

*Defensive
Internationalism*

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Providing Public Goods
in an Uncertain World

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&
Mark A. Boyer

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To Gail & Sondra

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project has preoccupied us for nearly a decade. It began as a single conference paper presented at the 1995 annual meeting of the International Studies Association and evolved into this book. When we started looking into the questions raised in the following pages, nearly everyone thinking and writing about global affairs was still trying to understand the implications of the end of the Cold War and the apparent structural transformation of the global system. We now know a little bit more about that transformation and its political, economic, and military implications, but we are still far from certain about the future evolutionary trajectory of global politics.

The following chapters provide some clues about the direction and shape of that trajectory based on three assumptions. First, we believe that past policy actions by global political actors provide a useful indicator, albeit an imperfect one, of future actions and choices. We hold this belief because of the largely incremental way most policy is made and changed in developed societies. This belief is also based in notions of the political culture that develops and is at least partly reflected in domestic political interests within societies that provide boundaries for policy-making in both the short and long term.

Second, we also believe that in our globalizing world, policy actors (in our case, primarily states) are increasingly forced to deal with global forces whether or not the actors want to do so. Put simply, isolationist-type or even unilateralist policies can only “solve” an actor’s policy problems for short intervals. To cope with problems over the long term, states must directly engage the world and the problems posed from outside domestic borders to solve problems that have domestic impacts. As the title of the book suggests, states are compelled to be internationalist for defensive reasons.

The aftermath of the 9/11 attacks and the ongoing tale of the invasion and occupation of Iraq have reinforced these convictions. For us,

Preface and Acknowledgments

these unfinished stories affirm the motivational effects of defensive internationalism. These events have been and continue to be shaped by the tendencies of actors in international affairs to draw on established policy inclinations. These occurrences are rife with the rationales, opportunities, constraints, and indeed temptations presented to political elites by preexisting domestic political cultures. The siren song of unilateralism seems sooner rather than later to be drowned out by exigencies that require multilateral treatment.

Third, we believe that to understand contemporary global policy dynamics it is essential to incorporate both theory and data into our analysis, especially if the goal is to produce useful policy implications. The first two chapters focus on a number of conceptual and theoretical questions and bodies of literature to synthesize divergent schools of thought and to show how that synthesis helped lead us to our stance of defensive internationalism. Chapters 3–7 focus on the data that can help us determine the validity of the theoretical constructs and our thematic stance. Chapter 8 ties the theory and data together to provide a global prognosis about the prospects for international cooperation and lays out a number of expectations and policy needs for the coming years.

In getting to this stage of our project, especially after nearly a decade of work, we have many colleagues, students, and friends to thank for their help. We have been blessed with an excellent group of research assistants along the way, including Mary Caprioli, Erin Carriere, Becky Chaffee, Peter Jonason, Yasumasa Komori, Miyuki Kubo, James Na, Gergana Noutcheva, and Daniela Trajkovska. Most recently, Magnolia Hernandez did superlative “crunch-time” work in helping us update the data for the final version of the manuscript. Natalie Florea updated data and read the entire penultimate draft of the manuscript for factual errors and stylistic problems. She also had a wonderful eye for helping us make sure that what we wrote was understandable to others in our field (and hopefully even some people outside of it).

In addition, many colleagues have read or listened to various parts of the project along the way. Their comments, though not always heeded, were invaluable in helping us stay on track, especially in substantive policy areas where our detailed expertise was lacking. We are indebted to Hartmut Behr, Marijke Breuning, Mike Butler, Mario Carranza, Peter Dombrowski, Yale Ferguson, Betty Hanson, Joe Hewitt, Richard Higgott and his colleagues at the University of Warwick, Walter Isard, Bob Kudrle, Steve Lamy, Laura Neack, Lou Pauly, Rodger Payne, Bruce Russett, Todd Sandler, Siegmund Schmidt, Steve Smith and his colleagues at Aberystwyth, Herman Schwartz, Jennifer Sterling-Folker, the late Susan Strange, Tom Volgy, and several anonymous reviewers. A special note of

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As any author knows, projects such as this are also made much easier, especially in the closing stages, through solid, reliable, and most importantly, cheerful support from those around us who provide administrative and editorial support. Donalyn Maneggia had the task of taking our double-edited final manuscript and getting it prepared for the University of Michigan Press. To her we are deeply in debt, especially since she continues to speak to both of us. MaryAnn Gebet also provided excellent support in earlier stages of the project as we pursued our dual-university collaboration, one that started just as the Internet wave was beginning to crest. We also thank Javier Morales-Ortiz for doing a great job on the index and the University of Connecticut Research Foundation for funding that portion of the project.

We should also note that a number of pieces of this book appeared in some form as journal articles or book chapters. A much earlier cut at the peacekeeping material in chapter 6 appeared in the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 41 (6): 723–48 (December 1997); parts of an earlier version of chapter 2 were published by Mark Boyer in the book *Political Space*, edited by Yale H. Ferguson and R.J. Barry Jones (SUNY Press, 2002); and some portions of the data used in chapter 4 were published in the *Journal of International Relations* 4:84–111 (1997).

A very special word of thanks and acknowledgment must also go to Craig Boyer, whose creative mind and artistic abilities produced the concept for the cover of this book. In discussions with his father about the book, he crafted the idea of intertwined flags, drew several sketch possibilities, and allowed us to submit the drawings to the Press for consideration. Our editor and others at the Press liked the concept and agreed to use it on the cover, adding a true personal touch to the final product.

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