

Columbia, October 1994, pp. 3-6.

50. See Andreas Hansenclever, Peter Mayer and Volker Rittberger, "Interest, Power, Knowledge: The Study of International Regimes", *Mershon International Studies Review*, vol. 40, Suppl. 2, October 1996, p. 182.
51. Hedley Bull's definition of international order is : "Patterns of activity that sustain the primary goal of the society of states or international society." See Hedley Bull, *Anarchical Society. A Study of Order in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), p. 8. Oran Young's definition is the preferred one here. He defines international orders as "broad framework arrangements governing the activities of all (or almost all) the members of international society over a wide range of specific issues." International regimes, by comparison, are "more specialized arrangements that pertain to well-defined activities, resources, or geographical areas and often involve only some subset of the members of the international society." Both are types of international institutions. See Oran Young, *International Cooperation: Building Regimes for Natural Resources and the Environment* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), p. 13.
52. James A. Caporaso, "International Relations Theory and Multilateralism; The Search for Foundations", in John Ruggie (ed.), *Multilateralism Matters*, pp. 54-55.
53. Peter Mayer, Volker Rittberger, Michael Zürn, "Regime Theory. State of the Art and Perspectives", in Volker Rittberger and Peter Mayer (eds.), *Regime Theory and International Relations* (New York: Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1993), p. 393.
54. James N. Rosenau and Ernst-Otto Czempiel (ed.), *Governance Without Government: Order and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
55. See John Keegan, *History of Warfare* (New York: Knopf, 1993). Donald Snow makes a similar point noting that the international system is clearly divided into two distinct tiers of states: 1) the first tier -- members of the OECD/G7, the most prosperous countries in the world, and 2) the second tier -- consisting of the rest of humanity -- about 6/7 of the world's population that is materially and politically on the periphery. Snow argues that it is essentially impossible to think of war among any of the members of the first tier states, thus making military power basically irrelevant to their relations. On the other hand, the second tier states are to be found in what Snow calls the zone of turmoil (using an expression from Singer and Wildavsky). In this zone, conflict is the major, even sole, source of violence in the international system, according to Snow. Donald Snow, *National Security: Defense Policy in a Changing International Order*, pp. 11-15.
56. Jane Nolan, *Global Challenge* (Washington, Brookings Institution, 1994).
57. "Defence in the 21st Century (A Survey)", *The Economist*, September 5 1992, p. 4.
58. See Robert W. Cox, "Multilateralism and World Order", *Review of International Studies*, 18, 1992, pp. 178.