



Unfinished transformation: The three phases of complexity's emergence into international relations and foreign policy

Cooperation and Conflict
47(3) 404–413
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DOI: 10.1177/0010836712454274
cac.sagepub.com



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Abstract

Ever since the end of the Cold War and, in particular, since the terrorist attacks of 9/11, a fierce debate has been taking place both in the academic and the political world about the problems traditional concepts and theories of international relations and foreign policy have in explaining change in international politics. Complexity as a conceptual framework for explaining international politics emerged as a result of this debate and has been making important contributions to it.

This article is intended to assess the impact complexity has had on this debate over the last 20 years. It is argued that one can identify three distinct phases of complexity's emergence into the field of international politics. Whilst the framework has been quite successful in explaining change in international politics and developing concepts to adjust foreign policy to the existence of self-organising complex-adaptive systems, the framework still has some way to go in developing clear alternative strategies for the development of foreign policies processes which not only take account of the complexity encountered by policy-makers but use this complexity to improve policy-outcomes. To this end, the article concludes by suggesting areas for further research.

Keywords

Change, complexity, foreign policy

Introduction

Ten years after the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 (9/11) and 20 years after the end of the Cold War policy-makers still seem to be struggling to adjust their thinking to the 'new' international environment these events represented. During this time, a fierce

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The Emergence Of Rubian Foreign Policy

Spyridon N. Litsas



The Emergence Of Rubian Foreign Policy:

Foreign Policy and the 1996 Presidential Election , *US Foreign Policy and the Modernization of Iran* Ben Offiler, 2015-07-19 *US Foreign Policy and the Modernization of Iran* examines the evolution of US Iranian relations during the presidencies of John F Kennedy Lyndon B Johnson and Richard M Nixon It demonstrates how successive administrations struggled to exert influence over the Shah of Iran s regime domestic and foreign policy

Iranian Foreign Policy Since 2001 Thomas Juneau, Sam Razavi, 2013-07-24 *Examining Iranian foreign policy with a focus on the years since 2001* this book analyses the defining feature of Iran s international and regional posture its strategic loneliness and the implications of this for the Islamic Republic s foreign policy *Iranian Foreign Policy since 2001* offers an in depth analysis of the key drivers behind Iran s foreign policy power strategic culture and ideology In addition the authors examine Iran s relations with key countries and regions including its often tenuous relations with China Russia and America as well as its bilateral relations with non state actors such as Hezbollah The common thread running throughout the volume is that Iran is alone in the world regardless of its political manoeuvrings the Islamic Republic s regional and international posture is largely one of strategic loneliness Assimilating contributions from the US Canada Europe and Iran this book provides an international perspective both at the theoretical and practical levels and is essential reading for those with an interest in Middle Eastern Politics International Relations and Political Science more broadly

The Development of Saudi-Iranian Relations since the 1990s Fahad M. Alsultan, Pedram Saeid, 2016-08-25 Saudi Arabia and Iran have established themselves as the two regional heavyweights in one of the world s most tumultuous but critically significant regions The two countries compete on many fronts including regional politics oil prices and for leadership of the Islamic world a competition with undeniable repercussions for the Greater Middle East and for the world Some observers have gone so far as to claim that virtually everything that happens in this area of the world can be viewed as part of the Saudi Iranian power struggle With increasing importance of the region as the dominant supplier of world energy and the birthplace of Islamic militant groups the consequences of not understanding Saudi Iranian rivalry in the region have never been more serious A range of internal and external explanatory factors explains the ups and downs of Saudi Iranian relations since the 1990s This book captures this complexity by drawing on multicausal explanations through multiple levels of interdisciplinary analysis This is the first book on the subject that is co authored by one author from Saudi Arabia and one from Iran This collaboration allowed the authors to make the best use of Persian and Arabic sources generating a locally meaningful account of the two countries relationship As Iranian and Saudi nationals they encountered less difficulty in gaining access to research participants building rapport and conducting interviews with Iranian and Saudi scholars and informants

Iran's Foreign Policy in the South Caucasus Marzieh Kouhi-Esfahani, 2019-01-10 Iran s role as a regional power is more significant than many in the West may realise The country lies between Central Asia the Caucasus and the Gulf region on the one hand and on the other between the

Mediterranean Levant region and South Asia Many of these areas are of increasing strategic importance This book explores Iran s role as a regional power focusing on relations with South Caucasus countries Azerbaijan and Armenia It outlines the historical context including Persia s rule of these countries before the nineteenth century and discusses Iran s approach to foreign and regional policy and how both internal and international factors shape these policies The book assesses Iran Azerbaijan and Iran Armenia bilateral relations to demonstrate how those policies translate in Iran s regional and bilateral relations The book concludes by considering how Iran s relations in the region are likely to develop in the future

International History of the Twentieth Century and Beyond Antony Best, Jussi M. Hanhimäki, Joseph A.

Maiolo, Kirsten E. Schulze, 2024-09-03 Now in its fourth edition this highly successful global history of the twentieth century is written by four prominent international historians for first year undergraduate level and upward Using their thematic and regional expertise the authors have produced an authoritative yet accessible and seamless account of the history of international relations in the last century covering events in Europe Asia the Middle East Africa and the Americas They focus on the history of relations between states and on the broad ideological economic and cultural forces that have influenced the evolution of international politics over the last 120 years The fourth edition is thoroughly updated to take account of the most recent research and global developments including new material on the impact of the Trump administration on international politics the rise of China under the leadership of Xi Jinping and the origins of the wars in Ukraine and Gaza The book is supported by a fully revised companion website including links to further resources and self testing material which can be found at www.routledgelearning.com/internationalhistory20c

US Foreign Policy in the Eastern Mediterranean Spyridon N. Litsas, 2020-02-06 This book examines US foreign policy in the Eastern Mediterranean and the region s key role in the practice and evolution of American exceptionalism The political developments in the Eastern Mediterranean during the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries gave to the US opportunities to express in the most explicit way its anti colonialism the fervent support of open and democratic societies and its willingness to openly confront tyranny and oppression whenever this was possible or necessary for American interests Since that time the region has been a testing ground for the core elements of American foreign policy deployed worldwide The monograph shows the contributions of the United States during critical moments in the region such as the First Barbary War 1801 1805 the introduction of Truman Doctrine Washington s role in the Suez Crisis the Greek junta and the Imia Crisis of 1996 It also scrutinizes the different levels of the economic military and diplomatic challenges which China Russia and Turkey present today while it also covers the American approach to the Arab Spring From a Shining City on a Hill to the current Make America Great Again mottoes this critique follows American Foreign Policy in the Eastern Mediterranean and the strong bonds that the nation established with the geostrategic political and ideological features of the region The pace of recent events and the increasing complexity of this global corner prove a challenge to America today the future and clarion call that hard work and the finest ingenuity are necessary to keep its

regional hegemony and its course toward increased prosperity This work's goal is to inspire the conversations by academics diplomats leaders both political and military and most of all businessmen to this end *International History of the Twentieth Century* Antony Best, Jussi Hanhimäki, Joseph A. Maiolo, Kirsten E. Schulze, Jussi M. Hanhimäki, 2004-02-24 This major new global history of the twentieth century is written by four prominent international historians for first year undergraduate level and upward Using their thematic and regional expertise the authors have produced an authoritative yet accessible account of the history of international relations in the last century covering events in Europe Asia the Middle East Africa and the Americas They focus on the history of relations between states and on the broad ideological economic and cultural forces that have influenced the evolution of international politics over the past one hundred years Among the areas this book covers are the decline of European hegemony over the international order the diffusion of power to the two superpowers the rise of newly independent states in Asia and Africa the course and consequences of the three major global conflicts of the twentieth century the Great War the Second World War and the Cold War This is an absolutely essential book in the study of twentieth century history Students will find themselves lacking without it *The Political Consequences of Anti-Americanism* Richard Higgott, Ivona Malbasic, 2008-07-31 This book puts anti Americanism into a contemporary context and analyzes some of its political consequences It explores networks culture and foundations and security issues providing regional and country studies **The Persian Puzzle** Kenneth Pollack, 2005-08-09 In his highly influential book *The Threatening Storm* bestselling author Kenneth Pollack both informed and defined the national debate about Iraq Now in *The Persian Puzzle* published to coincide with the twenty fifth anniversary of the Iran hostage crisis he examines the behind the scenes story of the tumultuous relationship between Iran and the United States and weighs options for the future Here Pollack a former CIA analyst and National Security Council official brings his keen analysis and insider perspective to the long and ongoing clash between the United States and Iran beginning with the fall of the shah and the seizure of the American embassy in Tehran in 1979 Pollack examines all the major events in U S Iran relations including the hostage crisis the U S tilt toward Iraq during the Iran Iraq war the Iran Contra scandal American Iranian military tensions in 1987 and 1988 the covert Iranian war against U S interests in the Persian Gulf that culminated in the 1996 Khobar Towers terrorist attack in Saudi Arabia and recent U S Iran skirmishes over Afghanistan and Iraq He explains the strategies and motives from American and Iranian perspectives and tells how each crisis colored the thinking of both countries leadership as they shaped and reshaped their policies over time Pollack also describes efforts by moderates of various stripes to try to find some way past animosities to create a new dynamic in Iranian American relations only to find that when one side was ready for such a step the other side fell short With balanced tone and insight Pollack explains how the United States and Iran reached this impasse why this relationship is critical to regional global and U S interests and what basic political choices are available as we deal with this important but deeply troubled country *In Praise of the Few. Studies in Shi'i Thought and History* Etan

Kohlberg,2020-05-06 *In Praise of the Few* Studies in Shi i Thought and History is a selection of Etan Kohlberg s research on Shi i Islam over a period of fifty years It includes previously published articles revised dissertation chapters and a full bibliography of the author s work Divided into two parts the collection begins with chapters from Kohlberg s Oxford doctoral dissertation 1971 and related articles that investigate Sunni and Shi i views on the Prophet s Companions and debates concerning the extent of their authority as sources of religious knowledge Part Two traces the doctrinal and historical developments pertaining to various dimensions of Im m Shi i intellectual tradition such as theology hadith law jurisprudence and exegesis

Unexceptional Marc J. O'Reilly,2008-01-01 *Unexceptional America s Empire in the Persian Gulf 1941 2007* examines U S policy vis vis the Persian Gulf since the Second World War It asserts that the American experience in this strategic yet volatile region known for its plentiful oil and gas can be best understood as an unexceptional imperial endeavor similar in kind to that of the British Ottoman and other empires in previous centuries Since 1941 the U S empire in the Gulf has achieved successes such as Operation Desert Storm and the invasion of Iraq Setbacks have included the Iranian Revolution and the ongoing occupation of Iraq Given these and many other events which this book spotlights America s Gulf empire has undergone repeated expansion and contraction a typical imperial pattern The result has been a cycle of waxing and waning U S influence in a critical region of the world Until its occupation of Iraq the United States practiced informal empire in the Gulf rather than colonialism Currently however the formal empire established by the United States in Iraq jeopardizes the overall American position in the Gulf which seemed unassailable in early 2003

Old Europe, New Europe and the US Tom Lansford,2017-07-05 Iraq can be considered the perfect storm which brought out the stark differences between the US and Europe The disagreement over the role of the United Nations continues and the bitterness in the United States against its betrayal by allies like France is not diminishing Meanwhile the standing of the United States among the European public has plummeted Within Europe political tensions between what US Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld euphemistically called the Old Europe and the New Europe continue to divide To fully comprehend these rifts this volume takes a specific look at the core security priorities of each European state and whether these interests are best served through closer security collaboration with the US or with emerging European structures such as the European Rapid Reaction Force It analyzes the contribution each state would make to transatlantic security the role they envisage for existing security structures such as NATO and the role the US would play in transatlantic security

The EU and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict 1971-2013 Anders Persson,2014-10-21 Just peace has been much talked about in everyday life but it is less well researched by academics The rationale of this book is therefore to probe what constitutes a just peace both conceptually within the field of peacebuilding and empirically in the context of the EU as a peacebuilder in the Israeli Palestinian conflict The EU has used the term just peace in many of its most important declarations on the Israeli Palestinian conflict throughout the years Defining a just peace is about these declaratory efforts by the EU to articulate a common

formula of a just peace in the conflict Securing and building a just peace are about the EU's role in implementing this formula for a just peace in the conflict through the creation of a Palestinian state As the EU enters its fifth decade of involvement in the conflict there can be little doubt that in common with the rest of the international community it has failed in its efforts to establish a just peace between Israelis and Palestinians While this is an inescapable overall conclusion from four decades of EC/EU peacebuilding in the conflict it is at the same time possible to draw a number of other conclusions from this book Most importantly it argues that the EU is a major legitimizing power in the conflict and that it has kept the prospects of a two state solution alive through its support for the Palestinian statebuilding process

US diplomacy and the Good Friday Agreement in post-conflict Northern Ireland Richard Hargy, 2025-06-03 Richard Haass and Mitchell Reiss as autonomous diplomats in the George W Bush State Department were able to alter US intervention in Northern Ireland and play critical roles in the post 1998 peace process Their contributions have not been fully appreciated or understood The restoration of Northern Ireland's power sharing government in 2007 was made possible by State Department led intervention in the peace process There are few references to Northern Ireland in work examining the foreign policy legacy of the George W Bush presidency Moreover the ability to control US foreign policy towards the region brought one of George W Bush's Northern Ireland special envoys into direct diplomatic conflict with the most senior actors inside the British government This book will uncover the extent of this fall out and provide original accounts on how diplomatic relations between these old allies became so fraught

Applied History and Contemporary Policymaking Robert Crowcroft, 2022-10-06 Robert Crowcroft has assembled a world class international cast of outstanding scholars and international figures to produce a stimulating collection of essays on applied history and policy making With contributors such as Philip Bobbitt Margaret MacMillan and Jeremy Black this collection of essays addresses some of the most important geopolitical challenges confronting the world today From reconstructing collapsed political regimes to security competition in the China Seas and the evolution of Salafi Jihadi ideology it explores a range of statecraft policy and strategy The essays span a number of policy areas and historical problems tackling important questions about what historians do and should do and considering the nature and limits of historical judgement With some examining how applied history can be used to rethink contemporary challenges others explore how it has been used and abused in the past Making a splash in intellectual debate by making a definitive case for Applied History this book demonstrates that a knowledge of the past and the insight it provides is imperative to effective statecraft

Lone Wolf Terror and the Rise of Leaderless Resistance George Michael, 2021-04-30 On July 22 2011 Anders Behring Breivik detonated a car bomb in downtown Oslo Norway He didn't stop there traveling several hours from the city to ambush a youth camp while the rest of Norway was distracted by his earlier attack That's where the facts end But what motivated him Did he have help staging the attacks The evidence suggests a startling truth that this was the work of one man pursuing a mission he was convinced was just If Breivik did indeed act alone he wouldn't be the first Timothy

McVeigh bombed a federal building in Oklahoma City based essentially on his own motivations Eric Robert Rudolph embarked on a campaign of terror over several years including the Centennial Park bombing at the 1996 Olympics Ted Kaczynski was revealed to be the Unabomber that same year And these are only the most notable examples As George Michael demonstrates in *Lone Wolf Terror and the Rise of Leaderless Resistance* they are not isolated cases Rather they represent the new way warfare will be conducted in the twenty first century *Lone Wolf Terror* investigates the motivations of numerous political and ideological elements such as right wing individuals ecoextremists foreign jihadists and even quasi governmental entities In all these cases those carrying out destructive acts operate as lone wolves and small cells with little or no connection to formal organizations Ultimately Michael suggests that leaderless resistance has become the most common tactical approach of political terrorists in the West and elsewhere

From the Abode of Islam to the Turkish Vatan Behlül (Behlul) Özkan (Ozkan), 2012-06-26 How does a people move from tribal and religiously based understandings of society to a concept of the modern nation state This book examines the complex and pivotal case of Turkey Tracing the shifting valences of vatan Arabic for birthplace or homeland from the Ottoman period when it signified a certain territorial integrity and imperial ideology through its acquisition of religious undertones and its evolution alongside the concept of millet nation Behlül Özkan engages readers in the fascinating ontology of Turkey's protean imagining of its nationhood and the construction of a modern national territorial consciousness

Revolutionary Movements in World History James DeFronzo, 2006-07-20 This groundbreaking three volume encyclopedia is the first to focus exclusively on the revolutionary movements that have changed the course of history from the American and French Revolutions to the present ABC CLIO is proud to present an encyclopedia that reaches around the globe to explore the most momentous and impactful political revolutions of the last two and a half centuries exploring their origins courses consequences and influences on subsequent individuals and groups seeking to change their own governments and societies In three volumes *Revolutionary Movements in World History* covers 79 revolutions from the American and French uprisings of the late 18th century to the rise of communism Nazism and fascism from Ho Chi Minh and Fidel Castro to the Ayatollah al Qaeda and the fall of the Berlin wall Written by leading experts from a number of nations this insightful cutting edge work combines detailed portrayals of specific revolutions with essays on important overarching themes Full of revealing insights compelling personalities and some of the most remarkable moments in the world's human drama *Revolutionary Movements in World History* offers a new way of looking at how societies reinvent themselves

Oil and the Great Powers Anand Toprani, 2019-04-04 The history of oil is a chapter in the story of Europe's geopolitical decline in the twentieth century During the era of the two world wars a lack of oil constrained Britain and Germany from exerting their considerable economic and military power independently Both nations efforts to restore the independence they had enjoyed during the Age of Coal backfired by inducing strategic over extension which served only to hasten their demise as great powers Having fought World War I with oil imported from

the United States Britain was determined to avoid relying upon another great power for its energy needs ever again Even before the Great War had ended Whitehall implemented a strategy of developing alternative sources of oil under British control Britain's key supplier would be the Middle East already a region of vital importance to the British Empire whose oil potential was still unproven As it turned out there was plenty of oil in the Middle East but Italian hostility after 1935 threatened transit through the Mediterranean A shortage of tankers ruled out re routing shipments around Africa forcing Britain to import oil from US controlled sources in the Western Hemisphere and depleting its foreign exchange reserves Even as war loomed in 1939 therefore Britain's quest for independence from the United States had failed Germany was in an even worse position than Britain It could not import oil from overseas in wartime due to the threat of blockade while accumulating large stockpiles was impossible because of the economic and financial costs The Third Reich went to war dependent on petroleum synthesized from coal domestic crude oil and overland imports primarily from Romania German leaders were confident however that they had enough oil to fight a series of short campaigns that would deliver to them the mastery of Europe This plan derailed following the victory over France when Britain continued to fight This left Germany responsible for Europe's oil requirements while cut off from world markets A looming energy crisis in Axis Europe the absence of strategic alternatives and ideological imperatives all compelled Germany in June 1941 to invade the Soviet Union and fulfill the Third Reich's ultimate ambition of becoming a world power a decision that ultimately sealed its fate

Unveiling the Power of Verbal Artistry: An Psychological Sojourn through **The Emergence Of Rubian Foreign Policy**

In some sort of inundated with monitors and the cacophony of immediate conversation, the profound energy and emotional resonance of verbal beauty often fade in to obscurity, eclipsed by the regular onslaught of noise and distractions. Yet, nestled within the musical pages of **The Emergence Of Rubian Foreign Policy**, a interesting perform of fictional elegance that impulses with raw emotions, lies an memorable journey waiting to be embarked upon. Composed with a virtuoso wordsmith, this enchanting opus manuals visitors on an emotional odyssey, gently revealing the latent possible and profound influence stuck within the elaborate web of language. Within the heart-wrenching expanse with this evocative evaluation, we shall embark upon an introspective exploration of the book is key subjects, dissect their charming writing design, and immerse ourselves in the indelible impression it leaves upon the depths of readers souls.

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