TWELFTH EDITION

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

JON C.W. PEVEHOUSE
JOSHUA S. GOLDSTEIN

Pearson

International Relations

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International Relations

Twelfth Edition

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For our children—Solomon and Ruth; Claire, Ava, Carl, and Stephanie

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Brief Contents

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Contents

Preface

We live in an increasingly interconnected world. These connections bring great benefits to our everyday lives: the ability to communicate instantaneously around the world and to share our cultures and beliefs; the possibility of directly helping a person affected by an earthquake through a global network of charities; and the ability to purchase a product made from parts manufactured in a dozen different countries, each using its specialized knowledge to create a better product. There are many potential benefits to an interconnected world. Yet these connections may also worsen existing problems: Terrorist networks use the Internet to coordinate and carry out attacks, global commerce can put undue strain on our natural environment, and millions of people still live with few global connections that are enjoyed by citizens of wealthier countries. In recent years, these interconnections have led some to feel vulnerable and reject these global relationships in favor of local or national interactions.

Despite these increasing connections and their implications for everyday life, many students begin college misinformed about basic facts of international relations (IR), such as the extent of poverty and levels of foreign assistance given to the developing world, and the trend toward fewer wars over the past two decades. An introductory book plays a key role in students' education about international affairs, and we have worked hard to make the twelfth edition of *International Relations* timely, accurate, visually appealing, and intellectually engaging. We hope this book can help a generation develop knowledge and critical thinking so that it can find its voice and place in the changing world.

IR is not only an important topic but also a fascinating one. The rich complexity of international relationships—political, economic, and cultural—provides a puzzle to try to understand. The puzzle is not only intellectually challenging but also emotionally powerful. It contains human-scale stories in which the subject's grand themes, such as war and peace, intergroup conflict and community, integration and division, humans and their environment, poverty and development, play out.

New to the Twelfth Edition

The twelfth edition of *International Relations* includes important revisions throughout to keep the book current in a time of extensive changes and uncertainties in the international system. A theme now developed throughout the book is the growing backlash against globalization and the institutions that have supported its advance. This backlash has resulted in Great Britain's decision to exit from the European Union, the election of an American president challenging the global order, and growing populism and nationalism around the world.

A major new feature in this edition, Public Opinion and International Relations, discusses the status of public opinion on major issues of international relations. In some chapters, the feature examines public opinion within the United States on a current controversy discussed in the chapter. Those "within country" variations examine shifts in opinion over time on topics such as support for NATO or support for foreign aid. In other chapters, the feature takes an "across countries" approach, examining a single point in time across numerous countries to compare what different publics think about issues ranging from the threat of cyberattacks to foreign business relations. Given this edition's theme of rising populism and nationalism, it is important to know the status of public opinion on important issues. The

growing availability of reliable public opinion polling data from around the world gives us the opportunity to discover more about trends in public views on international relations. In some cases, you may be surprised at how different countries view the same topic or how opinion in the United States has changed over time. Each feature analyzes the trends within the data, using insights from material presented in that chapter.

In addition, we have moved the popular Careers in International Relations features from the appendix into relevant chapters. For example, the feature on careers in business is now in Chapter 9 in the midst of the discussion of multinational businesses. We have added a new Careers feature, discussing international law, to Chapter 7. We hope these features will give students some guidance and resources concerning jobs in the field of international relations.

Chapter 1:

- Completely updated economic and demographic data
- Reformulation of the levels of analysis discussion
- Updates on Great Britain's planned exit from the European Union, the 2016 U.S. presidential election, and the implications of those events for international relations
- Updates on the status of Middle East conflicts, including those in Syria, Libya, Yemen, and the resulting refugee crises arising from those conflicts
- Updates on China's military efforts in the South China Sea
- Updates on North Korea's nuclear program and relations between the United States and North Korea

Chapter 2:

- Discussion of U.S. tensions with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
- Updates on NATO's mission in Afghanistan
- Discussion of tensions over Russian annexation of Crimea

Chapter 3:

- Updated Policy Perspectives box feature
- Updated discussion of the waning of war
- Updates on violence in the Middle East, especially in Syria and Yemen

Chapter 4:

- Revised Policy Perspectives box feature
- Revised discussion of controversial Iran nuclear deal

Chapter 5:

- Revised listing of wars in the world
- Revised discussion of Islamic groups, including the rise and fall of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS)
- New Policy Perspectives box feature
- Updated discussion of civil wars in Syria and Yemen
- Revised discussion of maritime tensions in East Asia

Chapter 6:

- Completely updated data on military forces worldwide
- New section on evolving technologies, discussing drones and cyberwarfare
- New discussion of North Korean nuclear crisis
- New Policy Perspectives box feature
- Revised Let's Debate the Issue box feature

Chapter 7:

- Completely updated data on and discussion of current UN peacekeeping efforts
- Updated data on status of ratifications of UN human rights treaties
- Updated discussion of International Criminal Court controversies
- Discussion of new UN Treaty on enforced disappearance
- Revised Policy Perspectives box feature

Chapter 8:

- Updated data on and discussion of the recovery from the global economic crisis of 2008–2009
- Discussion of the controversial exit of the United States from the Transatlantic and Trans-Pacific trade agreements
- Updated discussion on the failure of the Doha Round of trade negotiations over new World Trade Organization mandates
- Discussion of the Trump administration's tariffs, including other countries' responses and the growing concerns of a global trade war set off by these tariffs
- New Policy Perspectives box feature

Chapter 9:

- New and updated data on global economic trends in international finance
- Updated discussions of state economic positions in the global economy, including U.S. debt and Russia's troubles
- New Policy Perspectives box feature
- Revised discussion of virtual currencies such as bitcoin

Chapter 10:

- Discussion of Great Britain's decision to exit the EU and the future of the EU without Great Britain
- Discussion of the EU immigration crisis and response
- Revised discussion of the global digital divide, including updated data
- Discussion of state control of the Internet in authoritarian countries

Chapter 11:

- Discussion of the Paris climate treaty and U.S. withdrawal from the treaty by the Trump administration
- Discussion of China's relaxation of the one child policy
- Discussion of South Africa's water crisis
- Revised Seeking the Collective Good box feature
- New Policy Perspectives box feature

Chapter 12:

- Completely updated data on global development
- Discussion of the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)
- Updated discussion of increase in numbers of global refugees
- Revised Policy Perspectives box feature

Chapter 13:

- Updated discussion on developments in BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China)
- New Policy Perspectives box feature
- Discussion of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and its role in development
- Revised discussion of foreign assistance

In all chapters, we have updated the tables and figures with the most recent available data. This includes new data on gross domestic product (GDP), military forces, migration and refugees, debt, remittances, foreign aid, the HIV/AIDS epidemic, and UN peacekeeping operations, to name a few.

Finally, this twelfth edition of *International Relations* revises the photo program substantially. Dozens of new photos, many from 2017 and 2018, draw visual attention to current events while reinforcing key concepts in the book.

Structure of the Book

This book aims to present the current state of knowledge in IR in a comprehensive and accessible way—to provide a map of the subject covering its various research communities in a logical order. This map is organized around the subfields of international security and international political economy (IPE). These subfields, although separated physically in this book, are integrated conceptually and overlap in many ways. Common core principles—dominance, reciprocity, and identity—unify the book by showing how theoretical models apply across the range of topics in international security and political economy.

The overall structure of this book follows substantive topics, first in international security and then in international political economy. Chapter 1 introduces the study of IR; explains the collective goods problem and the core principles of dominance, reciprocity, and identity; and provides some geographical and historical context for the subject. The historical perspective places recent trends, especially globalization, in the context of the evolution of the international system over the twentieth century, while the global orientation reflects the diversity of IR experiences for different actors, especially those in the global South. Chapters 2 and 3 lay out the various theoretical approaches to IR: realism, liberal theories, social theories (constructivist, postmodern, and Marxist), peace studies, and gender theories.

Chapter 4 discusses the formulation and implementation of foreign policy, including a discussion of the key institutions involved in that process. Chapter 5 introduces the main sources of international conflict, including ethnic, religious, territorial, and economic conflicts. Chapter 6, on military force and terrorism, discusses the conditions and manner in which such conflicts lead to the use of violence. Chapter 7 shows how international organizations and law, especially the United Nations, have evolved to become major influences in security relations, and how human rights have become increasingly important. The study of international organizations also bridges international security topics with those in international political economy.

The remaining chapters move through the various topics that make up the study of international political economy, beginning with microeconomic principles

and national economies through trade and finance; international integration; the environment; and North-South relations, focusing heavily on development. Chapter 8 introduces theoretical concepts in political economy (showing how theories of international security translate into IPE issue areas) and discusses the most important topic in international political economy, namely, trade relations. Chapter 9 describes the politics of global finance and multinational business operations in an era of globalization. Chapter 10 explores the processes of international integration, telecommunications, and cultural exchange on both a regional scale—the European Union—and a global one. Chapter 11 shows how environmental politics and population growth expand international bargaining and interdependence both regionally and globally. Chapter 12 addresses global North-South relations, with particular attention given to poverty in the global South. Chapter 13 then considers alternatives for economic development in the context of international business, debt, and foreign aid. Chapter 14—a brief postscript—reflects on the book's central themes and encourages critical thinking about the future.

Pedagogical Elements

In a subject such as IR, in which knowledge is tentative and empirical developments can overtake theories, critical thinking is a key skill for college students to develop. At various points in the book, conclusions are left open-ended to let students reason their way through an issue, and in addition to the critical thinking questions at the end of each chapter, the boxed features support deeper and more focused critical thinking.

Seeking the Collective Good

These boxes focus on the core organizing concept of the book: the collective goods problem. Each box discusses a collective good and the problems encountered by states in attempting to achieve cooperation to provide the good. In each example, we highlight how one or more of the core principles (dominance, reciprocity, and identity) have been used successfully (or unsuccessfully) in the provision of the good.

Public Opinion and International Relations

This new feature discusses the status of public opinion on major issues of international relations. In some chapters, the feature examines public opinion within the United States, while in other chapters the feature examines opinion across countries. Given this edition's theme of rising populism and nationalism, it is important to know what the status of public opinion is on important global issues. The growing availability of reliable public opinion polling data from around the world gives us the opportunity to discover more about how publics view international relations topics.

Policy Perspectives

This feature in each chapter places students in the decision-making perspective of a national leader. The feature bridges international relations theory to policy problems while demonstrating the trade-offs often present in political decision making and highlighting the interconnectedness of foreign and domestic politics.

Let's Debate the Issue

These boxes help students think through controversial topics. The topic in each chapter is chosen to expand important concepts discussed in that chapter. Thus, this feature deepens the treatment of particular topics while reinforcing the general themes in each chapter.

Careers in International Relations

Finally, the Careers in International Relations feature helps students think about job possibilities in the field. The feature (in appropriate chapters) is devoted to careers in nongovernmental organizations, international law, government and diplomacy, international business, and teaching and research. It responds to the question, "How will this class help me find a job?" and includes books and Web sites to pursue the issue further.

Many people find information—especially abstract concepts—easier to grasp when linked with pictures. Thus, the book uses color photographs extensively to illustrate important points. Photo captions reinforce main themes from each section of the book and link them with the scenes pictured. Many of the photos in this edition are recent, taken in 2017 and 2018.

Students use different learning styles. Students who are visual learners should find not only the photos but also the many color graphics especially useful. The use of quantitative data also encourages critical thinking. Basic data, presented simply and appropriately at a global level, allow students to form their own judgments and to reason through the implications of different policies and theories. The book uses global-level data (showing the whole picture), rounds off numbers to highlight what is important, and conveys information graphically where appropriate.

IR is a large subject that offers many directions for further exploration. The Suggested Readings list additional sources for extra reading on various topics. Unless otherwise noted, they are not traditional source notes. (Also, to save space in the notes, publisher locations are omitted and major university or state names refer to their university presses, although this is not a correct research paper style.)

Jon C. W. Pevehouse

Joshua S. Goldstein

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Pearson is pleased to offer the following resources to qualified adopters of *International Relations*. Several of these supplements are available for instant download on the Instructor Resource Center (IRC); please visit the IRC at **www.pearsonhighered.com/irc** to register for access.

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Acknowledgments

Many scholars, colleagues, and friends have contributed ideas that ultimately influenced the twelve editions of this book. The book owes a special debt to the late Robert C. North, who suggested many years ago that the concepts of bargaining and leverage could be used to integrate IR theory across levels of analysis. For help with military data issues, we thank the late Randall Forsberg. For suggestions, we thank our colleagues and the students in our world politics classes. For help with data research, we thank Sujeong Shim and Micah Dillard. Finally, we appreciate the years of support we received from our late colleague, teacher, and friend Deborah "Misty" Gerner.

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The errors, of course, remain our own responsibility.

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To the Student

The topics studied by scholars are like a landscape with many varied locations and terrains. This book is a map that can orient you to the main topics, debates, and issue areas in international relations. Scholars use specialized language to talk about their subjects. This book is a phrase book that can translate such lingo and explain the terms and concepts that scholars use to talk about international relations. However, IR is filled with many voices speaking many tongues. The book translates some of those voices—of presidents and professors, free traders and feminists—to help you sort out the contours of the subject and the state of knowledge about its various topics. In this twelfth edition of *International Relations*, we have especially tried to streamline and clarify this complex subject to help you not just understand but deeply understand international relations. Ultimately, however, the synthesis presented in this book is that of the authors. Both you and your professor may disagree with many points. Thus, this book is only a starting point for conversations and debates.

With a combined map and phrase book in hand, you are ready to explore a fascinating world. The great changes taking place in world politics have made the writing of this book an exciting project. May you enjoy your own explorations of this realm.

J. C. W. P.

J. S. G.

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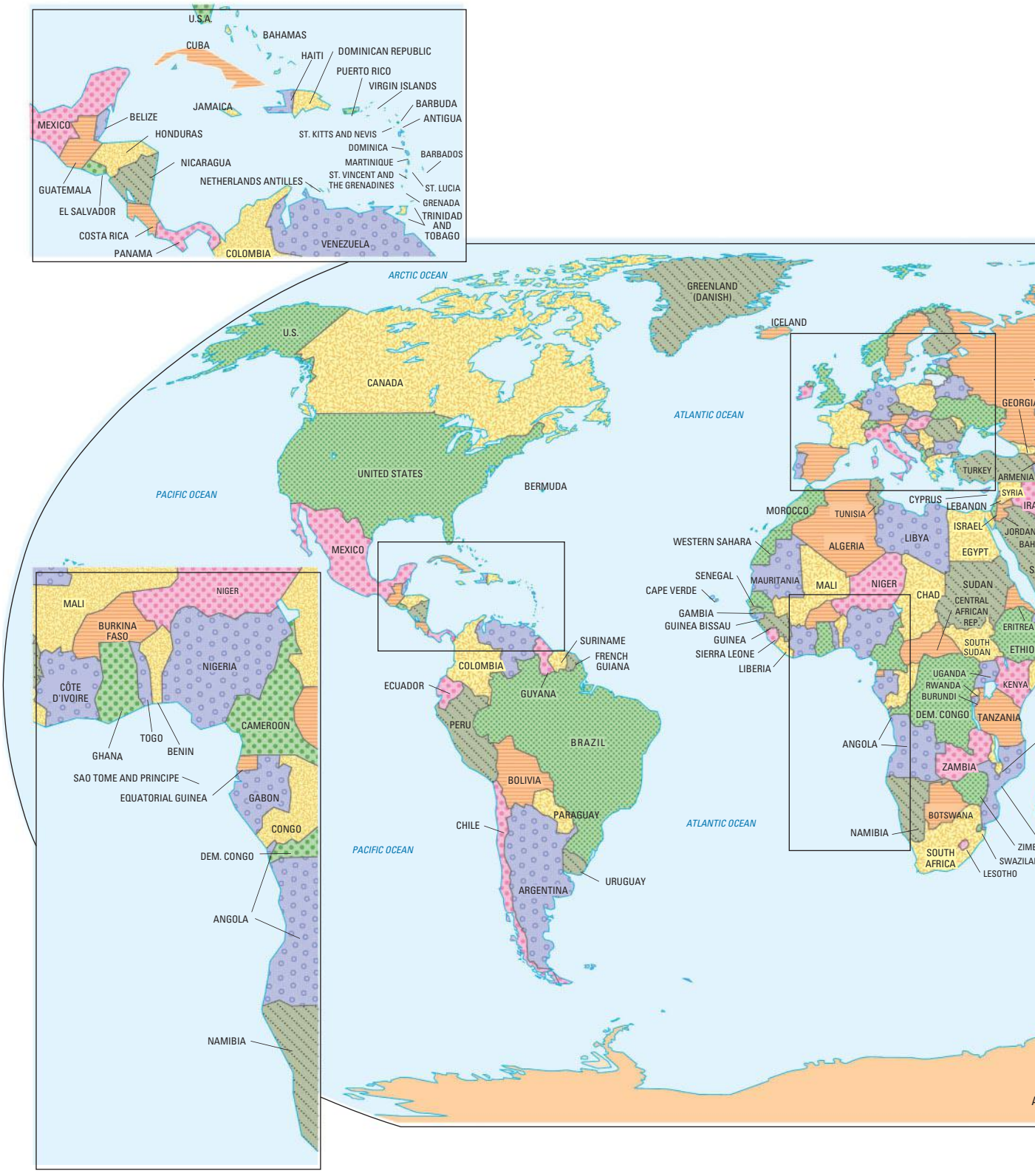
A Note on Nomenclature

In international relations, names are politically sensitive; different actors may call a territory or an event by different names. This book cannot resolve such conflicts; it has adopted the following naming conventions for the sake of consistency. The United Kingdom of Great Britain (England, Scotland, Wales) and Northern Ireland is called Britain. Burma, renamed Myanmar by its military government, is referred to as Burma. The country of Bosnia and Herzegovina is generally shortened to Bosnia (with apologies to Herzegovinians). The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is called Macedonia. The People's Republic of China is referred to as China. The Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly called the Belgian Congo and then Zaire) is here called Democratic Congo. We refer to Cote D'Ivoire as Ivory Coast. Elsewhere, country names follow common usage, dropping formal designations such as "Republic of." We refer to the Sea of Japan, which some call the East Sea, and to the Persian Gulf, which is also called the Arabian Gulf. The 1991 U.S.-led multinational military campaign that retook Kuwait after Iraq's 1990 invasion is called the Gulf War, and the U.S. war in Iraq after 2003 is called the Iraq War. The war between Iran and Iraq in the 1980s is called the Iran-Iraq War.

Maps

World States and Territories

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SOMALIA
MICRONESIA
MALDIVES
NAURU
SINGAPORE
PAPUA NEW GUINEA
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SEYCHELLES
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INDIAN OCEAN
EAST TIMOR
TUVALU
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MALAWI
COMOROS ISLANDS
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MAURITIUS
FIJI
TONGA
MADAGASCAR
AUSTRALIA
MOZAMBIQUE
NEW ZEALAND
ANTARCTICA

North America

Central America and the Caribbean

South America

Africa


North Atlantic Ocean
South Atlantic Ocean
Indian Ocean
Indian Ocean
Mediterranean Sea
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Red Sea
Persian Gulf
Gulf of Aden
Gulf of Guinea
Mozambique Channel
Tropic of Cancer
Tropic of Capricorn
Equator
Azores (PORTUGAL)
Ponda Delgada
Madeira Islands (PORTUGAL)
Funchal
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Juba
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC
Bangui
SOMALIA
Abidjan
CAMEROON
Yaounde
Malabo
EQUATORIAL GUINEA
Bata
Gulf of Guinea
SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE
Sao Tome
Annabon (EQUA. GUI.)
Libreville
CONGO REP.
GABON
Congo
Kisangani
Lake Albert
UGANDA
Kampala
KENYA
Nairobi
Mogadishu
DEMOCRATIC CONGO
RWANDA
Kigali
Lake Victoria
BURUNDI
Bujumbura
Brazzaville
Pointe-Noire
ANGOLA (Cabinda)
Kinshasa
Kalemie
Lake Tanganyika
Kananga
Dodoma
Pemba
Zanzibar
TANZANIA
Dar es Salaam
Mombasa
SEYCHELLES
Victoria
Luanda
Malanje
Kasama
Mbeya
Lake Nyasa
Mtwara
Glorioso Islands (FRANCE)
COMOROS
Moroni
Mayotte
Antsiranana
ANGOLA
Lobito
Luena
Lubumbuashi
MALAWI
Ndola
Lilongwe
ZAMBIA
Nacala
Namibe
Menongue
Zambezi
Lusaka
Juan de Nova Island (FRANCE)
Mahajanga
Harare
MOZAMBIQUE
Beira
ZIMBABWE
Antananarivo
Port Louis
MAURITIUS
NAMIBIA
Bulawayo
BOTSWANA
MADAGASCAR
Bassas da India (FRANCE)
Europa Island (FRANCE)
Reunion (FRANCE)
Toliara
Walvis Bay
Windhoek
Gaborone
Pretoria
Maputo
Mbabane
Luderitz
Johannesburg
AWAZILAND
Maseru
Durban
Orange
LESOTHO
SOUTH AFRICA
Cape Town
Port Elizabeth
Scale 1:67,000,000
Azimuthal Equal-Area Projection
0 500 1000 Kilometers
0 500 1000 Nautical Miles
Boundary representation is not necessarily authoritative.

Northern Africa and the Middle East

Europe


Greenland (DENMARK)
Jan Mayen (NORWAY)
Barents Sea
Greenland Sea
Norwegian Sea
Hammerfest
Murmansk
Arctic Circle
Reykjavik
ICELAND
Narvik
Kiruna
White Sea
Arkhangel'sk
NORWAY
Oulu
Umea
Gulf of Bothnia
FINLAND
Lake Onega
Lake Ladoga
Trondheim
Tórshavn
Faroe Islands (DENMARK)
SWEDEN
Tampere
Helsinki
Gulf of Finland
St. Petersburg
Shetland Islands
Gävle
Bergen
Oslo
Stockholm
Aland Islands
Tallinn
ESTONIA
RUSSIA
Rockall (U.K.)
Orkney Islands
Hebrides
Skagerrak
Göteborg
Gotland
Riga
LATVIA
North Atlantic Ocean
Aberdeen
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Oland
Bornholm
LITHUANIA
Smolensk
Dnepr
Edinburgh
Belfast
UNITED KINGDOM
Isle of Man (U.K.)
Newcastle
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Kaliningrad
RUSSIA
Vilnius
Minsk
Dublin
Irish Sea
Liverpool
IRELAND
BELARUS
Gdansk
Rostock
Hamburg
Berlin
Poznań
Warsaw
Brest
Amsterdam
Cardiff
NETHERLANDS
Hannover
POLAND
Kiev
Dnepr
London
GERMANY
Leipzig
Wroclaw
Brussels
Elbe
Bonn
Kraków
Vistula
English Channel
BELGIUM
Frankfurt
Prague
L'viv
UKRAINE
Guernsey (U.K.)
Jersey (U.K.)
Le Havre
Seine
Paris
LUX.
Luxembourg
CZECH REPUBLIC
SLOVAKIA
MOLDOVA
Chisinau
Odesa
Stuttgart
Bratislava
Strasbourg
Budapest
Nantes
Loire
Munich
Vienna
Cluj-Napoca
FRANCE
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
Bay of Biscay
SWITZ.
LIECH
Graz
ROMANIA
Geneva
Bern
Ljubljana
Pécs
Bucharest
Constanta
Lyon
SLOVENIA
Zagreb
Danube
Black Sea
Milan
Venice
Po
Bordeaux
Turin
Belgrade
Genoa
CROATIA
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
Varna
SAN MARINO
Florence
Serbia
BULGARIA
Bilbao
MONACO
Sarajevo
Sofia
Porto
Marseille
Adriatic Sea
Podgorica
Istanbul
PORTUGAL
ANDORRA
ITALY
MONTENEGRO
Skopje
MACEDONIA
SPAIN
Barcelona
Corsica
Rome
Tirana
Madrid
VATICAN CITY
Thessaloniki
ALB.
TURKEY
Tagus
Lisbon
Naples
Valencia
Sardinia
Tyrrhenian Sea
Ionian Sea
Aegean Sea
Ioannina
Corfu
GREECE
Balearic Islands
Athens
Sevilla
Peloponnisos
Rhodes
Mediterranean Sea
Palermo
Sicily
Málaga
Strait of Gibraltar
Gibraltar (U.K)
Ceuta (SPAIN)
Algiers
Tunis
Crete
Mekila (SPAIN)
Valletta
Rabat
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
TUNISIA
MALTA
Scale 1:19,500,000
Lambert Conformal Conic Projection, standard parallels 40°N and 56°N
300 Kilometers
300 Nautical Miles

Asia


RUSSIA
CHINA
INDIA
INDONESIA
KAZAKHSTAN
MONGOLIA
IRAN
SAUDI ARABIA
PAKISTAN
AFGHANISTAN
BURMA
THAILAND
MALAYSIA
JAPAN
Arctic Ocean
Norwegian Sea
Barents Sea
Kara Sea
Laptev Sea
East Siberian Sea
Bering Sea
North Pacific Ocean
Sea of Okhotsk
Sea of Japan
East China Sea
South China Sea
Philippine Sea
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
Andaman Sea
Indian Ocean
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
Black Sea
Lake Baikal
Lake Balkhash
Taiwan
Okinawa
Sakhalin
Kuril Islands
Occupied by the Soviet Union in 1945, administered by Russia, claimed by Japan
Scale 1:50,000,000
Azimuthal Equal-Area Projection
0 500 1000 Kilometers
0 500 1000 Nautical Miles
Boundary representation is not necessarily authoritative.

Chapter 1

The Globalization of International Relations

NASA

THE MIDDLE EAST AS SEEN FROM THE INTERNATIONAL SPACE STATION, 2010.

Learning Objectives

1.1 Describe the properties of the collective action problem and how each core principle addresses the problem.

1.2 Evaluate whether states are still the key actors in international relations.

1.3 Identify at least three commonalities between states in the global North and states in the global South.

1.4 Explain at least two differences between the Cold War era and the post–Cold War era.

1.1 Globalization, International Relations, and Daily Life

Describe the properties of the collective action problem and how each core principle addresses the problem.

International relations is a fascinating topic because it concerns peoples and cultures throughout the world. The scope and complexity of the interactions among these groups make international relations a challenging subject to master. There is always more to learn. This book is only the beginning of the story.

international relations (IR) The relationships among the world's state governments and the connection of those relationships with other actors (such as the United Nations, multinational corporations, and individuals), with other social relationships (including economics, culture, and domestic politics), and with geographic and historical influences.

Narrowly defined, the field of **international relations (IR)** concerns the relationships among the world's governments. But these relationships cannot be understood in isolation. They are closely connected with other actors (such as international organizations, multinational corporations, and individuals), with other social structures and processes (including economics, culture, and domestic politics), and with geographical and historical influences. These elements together power the central trend in IR today—globalization.

Many events in recent years reflect the ever-growing interconnections of the world. Conflicts in seemingly far-off places like Libya and Syria have brought thousands of refugees to the shores of Europe and the United States. The global economic recession of 2008–2009, which began with a collapse of the U.S. home mortgage market, spread quickly to other nations. Highly integrated global financial markets created a ripple effect across the globe that has influenced nearly every economy in the world. For the United States and many European countries, it has taken nearly a decade to return to employment and economic growth levels seen before the economic crisis.

Globalization brings many positive benefits to our daily lives: Global trade networks allow an individual to order a new phone, have it assembled in one country, shipped through another, to be delivered to that individual's door within a few days. Global connectivity allows instant access to friends, family, and news within seconds nearly anywhere in the world. These interconnections were slower, less common, and very costly even 30 years ago. As technology advances, the world is shrinking year by year. Better communication and transportation capabilities constantly expand the ordinary person's contact with people, products, and ideas from other countries. Globalization is internationalizing us.

It is also true that many individuals around the world have become uneasy with how these interconnections shape their daily lives. The 2016 vote by citizens of Great Britain to leave the European Union (EU), known as Brexit, reflected misgivings of many in that country about their lack of control over policies involving trade and immigration that came with membership in the EU. Many have held that the 2016 election of Donald Trump in the United States demonstrated the American public's concern over globalization, including job losses from trade, concern over immigration, and the desire to prioritize America's interests over global concerns.

Events that seem far off and disconnected can directly influence our daily lives. The prospects for getting jobs after graduation depend on the global economy and international economic competition. Those jobs are also more likely than ever to entail international travel, sales, or communication. And the rules of the world trading system affect the goods that students consume every day, such as electronics, clothes, and gasoline.

In addition to feeling the influence of globalization and international relations on our daily lives, individual citizens can influence the world as well. Often, international relations is portrayed as a distant and abstract ritual conducted by a small group of people such as presidents, generals, and diplomats. Although leaders do play a

major role in international affairs, many other people participate. College students and other citizens participate in international relations every time they vote in an election or work on a political campaign, buy a product or service traded on world markets, and watch the news. The choices we make in our daily lives ultimately affect the world we live in. Through those choices, every person makes a unique contribution, however small, to the world of international relations.

The purpose of this book is to introduce the field of IR, to organize what is known and theorized about IR, and to convey the key concepts used by most IR scholars to discuss relations among nations. This first chapter defines IR as a field of study, introduces the actors of interest, and reviews the geographical and historical aspects of globalization within which IR occurs.

1.1.1 Core Principles

The field of IR reflects the world's complexity, and IR scholars use many theories, concepts, and buzzwords in trying to describe and explain it. Underneath this complexity, however, lie a few basic principles that shape the field. We will lay out the range of theories and approaches in Chapters 2 through 4, but here we will present the most central ideas as free from jargon as possible (see also the Seeking the Collective Good feature).

IR revolves around one key problem: How can a group—such as two or more countries—serve its *collective* interests when doing so requires its members to forgo their *individual* interests? For example, every country has an interest in stopping global warming, a goal that can be achieved only by many countries acting together. Yet each country also has an individual interest in burning fossil fuels to keep its economy going. Similarly, all members of a military alliance benefit from the strength of the alliance, but each member separately has an interest in minimizing its own contributions

Seeking the Collective Good

Introduction

In explaining how countries behave in IR, a central concept is the "collective goods problem." This recurring problem results when two or more members of a group share an interest in some outcome of value to them all but have conflicting individual interests when it comes to achieving that valued outcome. For example, the world's countries share a desire to avoid global warming, but each one benefits from burning fossil fuels to run its economy. If a few members of a group fail to contribute to a collective good, the others will still provide it and the few can "free ride." But if too many do so, then the collective good will not be provided for anyone. For instance, if too many countries burn too much fossil fuel, then the whole world will suffer the effects of global warming.

Within domestic societies, governments solve collective goods problems by forcing the members of society to contribute to common goals, such as by paying taxes. In international affairs, no such world government exists. Three core principles—dominance, reciprocity, and identity—offer different solutions to the collective goods problem. These principles underlie the actions and outcomes that make up IR.

To help tie together a central topic in a chapter with the core principles used throughout the book, each chapter contains a Seeking the Collective Good box feature. Each box will discuss how the world's states deal with an important issue in IR using one (or more) of the core principles. Examples include stopping genocide (Chapter 7), enhancing world trade (Chapter 8), and slowing global warming (Chapter 11).

DoD/Sipa USA/Newscom

Aftermath of Hurricane Maria, Puerto Rico, 2017. Global climate stability is a collective good.

Mike Stocker/TNS/Newscom

TOUCHED BY WAR IR affects our lives in many ways. Here, a wife kisses her husband's coffin at his memorial service. U.S. Army Sgt. La David Johnson was killed in a military operation in Niger in 2017.

in troops and money. Individual nations can advance their own short-term interests by seizing territory militarily, cheating on trade agreements, and refusing to contribute to international efforts such as peacekeeping or vaccination campaigns. But if all nations acted this way, they would find themselves worse off, in a chaotic and vicious environment where mutual gains from cooperating on issues of security and trade would disappear.

This problem of shared interests versus conflicting interests among members of a group goes by various names in various contexts—the problem of "collective action," "free riding," "burden sharing," or the "tragedy of the commons." We will refer to the general case as the **collective goods problem**, that is, the problem of how to provide something that benefits all members of a group regardless of what each member contributes to it.

In general, collective goods are easier to provide in small groups than in large ones. In a small group, the cheating (or free riding) of one member is harder to conceal, has a greater impact on the overall collective good, and is easier to punish. The advantage of small groups helps explain the importance of the great power system in international security affairs and of the Group of Twenty (G20) industrialized countries in economic matters.

collective goods problem A tangible or intangible good, created by the members of a group, that is available to all group members regardless of their individual contributions; participants can gain by lowering their own contribution to the collective good, yet if too many participants do so, the good cannot be provided.

The collective goods problem occurs in all groups and societies, but it is particularly acute in international affairs because each nation is sovereign, with no central authority such as a world government to enforce on individual nations the necessary measures to provide for the common good. By contrast, in domestic politics *within* countries, a government can force individuals to contribute in ways that do not serve their individual self-interest, such as by paying taxes or paying to install antipollution equipment on vehicles and factories. If individuals do not comply, the government can punish them. Although this solution is far from perfect—cheaters and criminals sometimes are not caught, and governments sometimes abuse their power—it mostly works well enough to keep societies going.

Three basic principles—which we call dominance, reciprocity, and identity—offer possible solutions to the core problem of getting individuals to cooperate for the common good without a central authority to make them do so (see Table 1.1). These three principles are fundamental across the social sciences and recur in other disciplines such as the study of animal societies, child development, social psychology, anthropology, and economics as well as political science. To further explain each principle, we will apply the three principles to a small-scale human example and an IR example.

DOMINANCE The principle of **dominance** solves the collective goods problem by establishing a power hierarchy in which those at the top control those below—a bit like a government but without an actual government. Instead of fighting constantly over who gets scarce resources, the members of a group can just fight occasionally over position in the "status hierarchy." Then social conflicts such as who gets resources are resolved automatically in favor of the higher-ranking actor. Fights over the dominance position have scripted rules that minimize, to some extent, the harm inflicted on the group members. Symbolic acts of submission and dominance reinforce an ever-present status hierarchy. Staying at the top of a status hierarchy does not depend on strength alone, though it helps. Rather, the top actor may be the one most adept at forming and maintaining alliances among the group's more capable members. Dominance is complex and not just a matter of brute force.

dominance A principle for solving collective goods problems by imposing solutions hierarchically.

In international relations, the principle of dominance underlies the great power system, in which a handful of countries dictate the rules for all the others. Sometimes a so-called *hegemon* or superpower stands atop the great powers as the dominant nation. The UN Security Council, in which the world's five strongest military powers hold a veto, reflects the dominance principle.

The advantage of the dominance solution to the collective goods problem is that, like a government, it forces members of a group to contribute to the common good. It also minimizes open conflict within the group. However, the disadvantage is that this stability comes at a cost of constant oppression of, and resentment by, the lower-ranking members in the status hierarchy. Also, conflicts over position in the hierarchy can occasionally harm the group's stability and well-being, such as when challenges to the top position lead to serious fights. In the case of international relations, the great power system and the hegemony of a superpower can provide relative peace and stability for decades on end but then can break down into costly wars among the great powers.

Ji Haixin/Associated Press

PLENTY OF FISH IN THE SEA? Collective goods, such as healthy-global fisheries, depend on group members cooperating to preserve the good. Yet, while members want to protect the collective good, they also have an individual incentive to over-use the good. One of these fishing boats, shown in a Chinese harbor in 2018, might want to catch a few extra fish thinking their few extra will not matter. But if all of these boats adopt that behavior, overfishing will result. Thus, the boats need to cooperate to protect the fish stocks (the collective good). In many issue areas, such as global warming, the international community of nations is similarly interdependent. However, the provision of collective goods presents difficult dilemmas as players seek to maximize their own share of benefits.

RECIPROCITY The principle of **reciprocity** solves the collective goods problem by rewarding behavior that contributes to the group and punishing behavior that pursues self-interest at the expense of the group. Reciprocity is very easy to understand and can be "enforced" without any central authority, making it a robust way to get individuals to cooperate for the common good.

reciprocity A response in kind to another's actions; a strategy of reciprocity uses positive forms of leverage to promise rewards and negative forms of leverage to threaten punishment.

But reciprocity operates in both the positive realm ("You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours") and the negative ("An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth").[1] A disadvantage of reciprocity as a solution to the collective goods problem is that it can lead to a downward spiral as each side punishes what it believes to be negative acts by the other. Psychologically, most people overestimate their own good intentions and underestimate the value of the actions of their opponents or rivals. To avoid tit-for-tat escalations of conflict, one or both parties must act generously to get the relationship moving in a cooperative direction.

In international relations, reciprocity forms the basis of most of the norms (habits, expectations) and institutions in the international system. Many central arrangements in IR, such as World Trade Organization (WTO) agreements, explicitly recognize reciprocity as the linchpin of cooperation. For instance, if one country opens its markets to another's goods, the other opens its markets in return. On the negative side, reciprocity fuels arms races as each side responds to the other's buildup of weapons. But it also allows arms control agreements and other step-by-step conflict-resolution measures, as two sides match each other's actions in backing away the brink of war.

[1]Robert Aitkin Bertram(1885). A Homiletic Encyclopaedia of Illustrations in Theology and Morals, 7e. Published by Funk & Wagnalls.

identity A principle for solving collective goods problems by changing participants' preferences based on their shared sense of belonging to a community.

IDENTITY A third potential solution to the collective goods problem lies in the identities of participants as members of a community. Although the dominance and reciprocity principles act on the idea of achieving individual self-interest (by taking what you can, or by mutually beneficial arrangements), the **identity** principle does not rely on self-interest. On the contrary, members of an identity community care about the interests of others in that community enough to sacrifice their own interests to benefit others. The roots of this principle lie in the family, the extended family, and the kinship group. But this potential is not limited to the close family; it can be generalized to any identity community that one feels a part of. As members of a family care about each other, so do members of an ethnic group, a gender group, a nation, or the world's scientists. In each case, individual members accept solutions to collective goods problems that do not give them the best deal as individuals because the benefits are "all in the family," so to speak. A biologist retiring at a rich American university may give away lab equipment to a biologist in a poor country because they share an identity as scientists. A European Jew may give money to Israel because of a shared Jewish identity, or a computer scientist from India may return home to work for lower pay after receiving training in Canada in order to help the community he or she cares about. Millions of people contribute to international disaster relief funds after tsunamis, earthquakes, or hurricanes because of a shared identity as members of the community of human beings.

In international relations, identity communities play important roles in overcoming difficult collective goods problems, including the issue of who contributes to development assistance, world health, and UN peacekeeping missions. The relatively large foreign aid contributions of Scandinavian countries, or the high Canadian participation in peacekeeping, cannot be explained well by self-interest but instead arise from these countries' self-defined identities as members of the international community. Even in military forces and diplomacy (where dominance and reciprocity, respectively, rule the day), the shared identities of military professionals and of diplomats—each with shared traditions and expectations—can take the edge off conflicts. And military alliances also mix identity politics with raw self-interest, as shown by the unusual strength of the U.S.-British alliance, which shared interests alone cannot explain as well as shared identity does.

Nonstate actors, such as nongovernmental organizations or terrorist networks, also rely on identity politics to a great extent. The increasing roles of these actors—feminist organizations, churches, jihadists, and multinational corporations, for example—have brought the identity principle to greater prominence in IR theory in recent years.

AN EVERYDAY EXAMPLE To sum up the three core principles, imagine that you have two good friends who are in a romantic relationship. They love each other and enjoy each other's company, but they come to you for help with a problem: When they go out together, one friend likes to go to the opera, whereas the other friend enjoys going to boxing matches.[2] Because of your training in international relations, you quickly recognize this as a collective goods problem, in which the shared interest is spending time together and the conflicting individual interests are watching opera and watching boxing. (Of course, you know that the behavior of states is more complicated than that of individuals, but put that aside for a moment.) You might approach this problem in any of three ways.

First, you could say, "Well, I know one of you has more money because of a better job, so I think that one should get to decide each time." This would be a dominance solution. It could be a very stable solution, if the less-wealthy friend cares

[2]This scenario is adapted from the game theory example "Battle of the Sexes."

more about spending time with their true love than they care about boxing. It would be a simple solution that would settle all future conflicts. It would give one party everything they want, and the other party some of what they want (love, company, a stable relationship). This might be better for both of them than spending all their evenings arguing about where to go out. On the other hand, this solution might leave the less-wealthy friend permanently resentful at the unequal nature of the outcome. They might feel their love diminish over time by a longing for respect and nostalgia for boxing. They might even find another romantic interest who likes boxing.

Second, you could say, "Look, instead of fighting all the time, why don't you establish a pattern and trade off going to boxing one time and opera the next." This would be a reciprocity solution. You could help the couple set up agreements, accounting systems, and shared expectations to govern the implementation of this seemingly simple solution. For example, they could go to boxing on Friday nights and opera on Saturday nights. But what if opera season is shorter than boxing season? Then perhaps they would go to opera more often during its season and boxing more often when opera is out of season. What if one of them is out of town on a Friday night? Does that night count anyway or does it earn a credit for later? Or does the one who is in town go out alone? What if the opera-loving friend *hates* boxing but the boxing-loving friend only mildly dislikes opera? Do you set up a schedule of two operas for each boxing match to keep each side equally happy or unhappy? Clearly, reciprocity solutions can become very complicated (just look at the world trade rules in Chapter 8, for example), and they require constant monitoring to see whether obligations are being met and cheating avoided. Your friends might find it an irritant in their relationship to keep close track of who owes whom a night at the opera or at a boxing match.

Third, you could say, "Who cares about opera or boxing? The point is that you love each other and want to be together. Get past the superficial issues and strengthen the core feelings that brought you together. Then it won't matter where you go or what you're watching." This would be an identity solution. This approach could powerfully resolve your friends' conflict and leave them both much happier. Over time, one partner might actually begin to prefer the other's favorite activity after more exposure—leading to a change in identity. On the other hand, after a while self-interest could creep back in because that loving feeling might seem even happier with a boxing match (or opera) to watch. Indeed, one partner can subtly exploit the other's commitment to get past the superficial conflicts. "What's it matter as long as we're together," they say, "and oh, look, there's a good boxing match tonight!" Sometimes the identity principle operates more powerfully in the short term than the long term: The soldier who volunteers to defend the homeland might begin to feel taken advantage of after months or years on the front line, and the American college student who gives money once to tsunami victims may not want to keep giving year after year to malaria victims.

Table 1.1 Core Principles for Solving Collective Goods Problems

Principle	Advantages	Drawbacks
Dominance	Order, Stability, Predictability	Oppression, Resentment
Reciprocity	Incentives for Mutual Cooperation	Downward Spirals, Complex Accounting
Identity	Sacrifice for Group, Redefine Interests	Demonizing an Out-Group

AN IR EXAMPLE Now consider the problem of nuclear proliferation. All countries share an interest in the collective good of peace and stability, which is hard to achieve in a world where more and more countries make more and more nuclear weapons. If individuals in a particular country acquire dangerous weapons, the government can take them away to keep everyone safe. But in the society of nations, no such central authority exists. For example, North Korea tested its first nuclear bomb in 2006, and has continued to test larger weapons-defying UN resolutions.

One approach to nuclear proliferation legitimizes these weapons' ownership by just the few most powerful countries. The "big five" with the largest nuclear arsenals hold veto power on the UN Security Council. Through agreements like the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and the Proliferation Security Initiative, the existing nuclear powers actively try to keep their exclusive hold on these weapons and prevent smaller nations from getting them. This is a dominance approach. In 2003, when the United States thought Iraq's Saddam Hussein might have an active nuclear weapons program, as he had a decade earlier, it invaded Iraq and overthrew its government. Similarly, in 1982, when Iraq had begun working toward a nuclear bomb, Israel sent jets to bomb Iraq's nuclear facility, setting back the program by years. One drawback to these dominance solutions is the resentment they create among the smaller countries. Those countries point to an unenforced provision of the NPT stating that existing nuclear powers should get rid of their own bombs as other countries refrain from making new ones. And they ask what gives Israel the right to bomb another country, or the United States the right to invade one. They speak of a double standard for the powerful and the weak.

Reciprocity offers a different avenue for preventing nuclear proliferation. It is the basis of the provision in the NPT about the existing nuclear powers' obligation to disarm in exchange for smaller countries' agreement to stay nonnuclear. Reciprocity also underlies arms control agreements, used extensively in the Cold War to manage the buildup of nuclear bombs by the superpowers and used currently to manage the mutual reduction of their arsenals. Deterrence also relies on reciprocity. The United States has warned North Korea against selling its bombs (an action that would be in North Korea's short-term self-interest), threatening to retaliate against North Korea if any other actor used such a bomb against the United States. And when Libya gave up its nuclear weapons program in 2003, the international community offered it various rewards, including the ending of economic sanctions, in exchange.

The identity principle has proven equally effective, if less newsworthy, against nuclear proliferation. Many nations that have the technical ability to make nuclear weapons have *chosen* not to do so. They have constructed their national identities in ways that shape their self-interests to make nuclear bombs undesirable. Some, like Sweden, do not intend to fight wars. Others, like Germany, belong to alliances in which they come under another nation's nuclear umbrella and do not need their own bombs. South Africa actually developed nuclear weapons in secret but then dismantled the program before apartheid ended, keeping the bomb out of the hands of the new majority-rule government. Nobody forced South Africa to do this (as in dominance), nor did it respond to rewards and punishments (reciprocity). Rather, South Africa's identity shifted. Similarly, Japan's experience of the catastrophic results of militarism, culminating in the destruction of two of its cities by nuclear bombs in 1945, continues generations later to shape Japan's identity as a country that does not want nuclear weapons, even though it has the know-how and even the stockpile of plutonium to make them.

Collective goods problems fascinate social scientists, and especially scholars of IR, precisely because they have no easy solutions. In later chapters, we will see how these three core principles shape the responses of the international community to various collective goods problems across the whole range of IR issues.

1.1.2 IR as a Field of Study

IR is a rather practical discipline. There is a close connection between scholars in colleges, universities, and think tanks and the policy-making community working in the government—especially in the United States. Some professors serve in the government (for instance, political science professor Condoleezza Rice became national security adviser in 2001 and secretary of state in 2005 under President George W. Bush), and sometimes professors publicize their ideas about foreign policy through newspaper columns, blog posts, or TV interviews. Influencing their government's foreign policy gives these scholars a laboratory in which to test their ideas in practice. Diplomats, bureaucrats, and politicians can benefit from the knowledge produced by IR scholars.

Theoretical debates in the field of IR are fundamental but unresolved. It will be up to the next generation of IR scholars—today's college students—to achieve a better understanding of how world politics works. The goal of this book is to lay out the current state of knowledge without exaggerating the successes of the discipline.

As part of political science, IR is about *international politics*—the decisions of governments about foreign actors, especially other governments. To some extent, however, the field is interdisciplinary, relating international politics to economics, history, sociology, and other disciplines. Some universities offer separate degrees or departments for IR. Most, however, teach IR in political science classes, in which the focus is on the *politics* of economic relationships or the *politics* of environmental management, to take two examples. (The domestic politics of foreign countries, although overlapping with IR, generally make up the separate field of *comparative politics*.)

Political relations among nations cover a range of activities—diplomacy, war, trade relations, alliances, cultural exchanges, participation in international organizations, and so forth. Particular activities within one of these spheres make up distinct **issue areas** on which scholars and foreign policy makers focus attention. Examples of issue areas include global trade, the environment, and specific conflicts such as the Arab-Israeli conflict. Within each issue area, and across the range of issues of concern

issue areas Distinct spheres of international activity (such as global trade negotiations) within which policy makers of various states face conflicts and sometimes achieve cooperation.

Policy Perspectives

OVERVIEW International policy makers confront a variety of problems every day. Solving these problems requires difficult decisions and choices. Policy Perspectives is a box feature in each chapter that places you in a particular decision-making perspective (for example, as the prime minister of Great Britain) and asks you to make choices concerning an important international relations issue.

Each box contains four sections. The first, Background, provides information about a political problem faced by the leader. This background information is factual and reflects real situations faced by these decision makers.

The second section, Domestic Considerations, reflects on the implications of the situation for domestic politics within the leader's government and society. How will the lives of ordinary citizens be affected?

The third section, Scenario, suggests a new problem or crisis confronting the leader. Although these crises are hypothetical, all are within the realm of possibility and would require difficult decisions by the leaders and their countries.

The fourth section, Choose Your Policy, asks you to make a choice responding to the Scenario. With each decision, think about the trade-offs between your options. What are the risks and rewards in choosing one policy over another? Do alternative options exist that could address the problem effectively within the given constraints? Does one option pose bigger costs in the short term but fewer in the long term? Can you defend your decision to colleagues, the public, and other world leaders? How will your choice affect your citizens' lives and your own political survival?

As you consider each problem faced by the decision maker, try to reflect on the process and logic by which you have reached the decision. Which factors seem more important and why? Are domestic or international factors more important in shaping your decision? Are the constraints you face based on limited capability (for example, money or military power), or do international law or norms influence your decision as well? How do factors such as lack of time influence your decision?

You will quickly discover that there are often no right answers. At times, it is difficult to choose between two good options; at other times, one has to decide which is the least bad option.

in any international relationship, policy makers of one nation can behave in a cooperative manner or a conflictual manner—extending either friendly or hostile behavior toward another nation. IR scholars often look at international relations in terms of the mix of **conflict and cooperation** in relationships among nations.

conflict and cooperation The types of actions that states take toward each other through time.

It is also possible to define the scope of the field of IR by the *subfields* it encompasses. Some scholars treat topics such as the chapters in this book (for example, international law or international development) as subfields, but here we will reserve the term for two macro-level topics. Traditionally, the study of IR has focused on questions of war and peace—the subfield of **international security** studies. The movements of armies and of diplomats, the crafting of treaties and alliances, the development and deployment of military capabilities—these are the subjects that dominated the study of IR in the past, especially in the 1950s and 1960s, and they continue to hold a central position in the field. Since the Cold War, regional conflicts and ethnic violence have received more attention, while interdisciplinary peace studies programs and feminist scholarship have sought to broaden concepts of "security" further.

international security A subfield of international relations (IR) that focuses on questions of war and peace.

The subfield of **international political economy (IPE)**, a second main subfield of IR, concerns trade and financial relations among nations and focuses on how nations have cooperated politically to create and maintain institutions that regulate the flow of international economic and financial transactions. Although these topics previously centered on relations among the world's richer nations, the widening of globalization and multilateral economic institutions such as the World Trade Organization have pushed IPE scholars to focus on developing states as well. In addition, they pay growing attention to relations between developed and developing nations (often labeled North-South relations), including topics such as economic dependency, debt, foreign aid, and technology transfer. Also newly important are problems of international environmental management and of global telecommunications. The subfield of IPE is expanding accordingly.

international political economy (IPE) The study of the politics of trade, monetary, and other economic relations among nations, and their connection to other transnational forces.

The same principles and theories that help us understand international security (discussed in the first half of this book) also help us understand IPE (discussed in the second half). Economics is important in security affairs, and vice versa.

Theoretical knowledge accumulates by a repeated cycle of generalizing and then testing. For a given puzzle, various theories can explain the result (though none perfectly) as a case of a more general principle. Each theory also logically predicts other outcomes, which can be tested empirically. A laboratory science, controlling all but one variable, can test theoretical predictions efficiently. IR does not have this luxury because many variables operate simultaneously. Thus, it is especially important to think critically about IR events and consider several different theoretical explanations before deciding which (if any) provides the best explanation.

1.2 Actors and Influences

Evaluate whether states are still the key actors in international relations.

The principal actors in IR are the world's governments. Scholars of IR traditionally study the decisions and acts of those governments in relation to other governments. The international stage is crowded with actors large and small that are intimately interwoven with the decisions of governments. These actors are individual leaders and citizens. They are bureaucratic agencies in foreign ministries. They are multinational corporations and terrorist groups. But the most important actors in IR are states.

1.2.1 State Actors

A **state** is a territorial entity controlled by a government and inhabited by a population. The locations of the world's states and territories are shown in the reference map at the front of this book. Regional maps with greater detail appear there as well.

state An inhabited territorial entity controlled by a government that exercises sovereignty over its territory.

A state government answers to no higher authority; it exercises *sovereignty* over its territory—to make and enforce laws, to collect taxes, and so forth. This sovereignty is recognized (acknowledged) by other states through diplomatic relations and usually by membership in the United Nations (UN). The population inhabiting a state forms a *civil society* to the extent that it has developed institutions to participate in political or social life. All or part of the population that shares a group identity may consider itself a *nation* (see Nationalism in Chapter 5). The state's government is a *democracy* to the extent that the members of the population control the government. In political life, and to some extent in IR scholarship, the terms *state*, *nation*, and *country* are used imprecisely, usually to refer to state governments. (Note that the word *state* in IR does not mean a state in the United States.)

With few exceptions, each state has a capital city—the seat of government from which it administers its territory—and often a single individual who acts in the name of the state. We will refer to this person simply as the "state leader." Often he or she is the *head of government* (such as a prime minister) or the *head of state* (such as a president, or a king or queen). In some countries, such as the United States, the same person is head of state and government. In other countries, the positions of the president or royalty, or even the prime minister, are symbolic. In any case, the most powerful political figures are the ones we mean by "state leaders," and these figures are the key individual actors in IR, regardless of whether these leaders are democratically elected or dictators. The state actor includes the individual leader as well as bureaucratic organizations such as foreign ministries that act in the name of the state. (What the United States calls *departments* are usually called *ministries* elsewhere. U.S. *secretaries* are *ministers* and the State Department corresponds with a *foreign ministry*.)

The **international system** is the set of relationships among the world's states, structured according to certain rules and patterns of interaction. Some such rules are explicit; some are implicit. They include who is considered a member of the system, what rights and responsibilities the members have, and what kinds of actions and responses normally occur between states.

international system The set of relationships among the world's states, structured by certain rules and patterns of interaction.
nation-states States whose populations share a sense of national identity, usually including a language and culture.

The modern international system has existed for only 500 years. Before then, people were organized into more mixed and overlapping political units such as city-states, empires, and feudal fiefs. In the past 200 years, the idea has spread that *nations*—groups of people who share a sense of national identity, usually including a language and culture—should have their own states. Most large states today are such **nation-states**. But since World War II, the decolonization process in much of Asia and Africa has added many new states, some not at all nation-states. A major source of conflict and war at present is the frequent mismatch between perceived nations and actual state borders. When people identify with a nationality that their state government does not represent, they may fight to form their own state and thus to gain sovereignty over their territory and affairs. This substate nationalism is only one of several trends that undermine the present system of states. Others include the globalization of economic processes, the power of telecommunications, and the proliferation of ballistic missiles.

STR/Newscom

POWERS THAT BE States are the most important actors in IR. A handful of states are considered great powers and one a "superpower." Here, world leaders of Britain, the United States, China, and Germany pose for a photo at the start of the G20 meetings, 2017.

The independence of former colonies and, more recently, the breakup into smaller states of large multinational states (the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia) have increased the

number of states in the world. The exact total depends on the status of a number of quasi-state political entities, and it keeps changing as political units split apart or merge. The UN has 193 members in 2018.

The population of the world's states varies dramatically, from China and India with more than 1 billion people each, to microstates such as San Marino with 32,000. With the creation of many small states in recent decades, the majority of states have fewer than 10 million people each, and more than half of the rest have 10 million to 50 million each. But the 16 states with populations of more than 80 million people together contain about two-thirds of the world's population.

gross domestic product (GDP) The size of a state's total annual economic activity.

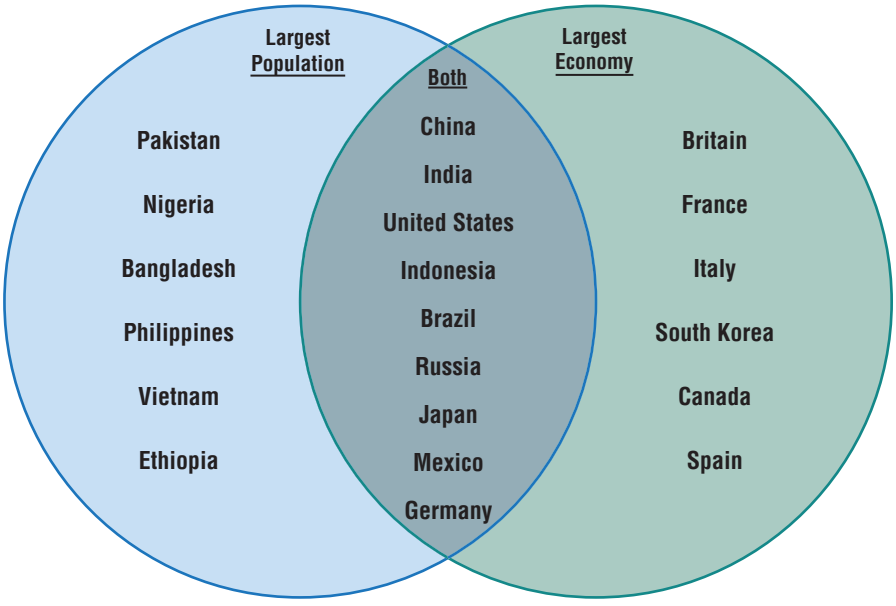
States also differ tremendously in the size of their total annual economic activity—**gross domestic product (GDP)**[3]—from the nearly $19 trillion U.S. economy to the economies of tiny states such as the Pacific island of Tuvalu ($37 million). The world economy is dominated by a few states, just as world population is. Figure 1.1 lists the 15 largest countries by population and by economy. Each is an important actor in world affairs, especially the nine in the center that are largest in both population and economy.

A few of these large states possess especially great military and economic strength and influence, and are called *great powers*. They are defined and discussed in Chapter 2. The most powerful of great powers, those with truly global influence, have been called *superpowers*. This term generally meant the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War and now refers to the United States alone.

Some other political entities are often referred to as states or countries, although they are not formally recognized as states. Taiwan is the most important of these. It

Figure 1.1 Largest Countries, 2017–2018

Source: World Bank data. GDP estimates for 2017, population for 2018.



Note: Left and center columns listed in population order, right column in GDP order.

[3]GDP is the total of goods and services produced by a nation; it is very similar to the gross national product (GNP). Such data are difficult to compare across nations with different currencies, economic systems, and levels of development. In particular, comparisons of GDP between rich and poor countries should be treated cautiously. GDP data used in this book are mostly from the World Bank. In Chapter 12, we discuss other ways to measure GDP that take into account the relative price of goods purchased in a country. This can be important since the price of goods such as food can vary widely between countries, giving the same economic activity a different value depending on the country. See Feenstra, Robert C., Robert Inklaar, and Marcel P. Timmer. The Next Generation of the Penn World Table. *American Economic Review* 105 (10), 2015: 3150–82. GDP data are for 2017 unless otherwise noted.

operates independently in practice but is claimed by China (a claim recognized formally by outside powers) and is not a UN member. Formal colonies and possessions still exist; their status may change in the future. They include Puerto Rico (U.S.), Bermuda (British), Martinique (French), French Guiana, the Netherlands Antilles (Dutch), the Falkland Islands (British), and Guam (U.S.). Hong Kong reverted from British to Chinese rule in 1997 and retains a somewhat separate identity under China's "one country, two systems" formula. The status of the Vatican (Holy See) in Rome is ambiguous, as is that of Palestine, which in 2012 joined the Vatican to be the UN's two *nonmember observer states*. Including such territorial entities with states brings the world total to about 200 state or quasi-state actors. Other would-be states such as Kurdistan (Iraq), Abkhazia (Georgia), and Somaliland (Somalia) may fully control the territory they claim but are not internationally recognized.

1.2.2 Nonstate Actors

National governments may be the most important actors in IR, but they are strongly influenced by a variety of **nonstate actors** (see Table 1.2). These actors are also called *transnational actors* when they operate across international borders.

nonstate actors Actors other than state governments that operate either below the level of the state (that is, within states) or across state borders.

First, states often take actions through, within, or in the context of **intergovernmental organizations (IGOs)**—organizations whose members are national governments. IGOs fulfill a variety of functions and vary in size from just a few states to the whole UN membership. The Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), the World Trade Organization (WTO), military alliances such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and political groupings such as the African Union (AU) are all IGOs.

intergovernmental organization (IGO) An organization (such as the United Nations and its agencies) whose members are state governments.

Another type of transnational actor, **nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)**, are private organizations, some of considerable size and resources. Increasingly NGOs are being recognized, in the UN and other forums, as legitimate actors along with states, though not equal to them. Some of these groups have a political purpose, some a humanitarian one, some an economic or technical one. Sometimes NGOs combine efforts through transnational advocacy networks. There is no single pattern to NGOs. Together, IGOs and NGOs are referred to as international organizations (IOs). By one count there are more than 50,000 NGOs and 5,000 IGOs. IOs are discussed in detail in Chapters 7 and 10.

nongovernmental organization (NGO) A transnational group or entity (such as the Catholic Church, Greenpeace, or the International Olympic Committee) that interacts with states, multinational corporations (MNCs), other NGOs, and intergovernmental organizations (IGOs).

Multinational corporations (MNCs) are companies that span multiple countries. The interests of a large company doing business globally do not correspond with any one state's interests. MNCs often control greater resources, and operate internationally with greater efficiency, than many small states. They may prop up (or even create) friendly foreign governments, as the United Fruit Company did in the "banana republics" of Central America a century ago. But MNCs also provide poor states with much-needed foreign investment and tax revenues. MNCs in turn depend on states to

Table 1.2 Types of Nonstate Actors

Type		Who Are They?	Examples
IGOs[a]	Intergovernmental Organizations	Members are national governments	United Nations, NATO, Arab League
NGOs[a]	Nongovernmental Organizations	Members are individuals and groups	Amnesty International, Lions Clubs, Red Cross
MNCs	Multinational Corporations	Companies that span borders	ExxonMobil, Toyota, Walmart
Others		Individuals, Cities, Constituencies, etc.	Bono, Iraqi Kurdistan, al Qaeda

[a]*Note:* IGOs and NGOs together make up International Organizations (IOs).

Firat Yurdakul/Anadolu Agency/Getty Images

IN THE ACTION Nonstate actors participate in IR alongside states, although generally in less central roles. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are becoming increasingly active in IR. Here relief workers from a Turkish Islamic charity group distribute clothes and shoes to Rohingya children in a refugee camp in Bangladesh, 2017. The children fled from a violent military crackdown, which many have labeled ethnic cleansing, in their home country of Burma (Myanmar).

provide protection, well-regulated markets, and a stable political environment. MNCs as international actors receive special attention in Chapters 9 and 13.

Various other nonstate actors interact with states, IOs, and MNCs. For example, the terrorist attacks since September 11, 2001, have demonstrated the increasing power that technology gives terrorists as nonstate actors. Just as Greenpeace can travel to a remote location and then beam video of its environmental actions there to the world, so too can the Islamic State place suicide bombers in world cities, coordinate their operations and finances through the Internet and the global banking system, and reach a global audience via social media outlets like YouTube and Twitter. "Global reach," once an exclusive capability of great powers, now is available to many others, for better or worse.

Some nonstate actors are *substate actors*: They exist within one country but either influence that country's foreign policy or operate internationally, or both. For instance, the state of Pennsylvania is entirely a U.S. entity but operates an Office of International Business Development to promote exports and foreign investment, with 15 offices worldwide. The actions of substate economic actors—companies, consumers, workers, investors—help create the context of economic activity against which international political events play out and within which governments must operate.

In this world of globalization, of substate actors and transnational actors, states are still important. But to some extent they are being gradually pushed aside as companies, groups, and individuals deal ever more directly with each other across borders and as the world economy becomes globally integrated. Now more than ever, IR extends beyond the interactions of national governments.

Both state and nonstate actors are strongly affected by the revolution in information technologies now under way. The new information-intensive world promises to reshape international relations profoundly. Technological change dramatically affects actors' relative capabilities and even preferences. Telecommunications and computerization allow economics, politics, and culture alike to operate on a global scale as never before. The ramifications of information technology for various facets of IR will be developed in each chapter of this book.

1.2.3 Levels of Analysis

The many actors involved in IR contribute to the complexity of competing explanations and theories. One way scholars of IR have sorted out this multiplicity of influences, actors, and processes is to categorize them into different *levels of analysis* (see Table 1.3). A level of analysis is a perspective on IR based on a set of similar actors or processes that suggests possible explanations to "why" questions. IR scholars have proposed various level-of-analysis schemes, most often with three main levels (and sometimes a few sublevels between).

The *individual* level of analysis concerns the perceptions, choices, and actions of individual human beings. Great leaders influence the course of history, as do individual citizens, thinkers, soldiers, and voters. Without Lenin, it is said, there might well have been no Soviet Union. If a few more college students had voted for Nixon rather than Kennedy in the razor-close 1960 election, the Cuban Missile Crisis might have

Table 1.3 Levels of Analysis

Many influences affect the course of international relations. Levels of analysis provide a framework for categorizing these influences and thus for suggesting various explanations of international events. Examples include:

Systemic Level		
North-South gap	Religious fundamentalism	Information revolution
European imperialism	World environment	Global telecommunications
Norms	Technological change	Worldwide scientific and business communities
Distribution of power	Wars	IGOs
Balance of power	Military alliances	Trade agreements
Domestic Level		
Nationalism	Dictatorship	Gender
Ethnic conflict	Domestic coalitions	Economic sectors and industries
Type of government	Political parties and elections	Military-industrial complex
Democracy	Public opinion	Foreign policy bureaucracies
Individual Level		
Great leaders	Psychology of perception and decision	Citizens' participation (voting, rebelling, going to war, etc.)
Crazy leaders	Learning	
Decision making in crises	Assassinations, accidents of history	

ended differently. The study of foreign policy decision making, discussed in Chapter 3, pays special attention to individual-level explanations of IR outcomes because of the importance of psychological factors in the decision-making process.

The *domestic* (or *state* or *societal*) level of analysis concerns the aggregations of individuals within states that influence state actions in the international arena. Such aggregations include interest groups, political organizations, and government agencies. These groups operate differently (with different international effects) in different kinds of societies and states. For instance, democracies and dictatorships may act differently from one another, and democracies may act differently in an election year from the way they act at other times. The politics of ethnic conflict and nationalism, bubbling up from within states, plays an increasingly important role in the relations among states. Within governments, foreign policy agencies often fight bureaucratic battles over policy decisions.

The *systemic* (or *interstate*) level of analysis concerns the influence of the international system upon outcomes. This level of analysis therefore focuses on the interactions of states themselves, without regard to their internal makeup or the particular individuals who lead them. This level pays attention to states' relative power positions in the international system and the interactions (trade, for example) among them. It has been traditionally the most important of the levels of analysis.

Most scholars also include forces that transcend the interactions of states in the systemic level. The evolution of human technology, of certain worldwide beliefs, and of humans' relationship to the natural environment are all processes at the systemic level that influence international relations. This level includes factors such as the process of transnational integration through worldwide scientific, technical, and business communities (see Chapter 10). Another pervasive systemic influence is the lingering effect of historical European imperialism—Europe's conquest of Latin America, Asia, and Africa (see History of Imperialism, 1500–2000 in Chapter 12).

Levels of analysis offer different sorts of explanations for international events. For example, many possible explanations exist for the 2003 U.S.-led war against Iraq. At the individual level, the war could be attributed to Saddam Hussein's gamble that he could defeat the forces arrayed against him, or to President Bush's desire to remove a leader he personally deemed threatening. At the domestic level, the war could be attributed to the rise of the powerful neoconservative faction that convinced the Bush administration and Americans that Saddam was a threat to U.S. security in a post–September 11 world. At the systemic level, the war might be attributed to the

predominance of U.S. power. With no state willing to back Iraq militarily, the United States (as the largest global military power) was free to attack Iraq without fear of a large-scale military response.

Although IR scholars often focus their study mainly on one level of analysis, other levels bear on a problem simultaneously. There is no single correct level for a given "why" question. Rather, levels of analysis help suggest multiple explanations and approaches to consider in explaining an event. They remind scholars and students to look beyond the immediate and superficial aspects of an event to explore the possible influences of more distant causes. Note that the processes at higher levels tend to operate more slowly than those at lower levels. Individuals go in and out of office often; the structure of the international system changes rarely.

1.2.4 Globalization

globalization The increasing integration of the world in terms of communications, culture, and economics; may also refer to changing subjective experiences of space and time accompanying this process.

Globalization encompasses many trends, including expanded international trade, telecommunications, monetary coordination, multinational corporations, technical and scientific cooperation, cultural exchanges of new types and scales, migration and refugee flows, and relations between the world's rich and poor countries. Although globalization clearly is very important, it is also rather vaguely defined and not well explained by any one theory. One popular conception of globalization is "the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life. . . ."[4] But at least three conceptions of this process compete.

One view sees globalization as the fruition of liberal economic principles. A global marketplace has brought growth and prosperity (not to all countries but to those most integrated with the global market). This economic process has made traditional states obsolete as economic units. States are thus losing authority to supranational institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the European Union (EU), and to transnational actors such as MNCs and NGOs. The values of technocrats and elite, educated citizens in liberal democracies are becoming global values, reflecting an emerging global civilization. The old North-South division is seen as less important because the global South is moving in divergent directions depending on countries' and regions' integration with world markets.

Xu Xiaolin/Getty Images

THINK GLOBALLY As the world economy becomes more integrated, markets and production are becoming global in scope. This container port in Shanghai ships goods to and from all over the world, 2013.

A second perspective is skeptical of these claims about globalization. Such skeptics note that the world's major economies are no more integrated today than before World War I (when British hegemony provided a common set of expectations and institutions). The skeptics also doubt that regional and geographic distinctions such as the North-South divide are disappearing in favor of a single global market. Rather, they see the North-South gap as increasing with globalization. Also, the economic integration of states may be leading not to a single world free-trade zone but to distinct and rival regional blocs in America, Europe, and

[4]Held, David, Anthony McGrew, David Goldblatt, and Jonathan Perraton. *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture.* Stanford, 1999: 2.

Asia. The supposed emerging world civilization is disproved by the fragmenting of larger units (such as the Soviet Union) into smaller ones along lines of language, religion, and other such cultural factors.

A third school of thought sees globalization as more profound than the skeptics believe, yet more uncertain than the view of supporters of liberal economics. These "transformationalists" see state sovereignty as being eroded by the EU, the WTO, and other new institutions, so that sovereignty is no longer an absolute but just one of a spectrum of bargaining leverages held by states. The bargaining itself increasingly involves nonstate actors. Thus, globalization diffuses authority. State power is not so much strengthened or weakened by globalization but transformed to operate in new contexts with new tools.

While scholars debate these conceptions of globalization, popular debates focus on the growing power of large corporations operating globally, the disruptive costs associated with joining world markets (for example, job loss and environmental impacts), the perception of growing disparities between the rich and the poor, and the collusion of national governments in these wrongs through their participation in IOs such as the WTO and the IMF. Policies to expand free trade are a central focus of antiglobalization protesters (see Chapter 8). Street protests have turned host cities into besieged fortresses in Seattle (1999); Washington, DC (2000 IMF and World Bank meetings); Quebec (2001 summit working toward a Free Trade Area of the Americas); and Genoa, Italy (2001 G8 summit), where protesters engaged police in battles that killed one person. At the 2005 Hong Kong WTO meeting, protesters blocked nearby roads and some even tried to swim across Hong Kong harbor to disrupt the meeting. Although the protests have become less violent, annual WTO meetings are still the targets of antiglobalization protesters from around the globe.

This antiglobalization rhetoric grew in strength in 2016, when British voters rejected membership in the EU and Americans elected a president who criticized global trade agreements, questioned the need for military alliances, and promised to limit immigration from other countries. Within weeks of taking office, President Trump withdrew the United States from a major Asian trade agreement (the Trans-Pacific Partnership [TPP]), demanded military allies do more to pay for the NATO alliance, and attempted to ban immigration from several Muslim-majority countries. Both the British and American political movements behind these phenomena argued that global forces had created dangers to citizens in both countries.

Just as scholars disagree on conceptions of globalization, so do skeptics of globalization disagree on their goals and tactics. Union members from the global North want to stop globalization from shipping their jobs south. But workers in impoverished countries in the global South may desperately want those jobs as a first step toward decent wages and working conditions (relative to other options in their countries). In the United States, many in the Democratic Party (presidential candidate Bernie Sanders) and the Republican Party (President Trump) have expressed skepticism about global trade. Yet, both parties also have numerous members who argue for free trade. And while supporters of Trump and Sanders may agree on trade policy, they likely agree on little else in terms of policy. Thus, neither globalization nor the backlash to it is simple.

Globalization is changing both international security and IPE, as we will see in the coming chapters, but it is changing IPE more quickly and profoundly than security. The coming chapters address a broad range of topics, each affected by globalization. Chapter 4 shows how nonstate actors influence foreign policies of states. Chapter 7 discusses global institutions, international law, and human rights, all of growing importance as globalization continues. Chapters 8 and 9 look at economic globalization in trade, finance, and business, where globalization's influences are most apparent. Chapter 10 considers the information technology side of globalization as the world becomes wired in new ways. Chapter 11 discusses the global environment and examines how increasing interaction through globalization influences our physical

environment. Chapters 12 and 13 cover the global North-South divide, which is central to the concept of globalization.

The rest of this chapter takes up two contextual aspects of globalization that shape the issue areas discussed in subsequent chapters—(1) the relations among the world's major regions, especially the rich North and poor South, and (2) the evolution of the international system over the past century.

1.3 Global Geography

Identify at least three commonalities between states in the global North and states in the global South.

To highlight the insights afforded by a global level of analysis, this book divides the world into nine regions. These *world regions* differ from each other in the number of states they contain and in each region's particular mix of cultures, geographical realities, and languages. But each represents a geographical corner of the world, and together they reflect the overall larger divisions of the world.

North-South gap The disparity in resources (income, wealth, and power) between the industrialized, relatively rich countries of the West (and the former East) and the poorer countries of Africa, the Middle East, and much of Asia and Latin America.

The global **North-South gap** between the relatively rich industrialized countries of the North and the relatively poor countries of the South is the most important geographical element at the global level of analysis. The regions used in this book have been drawn to separate (with a few exceptions) the rich countries from the poor ones. The North includes both the West (the rich countries of North America, Europe, and Japan) and the old East, including the former Soviet Union (now Russia) and the *Commonwealth of Independent States* (*CIS*), a loose confederation of former Soviet republics excluding the Baltic states.[5] The South includes Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and much of Asia. The South is often called the *third world* (third after the West and East)—a term that is still widely used despite the second world's collapse. Countries in the South are also referred to as "developing" countries or "less-developed" countries (LDCs), in contrast to the "developed" countries of the North. The world regions are shown in Figure 1.2.

Several criteria beyond income levels help distinguish major geographically contiguous regions. Countries with similar economic levels, cultures, and languages have been kept together where possible. States with a history of interaction, including historical empires or trading zones, are also placed together in a region. Finally, countries that might possibly unify in the future—notably South Korea with North Korea, and China with Taiwan—are kept in the same region. Of course, no scheme works perfectly, and some states, such as Turkey, are pulled toward two regions.

Most of these regions correspond with commonly used geographical names, but a few notes may help. *East Asia* refers to China, Japan, and Korea. *Southeast Asia* refers to countries from Burma through Indonesia and the Philippines. Russia is considered a European state although a large section (Siberia) is in Asia. The *Pacific Rim* usually means East and Southeast Asia, Siberia, and the Pacific coast of North America and Latin America. *South Asia* only sometimes includes parts of Southeast Asia. Narrow definitions of the *Middle East* exclude both North Africa and Turkey. The *Balkans* are the states of southeastern Europe, bounded by Slovenia, Romania, and Greece.

Table 1.4 shows GDP for each of the world's countries, organized by region. Table 1.5 shows the approximate population and economic size (GDP) of each region in relation to the world as a whole. As the table indicates, income levels per capita are, overall, more than five times as high in the North as in the South. *The North contains*

[5]Note that geographical designations such as the "West" and the "Middle East" are European-centered. From Korea, for example, China and Russia are to the west, and Japan and the United States are to the east.

Figure 1.2 Nine Regions of the World

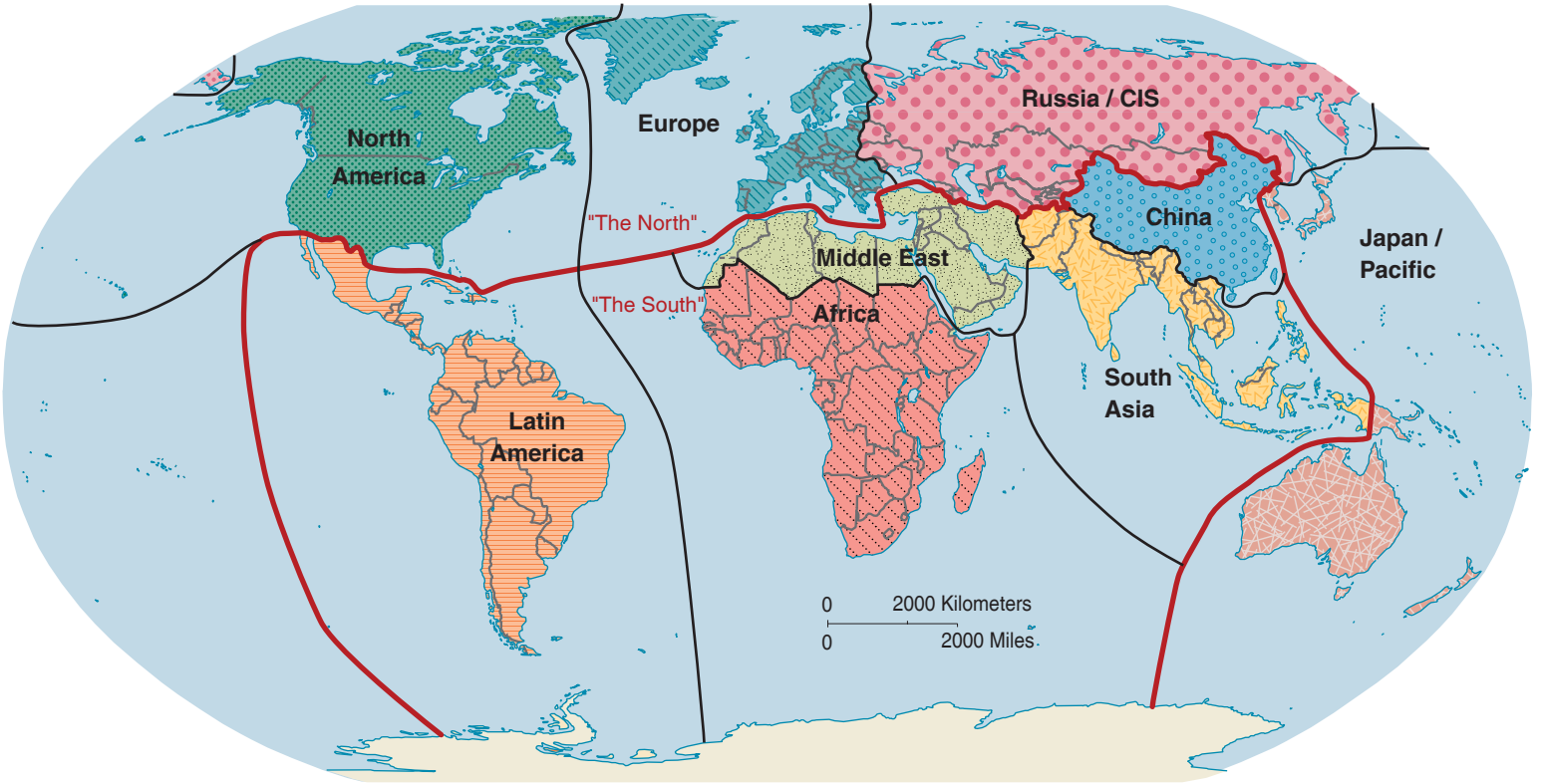


Table 1.4 States and Territories with Estimated Total GDP, 2017 *(In billions of 2018 U.S. dollars)*

North America					
United States	19,000	Canada	2,000	Bahamas	10
Europe					
Germany[a]	3,500	Czech Republic[a]	200	Latvia	30
Britain[a]	2,700	Greece[a]	200	Estonia[a]	20
France[a]	2,500	Portugal[a]	200	Cyprus[a]	20
Italy[a]	1,900	Finland[a]	200	Bosnia and Herzegovina	20
Spain[a]	1,200	Romania[a]	200	Iceland	20
Netherlands[a]	800	Hungary[a]	100	Albania	10
Switzerland	700	Slovakia[a]	100	Macedonia	10
Poland[a]	500	Luxembourg	60	Malta[a]	10
Belgium[a]	500	Croatia	50	Montenegro	5
Sweden[a]	500	Slovenia[a]	50	Liechtenstein	4
Norway	400	Bulgaria[a]	50	Andorra	3
Austria[a]	400	Serbia	40	Monaco	1
Denmark[a]	300	Lithuania[a]	40	San Marino	1
Ireland[a]	300				
Japan/Pacific					
Japan	5,000	Fiji	5	Nauru	0
South Korea	1,400	Guam/Marianas[b]	4	Marshall Islands	0
Australia	1,200	Solomon Islands	1	Palau	0
New Zealand	200	Samoa	1	Kiribati	0
North Korea	40	Vanuatu	1	Tuvalu	0
Papua New Guinea	20	Tonga	1	Micronesia	0
Russia/CIS					
Russia	1,500	Belarus	50	Tajikistan	10
Kazakhstan	200	Turkmenistan	40	Kyrgyzstan	10
Ukraine	100	Georgia	20	Moldova	10
Azerbaijan	70	Armenia	10	Mongolia	10
Uzbekistan	70				
China					
China	11,000	Hong Kong[b]	300	Macau[b]	40
Taiwan[b]	500				
Middle East					
Turkey	900	Iraq	200	Lebanon	50
Saudi Arabia	700	Qatar	200	Libya	40
Iran	500	Kuwait	100	Jordan	40
United Arab Emirates	500	Morocco/W. Sahara	100	Bahrain	30
Egypt	300	Oman	70	Yemen	30
Israel/Palestine	300	Tunisia	50	Syria	20
Algeria	200				