transaction flows of individuals and resources, and it relates primarily to interconnectedness. The second was more structural and focused on relationships related to changes in factor prices. Tetreault has suggested that only this second measure corresponds to what scholars like Cooper and Keohane and Nye mean when they talk of sensitivity interdependence. Tetreault, p. Each actor is also interdependent with the other participants in the system. In this context, she brought in the vulnerability dimension. Here, she stresses the importance of nation-to-system linkages as opposed to nation-to-nation linkages. As Baldwin reflected, this benchmark has also been noted by Katzenstein and Ruggie. For the terms to be comparable, we need to use a different term: Both increase or decline over time. He further clarified that interdependence is not just economic, but also strategic, environmental, and ideational. Clearly, ambiguity exists over the concept and its usage. What is equally clear, however, is that the concept is central for explaining the nature and dynamics of international organization, as well as international relations more broadly conceived. Broadly speaking, this concept has been used in international relations theorizing to provide the context necessary for understanding its use and potential for understanding the dynamics of international organization and global governance. Specifically, the analysis examines the use of the concept in the study of general international systems, world-systems theory, dependency, international integration, and transnational relations. Interdependence in International Relations Theory As reflected by Baldwin, interdependence thinking has a long history in contemporary international relations scholarship. Writing in the first half of the 19th century, for example, Karl Marx endeavored to create a scientific theory of the nature and evolution of human social organization and world order. In the mid-19th century and the debates among purported schools of thought in international relations, distinctive general tendencies within these various traditions can be identified regarding why systems change, but all are based on interdependence logic. World-system theory and dependency theory tend to explain change or lack thereof as a function of the hierarchical structure of the system status difference among actors therein. In many respects, E. Carr initiated the interwar-time context. To develop a comprehensive image of international relations, he focused on interdependence related to relative power relationships among major powers in the Westphalian interstate order. He distinguished power into three distinct elements: The struggle to fulfill power-related objectives creates an interactive framework in which states cause conflict while attempting to achieve additional power. In this context, the struggle for power among states may cause change at the systemic level, which can serve as a stressor for conflict among them. Carr did not believe in absolutist assumptions. Historical conditions and relative positions, actual and perceived, among state actors conditioned such systemic change. The struggle for power in the historical European context had led to an interdependent balance of power structural configuration. The balance of power system is based on the twin goals of stability and preservation. It is also based on the concept of equilibrium. The objective then becomes reducing vulnerability. Thus, for Morgenthau, coping with interdependence can be an underlying cause of conflict. Writing several decades

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later, Bull suggested that endeavoring to coping with interdependence can also be an underlying cause of cooperation. Bull argued that, while the international system is anarchical, it is subject to principles of interdependence. The members of the system form a society with common rules and institutions, providing order in the international arena. These rules and institutions are based on basic goals of the society of states, including a preservation of the system and society of states; b maintaining the sovereignty of states; c preserving peace; and d general goals of social life Bull, , pp. International society or the society of states exists when a group of states perceive themselves bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another and work together in common institutions. He juxtaposed this with interconnectedness in the international system, which is, more simply, when two or more states have contact and dealings with each other. Common rules and institutions serve to limit conflict among states. These include conceptions of justice, balance of power, international law, diplomacy, and great powers. On the question of the relationship between change and conflict, the approach is very incrementalist. In this regard, the major powers are instrumental. They can contribute to maintaining order by preserving the balance of power, avoiding and controlling crises, limiting war, unilaterally exercising local preponderance, agreeing to establish spheres of influence, and agreeing to create Great Power concerts. Interdependence and General International Systems Theory It is instructive to begin an exploration of interdependence thinking in international relations theorizing by reflecting on its usage in general international systems theory. Parsons , and Kaplan , were pioneers in bringing systems logic to the study of international relations. As Morse has succinctly clarified, a system functions as a whole because of the interdependence of its parts. Interaction among the parts is shaped by the constraints and parameters of system structure.

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Chapter 3 : Economic interdependence - Wikipedia

Cooper, R. N. *The Economics of Interdependence: Economic Policy in the Atlantic "Economic Interdependence and Foreign Policy in the Seventies."*

London, Reading through any history book we would find ample evidence to show that economic considerations have always been prominent in the foreign policy agenda of states. Leaving aside, for the moment, any other factors, most states, either because of lack of some of the resources necessary for economic activity, or because it may be more advantageous to trade in order to satisfy the economic needs and wants of their populations, engage in international trade and are both importers and exporters of investment funds. Since the world the non-communist world until the present decade has witnessed a drive towards the liberalisation of international trade, and to what has become known as globalisation, meaning a free flow of investment funds and production facilities across national borders. Associated to these movements there has been an increasing degree of economic interdependence between states, the creation of intergovernmental organisations with the aim of regulating international economic activity, and the growing importance of transnational actors, especially transnational corporations TNCs , all of which, as we shall see below, affect the internal and external policies of states. The literature on International Political Economy IPE usually differentiates between two kinds of economic links between states: In comparing the degree of dependence of these countries, and the different developmental paths they have followed, it is arguable whether they can still all be grouped together, as shown by, for example, the experience of the Newly Industrialised Countries NICs of South East Asia, some of the economies of Latin America and the Arab oil-producing countries. Interdependency, on the other hand, refers to the economic links between equally developed economies, the advanced industrialised economies of the West, and it implies mutual dependency and a high degree of economic integration. In examining the ways in which international economic links affect the foreign policy choices of state governments, I shall restrict the analysis to interdependent countries, as defined above, and shall only refer to dependent countries in so far as they may affect the behaviour of the former or because of their position in the global economy. Three further points require clarification, the first concerns the distinction between foreign and domestic policies. As will be evident from the body of this paper, it is difficult, if not impossible, to separate one from the other, especially as regard to economic policies. Whatever other variables may be at work, the choice of a policy by government A may have implications for the domestic policies of government B ; in turn, domestic pressure on government B might lead it to choose a policy that will affect the domestic policies of government A. The second concerns the question of choice. To talk about choice implies the ability to select freely, and after consideration, to decide on a given course of action. It is my contention that economic interdependence places certain constraints on the ability of states to choose or to determine policies, and that, therefore, it would be appropriate to extend the examination to cover this aspect of interdependency. The third has to do with the direction of cause and effect, in a complex interdependent world where economic, political, and security considerations are closely linked, it would also be appropriate to examine how foreign policy choices affect economic links, and also how the distribution of power or influence between different actors affect those choices -as Keohane and Nye 1 have pointed out: It is asymmetries in dependence that are most likely to provide sources of influence for actors in their dealings with one another. Interdependence, then, is not only characterised by co-operation, but also by conflict and bargaining, and to complicate the matter further, all these characteristics may overlap simultaneously. A look at the origins of the post-war regulatory framework of the world economy will give an idea of the complex relationship and linkage between different issues. Another reason, and one more pertinent to our present analysis, was that the US considered the establishment of economic links as a very important part of their role as the new world superpower and a vital ingredient of their policy of containment in the context of the Cold War. Having opted for the former, the very special kind of American nationalism that S. In Europe, the US

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provided 20 billion dollars of aid under the Marshall Plan and also, not only encouraged an European initiative for the creation of what was later to become the EEC in the believe that close economic integration would prevent the conflicts that sparked WWII, but also exerted pressure for the establishment of a parallel European Defence Community EDC which, under the umbrella of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation NATO , it viewed as the European pillar of an Atlantic Alliance united by common goals and interests. S involvement was obviously of a different kind, but involved a similar linkage between economic and security matters that still underpin the relationship between the two countries today. The dominant position of the U. S in the non-communist world economy was pervasive. The system of fixed exchange rates introduced at Bretton Woods meant that all currencies had to maintain a fixed parity with the US Dollar which was pegged to a gold standard; devaluation of a currency was only allowed under exceptional circumstances and then only provided the country in question introduced deflationary measures, agreed by the IMF, that in most cases would have the effect of increasing the level of unemployment. Added to this was its role as central banker to the world, by supplying the necessary US Dollar liquidity to conduct international trade. S was to become the victim of its own success. The massive amounts of US Dollars injected into the economies of Western Europe and Japan had enabled them not only to rebuild their economies but to position themselves as direct competitors of the U. This development, coupled with US military spending in the context of the Cold War, especially as the result of the intervention in Vietnam, resulted in decreasing terms of trade and an overvaluation of the US Dollar, which led to the U. S abandonment of the gold standard and the system of fixed exchange rates in August, followed by a further devaluation in February, The unilateral action of the U. Thus, the increased economic interdependence that had been fostered between the countries of the non-communist world since had also created the conditions for new international conflicts. An understandable outcome if we consider that despite all the talk about free trade, most states try to reap the gains that, they claim, derive from it whilst at the same time protecting their domestic markets under pressure from their national producers and fearful of the short-term consequences of liberalisation in the form of the possible collapse of uncompetitive industries and a rise in unemployment. But, what is important to note is that despite the occasional bouts of protectionism, on the whole, these conflicts would be discussed, and solutions sought, within the framework of international institutions and common international regimes, rather than by the resort to force. This can be seen by referring to the GATT negotiation rounds, which have been held amid bitter disputes between the US, Europe and Japan over trade deficits, access to markets and accusations of dumping. In an area of great strategic importance for the U. S, not only military but also economic, with a question mark over the aspirations of China and a rogue North Korea, how far is the U. S prepared to go in its threat of trade sanctions against Japan, its main ally in the region? I now turn to the asymmetries in dependence and to what Keohane and Nye 4 have identified as two dimensions of interdependence: This fact alone made Europe think very hard about their foreign policy priorities and led to disagreements with the US over its policy in the Middle East. Not only did some European countries deny the US the use of its bases for the transport of supplies to Israel, they also openly sided with the Arab cause and that of the Palestine Liberation Organisation PLO and declined an invitation by the US to develop an action programme for the industrialised oil consuming countries. The crisis had two further implications, first, it had upset the perceived pattern of international relations, a group of primary resource producers that up until then had been considered as part of the LDCs had united and were using oil as a diplomatic weapon or to put it another way, were exploiting economic links for political purposes and further, by means of such leverage, had managed to influence the foreign policies of most of the Western world. The immediate effect was an upset to the balance of payments of oil importing countries that produced deficits and a consequent reduction in economic activity and recession. The oil crisis was also instrumental in changing the role of the IMF as the main provider of funds to correct international payment imbalances, which had already been questioned in when the system of fixed exchange rates was abandoned. The liberalisation of the world economy since has had the effect at least in developed countries of virtually removing borders between states so far as trade and investment flows especially indirect or portfolio

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investments are concerned. The result has been two-fold, on the one hand, it could be argued that there has been an improvement in standards of living as a consequence of increased output, trade and competition; on the other, it has fostered the proliferation of transnational actors in the form of transnational and multinational corporations, whose prime objective is the maximisation of profit sometimes short-term profit and whose allegiance is not to any one state, but to their own interests. These corporations may have their own foreign policy agenda, which might not always coincide with that of their home or host state, if indeed they actually have a home state. Stopford 5 has pointed out as regard to the theory of competitive advantage: Whilst it is true to say that states have had to give up a certain amount of sovereignty or rather autonomy as regards to domestic economic policy, in order to co-operate in the management of the global economy, and in the unique case of the European Union to pool sovereignty into a supranational organisation, this has been done voluntarily, and is quite different from the impingement on sovereignty that results from the actions of TNCs. At this point I shall make a distinction between those TNCs involved in production and those involved in the management of money. Since the former engage in direct foreign investment with the setting-up of manufacturing facilities and large outlays of funds, they have to work within the framework of rules set by states if only to protect their investments, although even this cannot always be assumed in a global economy where most factors of production are mobile and where states compete with one another to offer companies inducements that can make the closing of production facilities in one country and the opening of a similar one in another a relatively painless financial exercise for the company. In addition, funds can easily be placed in off-shore tax-free centres, out of reach of the regulatory and fiscal control of states. The events of September when a concerted speculative attack on some of the currencies of the Exchange Rate Mechanism ERM of the EEC forced some countries to withdraw their currencies from the system and others to devalue is a case in point. The activities of these transnational actors, therefore, affect values of currencies, balance of payments, interest rates and fiscal policy, and by so doing, impose constraints on the ability of governments to determine policy. Granted that it would be conceptually possible for governments to collectively impose limits on the activities of TNCs, since they themselves have created the environment in which they operate, and there are calls from some quarters that this should be done, but it is an issue which merits more than this last line of my paper. S Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition Boston, Primacy or World Order: S demands regarding the market for mobile communications, which had been the cause of the current dispute, and the immediate threat of trade sanctions has been removed. Nevertheless, the wider issue of the total trade imbalance remains and is a continuing cause of friction.

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Chapter 4 : Global Connections . U.S. Foreign Policy | PBS

Cooper () viewed interdependence from an economic point of view where he likened economic interdependence to the dollar value of economic transactions among regions or countries, either in absolute terms or relative to their total transactions.

Brown Journal of World Affairs 10 1 , Al-Maqrizi Mamluk Economics: University of Utah Press. American Political Science Review 51 3 , Aristotle The Politics, trans. Mershon International Studies Review 38 2 , English Historical Review 6 24 , Feminist Economics 6 3 , Analytics and Policy Implications. Oxford Economic Papers 46 3 , Journal of International Economics 18 1 2 , 83 A Critique of Neo-Smithian Marxism. New Left Review July August , 25 Understanding our Past and Anticipating our Future. Journal of European Public Policy 5 1 , 1 University of California Press. Lettres, Instructions et Memoires de Colbert, Vol. The version cited here was published in and was translated by R. Originally published , and republished in a collection in again in French. World Politics 24 2 , Prospects for an Alternative World Order. Review of International Studies 25 1 , 3 International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience. American Economic Review 40 2 , 6. International Studies Review 3 1 , 53 Department of State Bulletin 38 , 6. Review of Political Economy 3 4 , A New Approach to International Relations, 1st edn. Current Anthropology 45 3 , Political Economy in the Asian Age. Five Hundred Years or Five Thousand? University of Chicago Press. Journal of Monetary Economics 17 1 , 37 Holt, Rinehart and Winston, pp. Mutualism and a Progressive Market Strategy. Social Philosophy and Policy 20 1 , Understanding the International Economic Order. American Political Science Review 80 1 , Selected Writings , ed. International Organization 42 3 , Review of International Political Economy 14 4 , Journal of Political Economy 78 4, Part 2: Functionalism and International Organization. International Organization 29 3, International Responses to Technology , World Politics 27 2 , Issue-Linkage and International Regimes. World Politics 32 3 , Communication to the House of Representatives. In Senate Document [No. George Allen and Unwin. Lessons from the Nineteenth Century. International Studies Quarterly 46 3 , Quarterly Journal of Economics 82 1 , 1 Human Action Homepage website At <http://insightsfromdoctrinalhistory.com>. Ibn Khaldun The Muqqadimmah: An Introduction to History, trans F. Kautilya Arthashastra, translated by Shamastry. International Organization 44 1 , 83 Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy. International Organization 28 4, Canada and the United States: Transnational and Transgovernmental Relations , World Politics in Transition. Harcourt, Brace, and Howe. Quarterly Journal of Economics 51 2 , Metaphilosophy 36 1 , 68 Regimes as Intervening Variables. International Organization 36 2 , Empirical Studies of Strategic Trade Policy. University of Chicago Press, pp. New Left Review 67, 19 Race, Gender, and Culture in our Postcolonial Order. Organizational Factors in Political Life. American Political Science Review 78 3 , International Organization 52 4, International Organization at Fifty: Exploration and Contestation in the Study of World Politics , The Portable Karl Marx. The Vortex of Knowledge and Ideology. Modernization, Interdependence, and Externalization. World Politics 22 3 , The Evolution of Norms in International Society. International Organization 44 4 , International Organization 41 3 , University of South Carolina Press. Quarterly Journal of Economics 49 3 , Theoretical Foundations for the Social Sciences, abridged edn. State University of New York Press. New Political Economy 10 4 , The Political and Economic Origins of our Time. American Political Science Review 85 4 , Lessons from Inductive Analysis. International Organization 36 2, International Regimes , Originally published ; first English edition , reproduced Library of Economics and Liberty. Learning from a Decade of Reform. Journal of Economic Literature 44 4 , International Studies Quarterly 12 1 , 5. World Politics 26 1 , 1 In Basic Political Writings:

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Chapter 5 : International Political Economy Trends | World Encyclopedia of Law

The United Nations and the international system Cooper, R.N. *Economic interdependence and foreign policy in the seventies* Brown, N. *Underdevelopment as a threat to world peace* Seynes, P. *de. Prospects for a future whole world.*

There has been a long debate between the Modernist school and the Traditional school especially as regards the role of states in international politics. While the first school feels that states are eroding as political units, the latter stresses the centrality of states in international politics. Also, while the first school emphasizes process, the second lay their premises on structure. The structure-process debate was blended together in the theory of Interdependence. The theory has been applied by different scholars in International Political Economy, biological science, social and educational psychology among other fields. The theory has its variance ranging from the theory of social interdependence; economic interdependence; ecological interdependence; complex interdependence and so on. This paper is however concerned with economic interdependence and most especially complex interdependence. In doing this, the paper provides general introduction, conceptual issues, the 1 interdependence theory, an application of the theory in international politics, the interdependence debate and a conclusion. It is therefore very important to explicate the concept of interdependence, complex interdependence and related concepts like sensitivity and vulnerability. Tracing the history of works on interdependence, Baldwin commented that interdependence has been in use for decades before the Second World War as against conception that interdependence is a post-world wars terminology and idea. He cited scholars like Norman Angel Francis Delaisi , Ramsay Muir , and how they contributed to the advancement of the concept. Cooper viewed interdependence from an economic point of view where he likened economic interdependence to the dollar value of economic transactions among regions or countries, either in absolute terms or relative to their total transactions. Interdependence can also be viewed as the sensitivity of economic behavior in one country to development or policies originating outside its own borders Marina In his own contribution, Deutch sees interdependence as the interlocking relationship arising from the division of labour between highly specialized political units, which in concrete terms, refers to relations among states. All these points go to tell us that the issue of interdependence is a natural phenomenon and has its advocacy deeply rooted in the works of ancient scholars. Complex interdependence sees interdependence from a cost benefit perspective. It refers to situations characterized by reciprocal effects among countries or among actors in different countries Keohane and Nye that is, the costly effect of interaction among counties or what Economists refers to as opportunity cost. In explaining complex interdependence the twin term of sensitivity and vulnerability must be given due considerations. Sensitivity implies the reaction to change in a policy framework on a country. That is, as a result of the interconnectedness among countries; each policy taken by one country has a reciprocal effect on another country. Vulnerability, on the other hand emphasize that in the face of policy change that might make one state to be affected, are there available alternatives for states to follow and to what cost. These concepts will guide us in making a concrete presentation and analysis of interdependence theory. In order to fully explicate the model, the theory had to reject Realist assumption on certain issues as not sacrosanct thereby somewhat tilting their proposition towards liberalism. However, the theory does not hold claim to be an open rejection of realism but rather, the need to combine both Realism which stresses structure with Liberalism which stresses process. Thus, interdependence sees international system as a unit of interlocking interconnected entities which uses bargaining rather than force to push home their interest. Today the greatest problem to America is not some foreign enemy, it is the possibility that we will crawl into a shell and forget the fundamental lesson of the century, which is that problems abroad, if left unattended will all too often come home to America in Rourke The quotation explains a situation whereby states are interwoven so much so that what affects one state invariably affects another state or group of states. Therefore, states will increasingly become more concerned with the well-being of citizens of other states Interdependence, also presupposes that only where there are reciprocal asymmetric or symmetric costly

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effects of transactions that is where and when we can talk of interdependence. The story by Norman about two men in a boat can be used to illustrate this point. The boat was leaky, the sea heavy and the shore a long way off. It took all the efforts of the one man to row and of the other to bail. If either had seized, both would have drowned. At one point the rower threatened the bailer that if he did not bail with more energy, he would throw him overboard, to which the bailer made the obvious reply that if he did; he the rower would certainly drown also. And as the rower was really dependent upon the bailer and the bailer upon the rower, neither could use force against the other. The merit of this story to understanding the nature of interdependence is that the degree of interdependence varies inversely with the effectiveness of force. Other salient lessons from the story is that interdependence points us to division of labour, exchange, mutual benefits, dependence on other parties and very importantly that force is usually not the solution. Another powerful argument of interdependence is that mutual dependence is a necessary reality of life. Rappard emphasized this where he cites the First World War in which the costs of breaking off trade were so high that two states on opposite sides carried on some trade with each other. That is to say interdependence is not all positive, whereby states in war would prefer to continue the war relationship rather than incur the costs surrendering, defeat, mutual annihilation of ending that relationship. A clearer picture of this is noticeable during the cold war whereby the United States and the USSR still continued trading despite the ideological antagonism and near war relationship between the two countries Rourke, Keohane and Nye. This is because, channels of communications such as between governmental elites as well as formal foreign office arrangement; transnational organization, Non-Governmental elites, Non-Governmental Organizations, Multinational Corporations, Advocacy Groups and so on has continued to play increasing roles in world politics. There has been the increasing rise in groups whose membership cut across boundaries with the objectives of meeting human needs around the world like the Human Rights Watch. Consequently, states become increasingly uninterested in its usage. The decline in the use of military force can also be likened to the fact that there is no guarantee that military means will be more effective than economic ones to achieve a certain goal, for example, US invasion of Vietnam, Russia invasion of Afghanistan, Italy invasion of Ethiopia. Among industrialized countries, the perceived margin of safety has widened; fears of attack in general have declined and fears of attacks by one another are virtually nonexistent. In many instances, the predominance of force in interstate relations is fading out. Keohane and Nye enumerated four reasons states will not resort to the use of military force with another state. To explicate the relevance of a variety of issues and not necessarily military taking the center stage, a former United States Secretary of States in the 70s, Henry Kissinger in Keohane and Nye, provided insights into this when he said: Progress in dealing with the traditional agenda is no longer enough. A new and unprecedented kind of issue has emerged. The problems of energy, resources, environment, pollution, the uses of space and the seas now rank with questions of military security. Ideology and territorial rivalry have traditionally made up the diplomatic agenda. In addendum to what Kissinger enumerated above, Rourke, Mansbach and Rifferty, Little and Smith, argued that in the years after the cold war, issues of human rights, economic security, unemployment, immigration, international terrorism, AIDS, identity issues have become central agenda for states. These set of governing arrangement is what is referred to as international regime. Rules in world politics are not coherent and there exist no overarching authority Rourke, Mansbach and Rifferty, as a result of this absence of well-ordered rules in world politics, there is a need to integrate structure with process. International regime is very important in our interdependent world because we continue to see how it affects the behavior of states and how governmental actions influences patterns of interdependence. International regime help creates procedures, institutions or rules for certain kinds of activity, regulates government actions and control transnational as well as interstate relations. In a nutshell, international institutions are very important because they act as free ground for interstate relations and an avenue to reach common beneficial ground. Insofar as international institutions are important, international regime becomes even more central. The peculiar margin of safety has widened among them and fears of attacks by one another are virtually non-existent. However, after the cold war, the security-military connotation which the National Security

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carried could no longer explain economic challenges facing the world. Although, there exist no doubt as to the importance of military power but because of the rising cost of using military force security dilemma, fear of nuclear possession, and that it is not a guarantee for achieving all other kinds of goals, states find it increasingly costly to use. For example, it was much easier for Dwight Eisenhower to take military actions in Iran, Guatemala and Lebanon. This points us to the reasons why democracies no longer go to war among themselves because no one has complete information as to the capability of the other thereby creating a security dilemma. The interdependence of the world through the lens of this theory can also help us explain the growth in power and number of international organizations using what is referred to as international regime as the rule of the game. These international regimes which are body of rules, procedure, and norms agreed by states to follow includes arms control, foreign trade, disarmament, environmental and wide life preservation, nuclear non-proliferation etc. For example in the s, Jacques Delors used his authority as head of the European Commission to structure the agenda of the commission leading to the single European Act and the Maastricht treaty. These international norms could pressure states to even abandon position she holds closely; for example, in , Japan had to abandon her position on the use of giant net to fish in international waters around her as a result of international cry for her to stop due to the loss of life of many aquatic animals in the process. Also importantly, in , 11 the international campaign to ban landmines won the Nobel Peace Prize for its efforts in making states to write, sign and ratify the treaty banning the use of landmines. In cases of natural disaster, we have come to see the increasing power of aid groups like Red Cross and how states have come to rely on international organizations. The growing power of groups such as Amnesty International in helping to influence governmental decisions on Human Rights is indicative of the power of international organizations. The increasing role of Multinational Corporations in international decision making cannot be overlooked. The notion that territoriality and National Interest of state which is defined in terms of power Morgenthau, will always be at the top of the hierarchy of issues, for state has lost its essence since the end of the Cold War. From the foreign policy standpoint, a strict dichotomy between what constitutes domestic policy and international policy is seen to overlap. Sensitivity to policies from other nations can be clearly illustrated using the rise in the price of crude oil in the s. As a result of the oil boom in the s, oil exporting countries increased 12 international price of crude oil in which countries in the West were seriously affected. As a result of American reliance on oil from Oil producing Countries and the effect the rise in the price had on the American economy, Henry Kissinger was reported to have threatened OPEC if its strangulates the industrialized world in any way. Also, given the constraints on policy created by the rules of IMF, European countries were sensitive to changes in American monetary policy and the United States was sensitive to European decisions regarding whether or not to demand the conversion of dollars into gold Keohane and Nye, On the issue of vulnerability, in the rise of petroleum price abroad in the s, United States was less vulnerable as compared to Japan as a result of the fact that a smaller proportion of American consumption was accounted for by imports as against Japan. Therefore America could recover faster from the shock of such policy. The Interdependence Debate This section presents a critique of the interdependence theory as argued by scholars as well as response to some of the fundamental questions raised. Realist scholars have criticized international institutions for being fundamentally insignificant since states wield the only real power in world politics. The critics points to the weakness of the League of Nations and the United Nations to achieve collective security against aggression by great powers and also points to the dominant role of major contributors in international economic organizations. Hence, any effect of these institutions is attributed to the efforts of the great contributors. The interdependence theorist however countered that such criticism are overstated because the policies of international organizations will not always be the same with the unilateral policies of states. For example, during the US-Soviet arm race, both sides focused on their relative positions, that is, each side was concerned with who was ahead or who was threatening more, rather than on their own levels of armament. It should be noted that cost-benefit relationship is easier to determine in bilateral relations but not multilateral ones. The international institutions had been greatly criticized for their lack of internal democracy. For

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instance, International Monetary Fund IMF negotiate with potential borrowers in secrets, likewise, key negotiators in World Trade Organizations are made in closed sessions, the Security Council of the UN comprises of just five countries whose decisions are more important than that of the over countries put together. As a result of interdependence combine with the fact that economically weak nations cannot bargain equally with nations whose economy are stronger, the sovereignty of poor nations such as in Africa are increasingly questions due largely to their reliance on grants form wealthy countries. This situation also creates increasing agreement by states to abide by international regime like that of human rights, child rights, nuclear non-proliferation, and arm control among others. Whether states will fade out and transfer all its sovereignty to international organizations just like a social contract is something the future will help us to unravel. But the important thing for us now is that with the borderless form, in which the world is becoming, the rule of the game for state might soon be determined externally and the concept of sovereignty might become even more abstract. A Interdependence and Power: F et al International Economics and International Politics: Political Community at the International Level: War, Peace and International Relations: Washington, Foreign Policy, spring Ed. O and Nye J. E The Language of Political Inquiry:

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Chapter 6 : Neoliberalism (international relations) - Wikipedia

Cooper, R.N. () *Economic Interdependence and Foreign Policy in the Seventies. World Politics* 24 (2),

Marine, part of a multinational peacekeeping force, walks by a group of women in Beirut, Lebanon. Throughout the 20th century, strategic interests, including a longstanding competition with the Soviet Union, have provoked a variety of U. American economic interests -- particularly in assuring access to Middle Eastern oil -- have long motivated presidents and lawmakers to intervene in the region. In addition, strong cultural ties bind American Jews, Arab Americans, Iranian Americans, and Turkish Americans, among others, to the area, and these interest groups seek to make their voices heard in the U. Entering the Middle East For most of the 20th century and now into the 21st, the U. In the Middle East, the U. The League soon handed down a series of mandates laying out the colonial boundaries of the Middle East in the territories of the now-defunct Ottoman Empire. After the war, the U. All wanted complete independence, but if that was impossible, they hoped for supervision by the U. It acted to support what it saw as its national interests, the most important being fighting the Communists during the Cold War , ensuring a steady supply of oil, and making sure that no single power dominated the region. More recently, it added fighting terrorism. After Washington turned down his request for assistance to build the Aswan High Dam , Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal in to pay for the dam construction. Egyptian president Anwar Sadat and U. He tried to institute many Western social reforms by decree, and his secret police, SAVAK , viciously silenced opposition voices. Embassy in Tehran, where 53 hostages were held for more than a year. His known desire to develop weapons of mass destruction is also a concern. Many, including nearly 75, European Jews escaping persecution from Nazi Germany, found refuge there. But its creation came at a price. In addition to the many Jews who died struggling to create the new state, many Arabs were killed -- and hundreds of thousands of Arabs were either displaced by Jewish settlers from areas where they had been living or became unwilling citizens of Israel. At a time when Israeli soldiers are regarded by many Arabs as agents of an oppressive army of occupation, unconditional U. These Arab allies argue that American principles like human rights and freedom of the press are not promoted in Israel in the same way that Americans push for reform elsewhere. Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin, U. Notable achievements include the Camp David meeting that negotiated peace between Egypt and Israel and the Oslo interim peace agreement that established a framework for negotiating peace between the Israelis and Palestinians and set in motion the process for achieving a Palestinian state. Supporters of the Palestinians, however, believe that the U. After all, because much of the support to Israel is in the form of American military equipment, the American economy and American jobs are tied to a continually upgrading Israeli army. Some Palestinians argue that the United States is too committed in its support for Israel to make unbiased decisions and is unwilling to pressure the Israelis to negotiate a fair peace. Promoting stability or democracy? State Department proclamations that American interests lie in promoting the creation of democratic governments around the world, U. During the Cold War with the Soviet Union, many key policymakers saw a stable ally -- dictatorial or not -- as far preferable to an unstable regime that might side with the Soviets. Even after the collapse of the Soviet Union, U. Marine barracks in Beirut, Lebanon, where American servicemen were killed in April Two hundred forty-one Marines were killed when their barracks was hit by a suicide truck-bomb in October , prompting a U. After a discotheque bombing in West Berlin was traced to Libya, the U. The most significant direct U. The Gulf War won the U. A member of the U. Air Force hands out candy to Kurdish children in a village in northern Iraq, August But little support materialized when the uprising actually got under way, and Iraqi retaliation against both rebelling groups was harsh. The OPEC oil boycott and the invasion of Kuwait in are both dramatic examples of how regional forces have challenged U. The boycott was particularly powerful; at the time, Arab nations supplied 37 percent of the oil consumed by the noncommunist world. To this day, ensuring the supply of oil from the region factors heavily in the development of U.

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Chapter 7 : Economic Links | DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Interdependence Interdependence in International Organization and Global Governance International Integration. Interdependence thinking is part of international integration theories, including: mutual dependence, patterned relationships, interlocking relationships and division of labor.

Economic interdependence Save Economic interdependence is a consequence of specialization or the division of labor. The participants in any economic system must be part of a trading network to obtain the products they cannot produce efficiently for themselves. Any change in such a network affects other participants, so that the demands for various products and the incomes of the participants are interdependent. Cournot wrote in *Mathematical Researches into the theory of Wealth* " An increase in the income of the producers of commodity A will affect the demand for commodities B, C, etc. The economic interdependence of nations has been studied extensively by professors all around the world. Such an international economic interaction is commonly thought of as a dollar value of the transaction of goods and services between nations Cooper ,[2] several academics have challenged this fundamental paradigm over time. Baldwin suggests that economic interdependence may be conceived as the opportunity costs incurred from potential exit costs that incur as a result of breaking existing economic ties between nations. However, empirical evidence to support the latter definition is a lot harder to find, given its ambiguity Baldwin. The below documents some of the approaches that have been adopted to measure the degree of economic interdependence. Hierarchical Network Approach This approach is based on the precept that globalisation increases the integration and interdependence between the economy of different countries. The Hierarchical Network Approach is used to measure economic interdependence by analysing growth clusters and cross-country liaison, and business cycle synchronisations. The relationship between interdependence and business cycles is calculated by the distance correlation matrices over a period of 10 years. The combination of results from the data presents the economic interdependence of countries over time. By this measure, trends from the data has shown that the degree of world economic interdependence is growing due to globalisation. The geopolitical approach is based on both vertical and horizontal interdependence. Vertical interdependence measures how a change in the price of a good in Country X will affect Country Y or how changes in price in State A will affect State B , whilst horizontal interdependence calculates the degree of bilateral trade, transactions and investment involved between both countries. Vertical interdependence without horizontal may arise due to other factors such as changes in worldwide economic forces. For instance, consider the case of trade and the flow of factors among Arab states which is typically very limited ; whilst we observe parallel movements in factor prices, this may just be due to the effect of global market forces that affect all economies in the same fashion. A key challenge that is faced is the need for a valid method to measure exit costs and interdependence, whilst maintaining a systematic approach with many countries involved a large-n analysis. Crescenzi addresses this by interacting bilateral price elasticity data with trade activity data, to represent both market structure and the intensity of potential economic exit costs. Given these two components, Crescenzi furthers his study by explaining the relationship between economic interdependence and its association with political conflict. Researches into the *Mathematical Theory of Wealth*. Translated by Nathaniel Bacon

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Chapter 8 : Interdependence | World Encyclopedia of Law

Economic Interdependence and Foreign Policy in the Seventies. Cooper Cooper, R. N. Economic Interdependence and Foreign Policy in the Seventies.

Economic interdependence explained Economic interdependence is a consequence of specialization or the division of labor. The participants in any economic system must be part of a trading network to obtain the products they cannot produce efficiently for themselves. Any change in such a network affects other participants, so that the demands for various products and the incomes of the participants are interdependent. Cournot wrote in *Mathematical Researches into the theory of Wealth* " An increase in the income of the producers of commodity A will affect the demand for commodities B, C, etc. The economic interdependence of nations has been studied extensively by professors all around the world. Such an international economic interaction is commonly thought of as a dollar value of the transaction of goods and services between nations Cooper , [2] several academics have challenged this fundamental paradigm over time. Baldwin suggests that economic interdependence may be conceived as the opportunity cost s incurred from potential exit costs that incur as a result of breaking existing economic ties between nations. However, empirical evidence to support the latter definition is a lot harder to find, given its ambiguity Baldwin. The below documents some of the approaches that have been adopted to measure the degree of economic interdependence. Hierarchical Network Approach This approach is based on the precept that globalisation increases the integration and interdependence between the economy of different countries. The Hierarchical Network Approach is used to measure economic interdependence by analysing growth clusters and cross-country liaison, and business cycle synchronisations. The relationship between interdependence and business cycles is calculated by the distance correlation matrices over a period of 10 years. The combination of results from the data presents the economic interdependence of countries over time. By this measure, trends from the data has shown that the degree of world economic interdependence is growing due to globalisation. The geopolitical approach is based on both vertical and horizontal interdependence. Vertical interdependence measures how a change in the price of a good in Country X will affect Country Y or how changes in price in State A will affect State B , whilst horizontal interdependence calculates the degree of bilateral trade, transactions and investment involved between both countries. Vertical interdependence without horizontal may arise due to other factors such as changes in worldwide economic forces. For instance, consider the case of trade and the flow of factors among Arab states which is typically very limited ; whilst we observe parallel movements in factor prices, this may just be due to the effect of global market forces that affect all economies in the same fashion. A key challenge that is faced is the need for a valid method to measure exit costs and interdependence, whilst maintaining a systematic approach with many countries involved a large-n analysis. Crescenzi addresses this by interacting bilateral price elasticity data with trade activity data, to represent both market structure and the intensity of potential economic exit costs. Given these two components, Crescenzi furthers his study by explaining the relationship between economic interdependence and its association with political conflict. Researches into the *Mathematical Theory of Wealth. Measuring Global Economic Interdependence: A Hierarchical Network Approach. Hierarchical structure in financial markets. The European Physical Journal B. Geopolitics and International Boundaries. Economic Interdependence and Conflict in World Politics. University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Globalization, Interdependence and Sustainability. In Introduction to Sustainable Development* " Volume 1. A Survey of Measurements of Interdependence. Claremont Institute for Economic Policy Studies. It uses material from the Wikipedia article " Economic interdependence ". Except where otherwise indicated, Everything.

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Chapter 9 : Complex interdependence - Wikipedia

[Foreign Policy and Interdependence, p. 51, and "Interdependence in World Affairs," pp.] Actually, Muir's argument is that the abolition of war is a requisite for survival in an interdependent world in the sense that an interdependent world will be very unpleasant unless war is abolished.

Interdependence in International Organization and Global Governance International Integration Interdependence thinking is part of international integration theories, including: Resources Further Reading Aldrich, H. Annual Review of Sociology, 2, 79â€” Functionalism and integration as approaches to international organizations. International Social Science Journal, 29 1 , 73â€” Expanding governmental diversity in global governance: Parliamentarians of states and local governments. Global Governance, 16 1 , 59â€” A functional approach to comparative politics. The foundations of international polity. Achieving cooperation under anarchy: World Politics, 38 1 , â€” International Organization, 34 4 , â€” The International Network as a Political Economy. Administrative Science Quarterly, 20 2 , â€” Dependence, dependency, and power in the global system: A structural and behavioral analysis. International Organization, 32 1 , 13â€” Dependency and development in Latin America. University of California Press. A regional and global study. Exchange and Power in Networks of Interorganizational Relations. Sociological Quarterly, 18 1 , 62â€” The distribution of power in exchange networks: American Journal of Sociology, 89 2 , â€” Economic interdependence and foreign policy in the seventies. World Politics, 2, â€” Political Myths and Economic Realities. Les contradictions du monde moderne. Political community and the North Atlantic area. World politics and organizational fields: The case of transnational sustainability governance. European Journal of International Relations, 15 4 , â€” Contending theories of international relations: American Sociological Review, 27 1 , 31â€” Toward a Theory of Interorganizational Relations. University of Pittsburgh Press, â€” Organizational environment and network structure. Inter-organizational relations as structures of corporate practice. Journal of International Organizations Studies. Exchange Networks and Community Politics. Neo-Functionalism and international regimes. Global Society, 10 3 , â€” Beyond the nation state. The obsolescence of regional integration theory. Institute for International Studies. Issue-linkage and international regimes. World Politics, 32 3 , â€” The uniting of Europe: Political, social, and economic forces, â€” Epistemic communities and international policy coordination. International Organization, 46 1 , 1â€” Non-state actors and authority in the global system. The world after Foreign Affairs, 93 3 , â€” IR paradigms and inter-organizationalism: Situating the research program within the discipline. Toward a theory of multinational politics. International Organization, 25, â€” Toward a theory of international politics: Journal of Conflict Resolution, 11 4 , â€” Advocacy networks in international politics. Theory of hegemonic stability and changes in international economic regimes, â€” Power and governance in a partially globalized world. Transnational relations and world politics: International Organization, 25 3 , â€” World politics and the international economic system. International integration and interdependence. Power and interdependence revisited. International Organization, 41 4 , â€” Power and interdependence in the information age. Foreign Affairs, 77 5 , 81â€” Pluralistic interests and prospects for stability in the global trading system. International Studies Quarterly, 23 4 , â€” Structural causes and regime consequences: Regimes as intervening variables. The third world against global liberalism. International non-governmental organizations and economic entities. Transforming Sovereignty, Anarchy, and Global Governance. The political dynamics of European economic integration. Changing understandings of global politics: A paradigm for the twenty-first century? State University of New York Press. In search of theory: A new paradigm for global politics. Global knowledge networks and international development: Bridges across boundaries pp. Theoretical perspective for understanding international interdependence. World Politics, 32 1 , â€” Power, interdependence, and nonstate actors in world politics. The functional approach to world organization. International Affairs, 24 3 , â€” The politics of interdependence. International Organization, 23 2 , â€” The interdependent world and its problems.

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A revisited neo-functionalist model. Theory and research pp. Regime complex theory and inter-organizational relations. The structure of social action.