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LAMY • MASKER
BAYLIS • SMITH • OWENS

INTRODUCTION TO
Global Politics

SIXTH
EDITION

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Global Politics

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JOHN BAYLIS • STEVE SMITH • PATRICIA OWENS

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INTRODUCTION TO Global Politics

SIXTH EDITION

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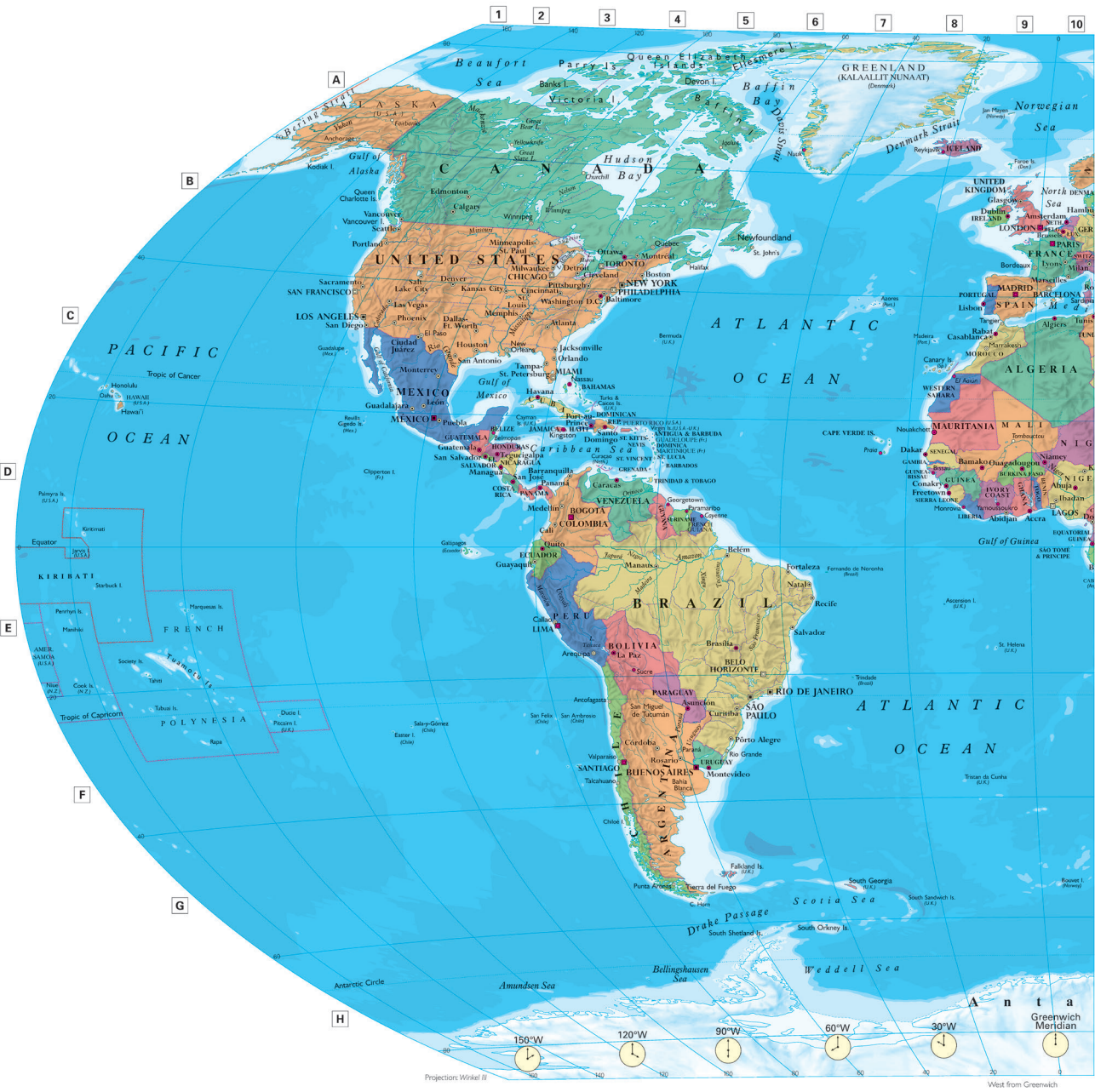
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Nicholas J. Wheeler

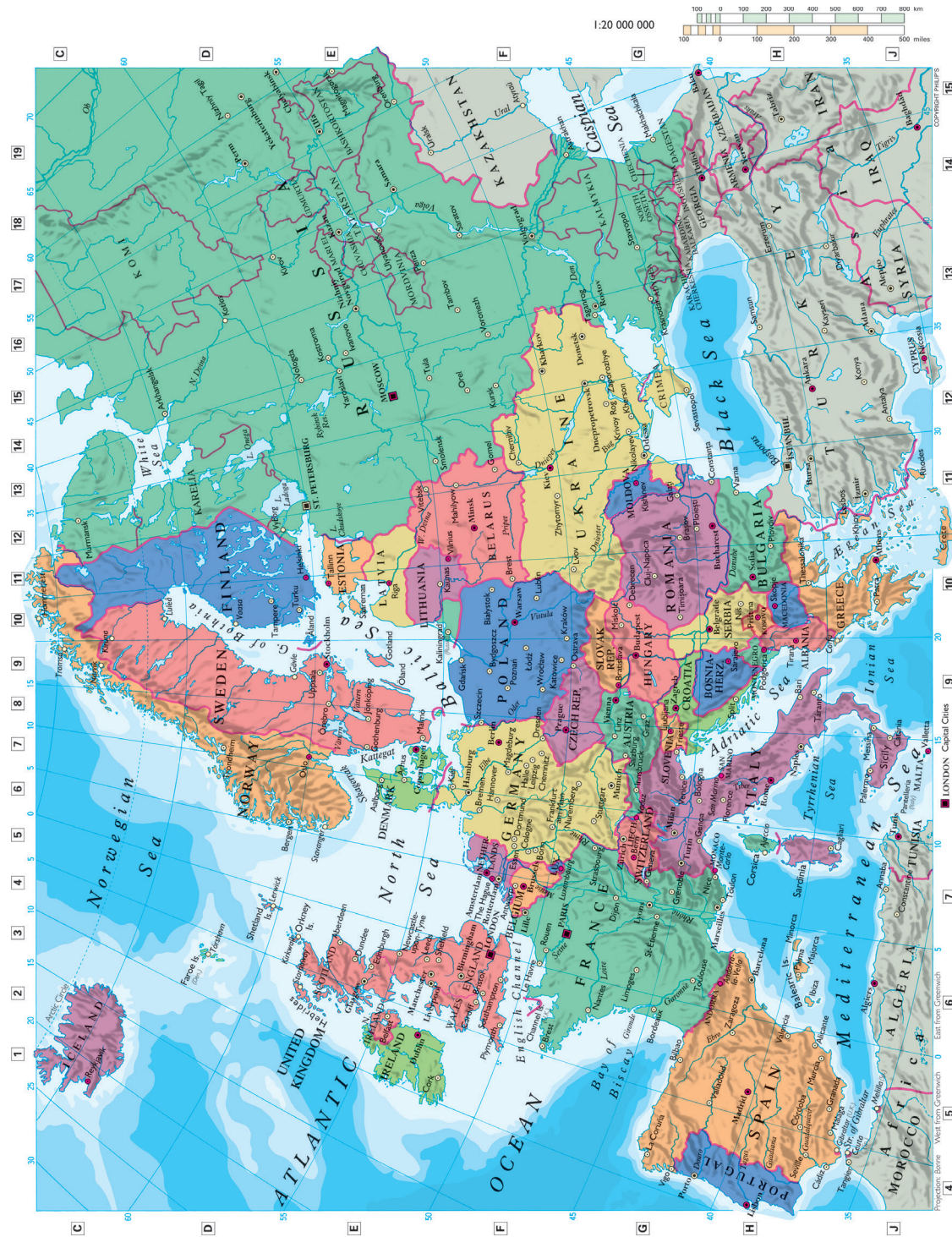
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Maps of the World



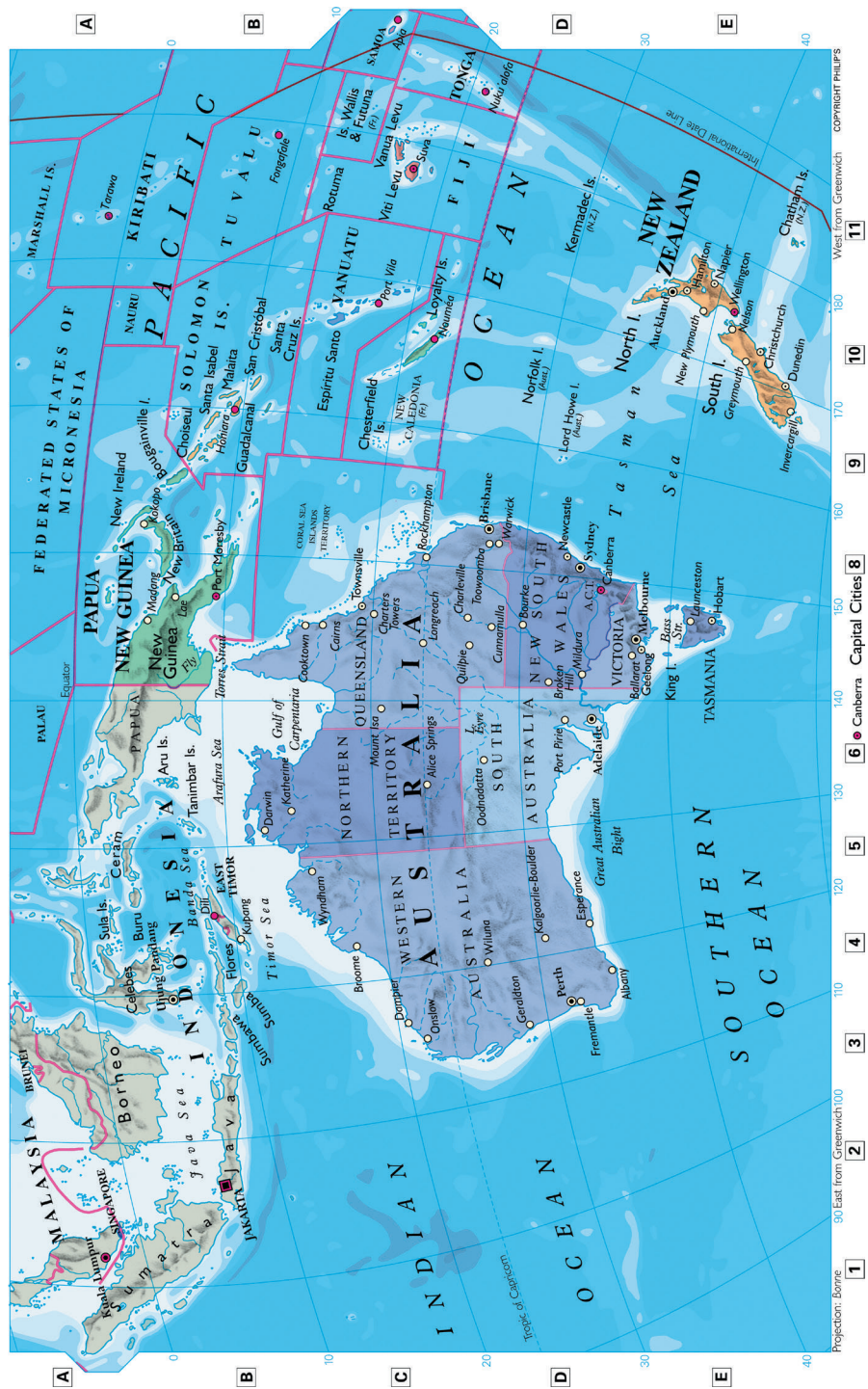












PREFACE

We have written this edition of *Introduction to Global Politics* with an increasingly interdependent world in mind. Perhaps the word “globalization” has become so overplayed that it has not retained much of its original force. Certainly, recent elections in the United States, the Brexit vote in Great Britain, and elections across Europe suggest that many citizens fear globalization and have reacted by demanding more nationalist and protectionist policies. In some cases this nationalism has become both militant and violent, and the victims are the “other”—the refugee, the immigrant, and the minority. At the same time, there is no unifying topic more important than globalization, no political trend of the same magnitude. Even our everyday decisions—those as seemingly trivial and isolated as what food to eat, what clothes to wear, what books to read, or what movies to see—affect the quality of life of everyone around us and of billions of people in distant countries. Meanwhile, decisions made around the world affect our daily lives. Not only is the world changing, becoming more complex and interconnected than ever before, but also the nature of this course is evolving. No matter what it is called—international relations, world politics, or global politics—the course has transformed in recent years, asking us to examine not only relations among countries but also a broader context of global events and issues. In this book, we therefore take a global approach that fosters an awareness of and appreciation for a variety of worldviews. To quote the French writer Marcel Proust, we believe that “the real voyage of discovery consists not in seeking new landscapes but in having new eyes.”

A Global Approach

So what does it mean to take a “global” view of world politics? By this, we mean two things. First, this textbook brings together academics from around the world, drawing from a diversity of thought unmatched by other textbooks. Despite the range of views represented here, all of the contributors teach international relations courses, and we agree on emphasizing the challenges we all face as members of a global community. This book thus introduces students not only to the diversity of thinking in our field but also to its common elements.

Second, we discuss in some detail the various critical actors in global politics. We explore the role of individual nation-states, as well as international institutions such as the United Nations and the European Union, and critically important economic institutions, including the World Bank Group and the World Trade Organization. We carefully assess how different groups and individuals have shaped these global institutions, holding different views on how best to govern this world of nearly two hundred independent nation-states. We also explore the growing number and significance of nongovernmental actors, both multinational corporations, such as Nike and Starbucks, and nongovernmental organizations, such as Oxfam and Doctors Without Borders. The entire world saw how important these

actors were as we experienced several significant events early in the twenty-first century: the 2008 global economic crisis; the 2011 earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear crisis in Japan, estimated to be the most expensive disaster in history; the 2015 terror attacks in Paris, which demonstrated that the Islamic State is more than just a regional threat; the 2015 Paris Climate Change Conference; and the current migrant and refugee crisis fueled by the ongoing conflicts and violence in Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, and parts of Africa. The field is changing as the world changes. With this sixth edition of *Introduction to Global Politics*, we hope to improve on the standard conversation, to bring the introductory course more in line with today's research, and to ask (and try to answer) the kinds of questions most relevant for students of world politics today.

This textbook will introduce students to the mainstream theoretical traditions of realism and liberalism and to critical approaches that are often left out of other texts, including constructivism, Marxism, feminism, and utopianism (Chapter 3). Our goal is to introduce students to all relevant voices so they can make an informed choice about how best to both explain and understand our world. We clearly lay out important theories so that they illuminate the actors and issues we discuss, rather than cloud them in further mystery. In short, we hope these pages will help each student develop a more informed worldview.

Learning Goals

An important assumption of this text is that theory matters. Every individual sees the world through theories and uses them to organize, evaluate, and critically review contending positions in controversial policy areas. Unfortunately, many people take positions that lack supporting evidence; they accept a statement or position as true or valid because it fits with their beliefs or reinforces what they believe to be true. After completing a course using this text, students will know more about the global system, the most important global actors, and the issues that shape the priorities and behavior of states and other actors in that system. This text encourages students to approach global politics in an informed, well-reasoned, and theoretically grounded manner. Overall, the chapters in this edition focus on four core learning objectives:

1. To develop a comprehensive understanding of the various theoretical traditions in global politics and the roles they play.
2. To understand the relationship between theory and policymaking or problem solving in global politics.
3. To appreciate the diversity of worldviews and theoretical assumptions that may inform political situations.
4. To develop an understanding of the global system and thereby increase the capacity to act or participate at various levels within it.

At the beginning of each chapter, we identify specific learning objectives that stem from these overarching goals. The review questions at the end of the chapter check that students have met the learning objectives.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading and discussing this chapter, you should be able to:

Describe key global actors and their role in addressing global issues.

Understand the importance of theories and resulting narratives used by scholars and policymakers in the field of international relations.

Explain the concept of levels of analysis.

Define the term *globalization*.

Explain academic disagreements about the character and the effects of globalization.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Is globalization a new phenomenon in world politics?
2. In what ways are you linked to globalization?
3. How do ideas about globalization shape our understanding of the trend?
4. How can different levels of analysis lead to different explanations of the impact of globalization on global politics?
5. Why do theories matter?
6. International relations began as a problem-solving discipline in response to World War I. What are the global problems that now define our field of study?

Organization

This edition of *Introduction to Global Politics* includes ten chapters and is divided into three parts:

FOUNDATIONS OF GLOBAL POLITICS

Covers the basic concepts, history, and theories of global politics.

GLOBAL ACTORS

Introduces the main actors on the world stage—from states to intergovernmental organizations to transnational actors and nongovernmental agencies.

GLOBAL ISSUES

Focuses on issues of crucial importance to the security and prosperity of the people in the world.

In the last section of the book, we discuss war, terrorism, human rights, and human security. We also focus on global trade and finance and the environment, with an emphasis on development and environmental sustainability. Each chapter provides essential information about the issue area and presents case studies and worldview questions that encourage students to think about these issues from contending perspectives.

Pedagogical Features

To aid students in the development of their own, more well-informed worldview, we supply several active-learning features, outside the main text, within every chapter. These boxed essays and other elements provide discussion questions and bring into sharp relief some of the unique themes of this book:

- **Theory in Practice** These features examine real-world scenarios through a variety of theoretical lenses, demonstrating the explanatory power of theories in global politics.
- **Case Studies** For a more in-depth analysis of a subject, students can turn to these essays that delve into world events.

- **What's Your Worldview?** These short, critical-thinking questions in every chapter challenge students to develop their own, more well-informed ideas about global actors and issues.
- **Thinking About Global Politics** This feature at the end of each chapter presents in-class activities dealing with real-world political issues. These activities give students the opportunity to develop their critical-thinking skills and apply what they have learned. Each activity includes follow-up questions or writing prompts.
- **Engaging With the World** These short boxes in the margin highlight opportunities to get involved with organizations working for positive change in the world.
- **What's Trending?** This a new feature that introduces students to an interesting argument in global politics presented by a well-known author in our field of study.

Every part of this textbook has been developed with today's college student in mind. The book includes a number of integrated study aids—such as chapter opening learning objectives, a running glossary, lists of key terms, and review questions—all of which help students read and retain important information while extending their learning experience. Two opposing quotations open every chapter, setting up two sides of one possible debate for students to consider while reading. At the end of every chapter, rather than

THEORY IN PRACTICE

Neoconservatives and the United Nations

THE CHALLENGE

For analysts from the realist school of thought, states exist in an anarchic, self-help world, looking to their own power resources for national security. This was the perspective of the neoconservatives who dominated the administration of US president George W. Bush. They subscribed to a strain of realist thinking that is best called hegemonist; that is, they believed the United States should use its power solely to secure its interests in the world. They were realists with idealistic tendencies, seeking to remake the world through promoting, by force if necessary, freedom, democracy, and free enterprise.

Paul Wolfowitz, an important voice in the neoconservative camp, wrote that global leadership was all about "demonstrating that your friends will be protected and taken care of, that your enemies will be punished, and those who refuse to support you will live to regret having done so." Although it would be wrong to assume that all realist thinkers and policymakers are opposed to international organizations such as the United Nations, most are wary of any organizations that prevent them from securing their national interests. The belief is that alliances should be only short-term events because allies might desert you in a crisis.

For some realists, such as the Bush neoconservatives, committing security to a collective security organization is even worse than an alliance because, in a worst-case situation, the alliance might gang up on your country. Even in the best-case situation, it would be a bad idea to submit your military forces to foreign leadership.

OPTIONS

In its early years, before the wave of decolonization in Africa and Asia, the United Nations' US-based realist critics did not have the ear of the country's political leadership. Presidents Truman and Eisenhower both found a way around the USSR's Security Council veto by working through the General Assembly, a body that at the time was very friendly to the United States and its goals. However, with the end of European control of Africa and Asia, the General Assembly changed. The body frequently passed resolutions condemning the United States and its allies. One result was a growing movement to end US involvement in the United Nations, especially among the key foreign policy advisers to President Reagan.

APPLICATION

In the 1980s, political realists saw no tangible benefit for the United States to remain active in the United Nations once the leaders in Washington could no longer count on a UN rubber stamp for US policies. For a number of years, the United States did not pay its dues to the United Nations.

This rejection of UN-style multilateralism revived with the George W. Bush presidency, beginning in 2001. In a controversial recess appointment, Bush chose John Bolton to be the US ambassador to the United Nations in 2005. This appointment came as a surprise because Bolton was a staunch opponent of multilateral organizations such as the United Nations. The Bush foreign policy advisers were against the peacekeeping operation in the former Yugoslavia. In her criticism of Clinton administration foreign policy, then national security adviser Condoleezza Rice said the United States would not send its troops to countries for nation building. More important, the Bush administration did not want to have its hands tied when dealing with Iraq and its alleged store of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. President Bush and his top advisers believed that sanctions—an important weapon in the United Nations' moral-suasion arsenal—would never force Iraq to disarm and that only force could do so. The irony is that, after the 2003 invasion, the United States' own weapons inspectors could find no evidence that Iraq had any of the banned weapons.

"Paul Wolfowitz, "Remembering the Future," *National Interest* 59 (Spring 2000): 41.

For Discussion

1. What might be a Marxist criticism of the United Nations and its operations?
2. Is there any way to overcome realists' beliefs about international anarchy and the impossibility of global governance?
3. Some utopians believe that a world government would end war and provide answers to other global challenges. Do you agree? Why or why not?
4. Do the five permanent members of the Security Council have too much power over the operations of the organization? Why or why not?

WHAT'S TRENDING?

The End of Peace?

In Michael Mandelbaum's latest book, *The Rise and Fall of Peace on Earth* (2019), he makes a very compelling argument that the liberal international order—the global political and economic system established by the United States and its allies after 1945—is seriously weakened if not on the way to ending. The liberal order is being eroded by the actions of three authoritarian nation-states: Iran, Russia, and China.

The United States has provided security and systems of governance that provided order and stability and that has helped the global economy prosper.

Mandelbaum's core argument is that since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the world has experienced twenty-five years of great-power peace. This is not to say that there have been no conflicts and violence across the world. The civil wars in Yugoslavia, Syria, and Yemen and the continuing wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have killed thousands of people. But since the end of the Cold War,

China, Russia, and the United States have not fought a major war.

A vibrant global economy and US military dominance kept the peace, but now "autocracy" has destroyed the peace. Mandelbaum's argument is that this post-Cold War peace ended because Iran, China, and Russia "adopted foreign policies of aggressive nationalism" that reignited the security competition in the world. Leaders of each of these nation-states sought to enhance their standing with their domestic populations by presenting themselves as defenders of the country against expansionary predators like the United States and ideas and norms that challenge the dominant beliefs and traditions of their state. In Russia, China, and Iran, nationalism has become their source of power, and by "wrapping themselves in the flag" the leaders gain legitimacy at home. Thus, aggressive nationalism and not having a successful economic or political system keep these leaders in power.

WHAT'S YOUR WORLDVIEW?

Scholars continue to study the reasons that states go to war. What do you think are some of the causes for past wars like World Wars I and II? What about the causes of wars today? Can we make any generalizations about why wars happen?

simply summarizing the contents for students, we provide a conclusion that requires students to analyze the various topics and themes of the chapter a bit more critically, placing everything they have learned into a broader context across chapters. Students need to acquire strong critical-thinking skills; they need to learn how to make connections among real-world events they hear about in the news and the ideas they learn about in class—and so it is with these goals in mind that the authors and editors have developed this edition.

One last point with regard to pedagogical features: The art program has been carefully selected to support critical thinking as well. Not only do we present a number of maps that offer unique global perspectives on historical events and modern world trends, but also we have incorporated data graphics and compelling photographs to engage students visually. The captions of many of these images include questions for further thought—once again connecting the reader back to the core content of the course, with an interesting prompt or relevant point.

New to This Edition

We have thoroughly updated this edition of *Introduction to Global Politics* in light of recent trends and events that are shaping our world, such as the trade war between the United States and China and the rise of populism and nationalism around the world. In addition, we have streamlined each chapter, revised for more balanced coverage, and strengthened our focus on active learning. In making these revisions, we have taken into account the helpful comments from reviewers, as well as our own experience using the previous editions in our classes.

Revision Highlights

The first three editions of *Introduction to Global Politics* were published in two formats, a fourteen-chapter edition and a brief ten-chapter edition. Like the fourth and fifth editions, this sixth edition is a ten-chapter hybrid edition, which contains balanced coverage of the major theoretical perspectives of international relations, a thorough examination of global actors, and an engaging introduction to global issues such as global trade and finance and the environment. This briefer text encourages students to examine the world by applying foundational concepts to historical and contemporary events, issues, and headlines. We have combined essential concepts with classic and current research, learning aids, and contemporary examples.

In addition, adopters of *Introduction to Global Politics* will find:

- We have threaded critical international relations theories throughout the text more evenly.
- Revised case studies offer updated and further analysis on topics such as global production and the failed intervention to stop genocide in Darfur.
- Throughout the textbook, figures, tables, maps, and graphs have been added, replaced, or updated with the latest and most accurate statistics and information.

- The new feature “What’s Trending?” in each chapter presents an influential book on that chapter’s subject.
- We have updated the “Engaging With the World” features.
- We have significantly updated our photo program, replacing more than half of the photos in the text to coincide with textual updates and keep pace with current events.

Chapter-by-Chapter Improvements

Chapter 1: Introduction to Global Politics

- Expanded theoretical coverage introduces students to the three theoretical traditions in international relations theory: Machiavellian, Grotian, and Kantian.
- We have presented the concept of narratives as a tool to understand global politics.

Chapter 2: The Evolution of Global Politics

- The revised chapter-opening vignette addresses the goals of nation-states for survival and influence in the global system and how critical trends, such as the diffusion of power and increasing demands for vital resources, influence such goals.
- Expanded coverage of relations between the United States and Cuba addresses the restoration of diplomatic ties.
- Further examination of the war on terrorism includes the completion of NATO’s International Security Assistance Force mission in Afghanistan and its subsequent transition to the ongoing Resolute Support Mission.
- We have revised coverage of the origins of the 2003 Iraq War.
- The Theory in Practice feature “Perception, Continuity, and Change After January 20, 2009” has been updated to address the course of the Arab Spring.
- Updated statistics and graphics include “Wars Since 1945” and “Estimated Global Nuclear Warheads as of 2019.”

Chapter 3: Realism, Liberalism, and Critical Theories

- Overlapping content between Chapter 3 and the first two introductory chapters has been eliminated, effectively streamlining the chapter and bringing into clearer focus its objectives of defining and describing the origins of international relations theories, as well as explaining the relation among the levels of analysis and the different variations of the five schools of thought.
- The latest on the most pertinent international relations matters is discussed, including how world leaders should deal with nationalism and extremist networks like the Islamic State.

Chapter 4: Making Foreign Policy

- The revised opening discusses ongoing international efforts to end the Yemen conflict.
- Updated coverage and analysis of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change have been provided.

- Discussion of foreign policy evaluation has been expanded to include criticism of the CIA's detention and treatment of prisoners taken in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.
- Additional examples of NGO influence on human rights have been provided—for example, Human Rights Watch pressuring the Chinese government to abolish its system of re-education through labor detention.
- Updated statistics and graphics include “Failed or Fragile State Index,” “Top Ten Foreign Aid Donors,” and “Share of World Military Expenditures of the Fifteen States With the Highest Expenditure” to reflect the most recent publicly available data.

Chapter 5: Global and Regional Governance

- The revised chapter-opening vignette addresses the impact of the apparent rapprochement between North Korea and the United States.
- Coverage of the European Union has been updated to reflect the departure of the United Kingdom.
- New content discusses China's role in global institutions.
- The case study “A Global Campaign: The Baby Milk Advocacy Network” has been updated to include recent statistics from the World Health Organization.
- Updated statistics and graphics include “UN Peacekeeping Operations as of August 31, 2019,” “INGO Growth Continues,” and “Distribution of Think Tanks in the World.”

Chapter 6: Global Security, Military Power, and Terrorism

- Updated information on conflicts includes the Syrian civil war, the rise of the Islamic State and its goal to establish an Islamic caliphate, and the UN peacekeeping mission in the Central African Republic to prevent civil wars and sectarian conflicts.
- Discussion has been added about hybrid warfare and “gray zone” tactics.
- Discussion has been added about the relevance of NATO in a post–Cold War era.
- Examples of the importance of collective action and reliance on international/regional organizations have been included—for example, in the case of the 2015 Iran nuclear deal and the resistance to President Trump's efforts to kill this deal.
- Expanded discussion has been provided on the effects of nuclear weapons and the idea that the international community is experiencing a new nuclear age in which weapons of mass destruction are used to secure a strategic advantage.
- There is a new discussion of cyberwarfare.
- The case study “US Drone Warfare: A Robotic Revolution in Modern Combat” has been updated to include recent statistics on drone strikes.
- Updated information has been included on the spread of jihadists, Al Qaeda, and ISIS and the geographical extent to which the Obama administration (and future administrations) will have to go to find them.
- Updated statistics and graphics include revisions to “Arms Deliveries Worldwide” and “Arms Transfer Agreements Worldwide”; “Top Locations of

Islamic State Twitter Users” and “Thirteen Years of Terror in Western Europe”; the addition of a new map, “Where ISIS Has Directed and Inspired Attacks”; and the table detailing the interactor relationship of those involved in the Syrian civil war.

Chapter 7: Human Rights and Human Security

- Information on the latest human rights crises has been provided—for example, the refugee crisis, the Syrian civil war, and South Sudan.
- Discussion of the Millennium Development Goals has been expanded.
- Discussion of human rights effects of civil wars has been expanded.
- The revised case study “A Failed Intervention” discusses the genocide in Darfur.
- Updated statistics have been provided on current UN peacekeeping operations and conflicts.
- Discussion of gender and human rights has been added.

Chapter 8: Global Trade and Finance

- Updated analysis has been provided on the current status of global economic interconnection—for example, the role that governmental intervention has in the economy of nation-states (free markets included), the impact of the slowdown of China’s economy, and the effects of increasing global foreign direct investment.
- Discussion of the effects of revived economic nationalism has been added.
- Updated discussion has been included on the Trans-Pacific Partnership and its subsequent implications as the largest regional trade agreement in history, and the United States’ exit from the agreement.
- The Theory in Practice feature “Contending Views of Capitalism” has been updated to reflect recent changes in the Chinese economy and the cyberwarfare tactics China uses against the United States.
- Updated statistics and graphics include “Main Trading Nations,” “Public Global Governance Agencies for Trade and Finance,” “Real GDP Growth,” and “Holdings of US Treasury Securities.”

Chapter 9: Poverty, Development, and Hunger

- Updated discussion has been included on the results of the Millennium Development Goals process (including an updated “Progress Chart for UN Millennium Development Goals”) and the UN’s subsequent adoption of the new 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (illustrated by “Sustainable Development Goals”).
- Updated discussions have been provided of world population statistics and estimated population growth projections, including new graphics “Projected World Population” and “Fastest-Growing Populations.”
- Statistics were updated where relevant throughout the chapter.
- The case study on Zimbabwe was updated.
- There is a new world hunger map.

Chapter 10: Environmental Issues

- Updated discussions include the latest environmental issues, such as the rising number of carbon emissions, the effects climate change and environmental degradation are having as causes of major violence in regard to specific ethnic communities that compete for scarce resources, and how each succeeding year has been “the hottest year in recorded history.”
- Discussion has been included on how climate change is the greatest challenge to economic and political stability across the world.
- Discussion of the global grassroots “climate strikes” has been added.
- Discussion of the so-called war on science has been added.
- The revised discussion of the latest Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change report addresses the rise of global surface temperatures, the continued shrinking of sea ice, and how human influence correlates to climate change and increasing levels of greenhouse gas emissions in the atmosphere.
- Information and analysis have been added about the 2015 Paris Climate Change Conference, its outcomes, the results of the 2019 Madrid summit, and the importance of adhering to pledges to curb emissions and keep global temperature rises under 2°C. New concluding thoughts and analysis are added as well.
- The table detailing “Recent Global Environmental Actions” has been revised to focus on events and actions of the past thirty years.
- Updated statistics and graphics include “Global Greenhouse Gas Emissions by Type of Gas” and two new graphics: “Number of Oil Spills Between 1970 and 2015” and “Largest Producers of CO₂ Emissions Worldwide.”
- A discussion of “eco-feminism” has been added.
- The “Doomsday” Seed Vault feature has been revised to reflect recent flooding events.

Teaching and Learning Tools

Oxford University Press offers instructors and students a comprehensive ancillary package for qualified adopters of *Introduction to Global Politics*.

Ancillary Resource Center (ARC)

This convenient, instructor-focused website provides access to all of the up-to-date teaching resources for this text—at any time—while guaranteeing the security of grade-significant resources. In addition, it allows OUP to keep instructors informed when new content becomes available. Register for access and create your individual user account by clicking on the Instructor’s Resources link at www.oup.com/he/lamy6e. Available on the ARC:

- **Instructor’s Manual:** The Instructor’s Resource Manual includes chapter objectives, a detailed chapter outline, lecture suggestions and activities, discussion questions, video resources, and web resources.

- **Test Item File:** This resource includes nearly 1,000 test items, including multiple-choice, short answer, and essay questions. Questions are identified as factual, conceptual, or applied, and correct answers are keyed to the text pages where the concepts are presented.
- **Computerized Test Bank:** The computerized test bank that accompanies this text is designed for both novice and advanced users. It enables instructors to create and edit questions, create randomized quizzes and tests with an easy-to-use drag-and-drop tool, publish quizzes and tests to online courses, and print quizzes and tests for paper-based assessments.
- **PowerPoint Presentations:** Each chapter's slide deck includes a succinct chapter outline and incorporates relevant chapter graphics.

Digital Learning Tools at www.oup.com/he/lamy6e

Introduction to Global Politics comes with an extensive array of digital learning tools to ensure your students get the most out of your course. Several assignment types provide your students with various activities that teach core concepts, allow students to develop data literacy around important contemporary topics and issues, and to role play as decision makers to engage with problems that simulate real world political challenges. The activities are optimized to work on any mobile device or computer. For users of learning management systems, results can be recorded to the gradebooks in one of several currently supported systems. Access to these activities are provided free with purchase of a new print or electronic textbook. These and additional study tools are available at www.oup.com/he/lamy6e, through links embedded in the enhanced ebook, and within course cartridges. Each activity type is described below:

- **Interactive Media Activities** are simulations of real world events, problems, and challenges developed to connect text and classroom topics to everyday life.
- **Media Tutorials:** These animated videos are designed to teach key concepts from the course, as well as address important contemporary issues.
- **Issue Navigators:** These *new* features offer students an interactive way to explore data related to major issues in American politics today, and allow students to reflect on the sources of their own views and opinions.

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Oxford's Enhanced eBooks combine high quality text content with multimedia and self-assessment activities to deliver a more engaging and interactive learning experience. The Enhanced eBook version of *Introduction to Global Politics* is available via RedShelf, VitalSource, and other leading higher education eBook vendors.

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OUP offers the ability to integrate OUP content into currently supported version of Canvas, D2L, or Blackboard. Please contact your Oxford University Press sales representative at (800) 280-0208.

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In addition, the following items can be packaged with the text for FREE:

- ***Oxford Pocket World Atlas***, Sixth Edition: This full-color atlas is a handy reference for international relations and global politics students.
- **Very Short Introduction Series**: These very brief texts offer succinct introductions to a variety of topics. Titles include *Terrorism* by Townshend, *Globalization*, Second Edition, by Steger, and *Global Warming* by Maslin, among others.
- ***The Student Research and Writing Guide for Political Science***: This brief guide provides students with the information and tools necessary to conduct research and write research paper. The guide explains how to get started writing a research paper, describes the parts of a research paper, and presents the citation formats found in academic writing.

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Steven L. Lamy
John S. Masker
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INTRODUCTION TO Global Politics

1

Introduction to Global Politics



World leaders representing the leading global economic and political actors met in Osaka, Japan, in late June 2019 for the G20 meetings. Here French president Macron discusses the world economy with German chancellor Angela Merkel and Canadian prime minister Justin Trudeau. As the United States withdraws from its leadership role, other leaders like these three will need to promote and protect the liberal economic system. Who do you think will lead in this new world order?

The real voyage of discovery consists not in seeking new landscapes but in having new eyes.

—MARCEL PROUST

Globalization is the inexorable integration of markets, nation-states and technologies to a degree never witnessed before, in a way enabling individuals, corporations and nation-states to reach around the world farther, faster, deeper and cheaper than ever before.

—THOMAS FRIEDMAN

Who will lead the world in this century, in this era of globalization? Will American leadership come to an end because of a dysfunctional polarized political system and presidential administration that is taking on positions that might be called economic nationalist or neo-mercantilist? Will great-power political competition return with the United States, Russia, and China arguing over system rules, competing for resources and markets and how best to respond to global challenges? With Brexit and the United States turning inward, the Western alliance created after World War II is under siege. So which countries will assume the mantle of leadership, and will this new global leader be willing to set aside national interests for the good of the global system? Russia is an authoritarian state with a formidable military but significant internal problems and little regard for the rights of its citizens and the sovereign rights of its neighbors. Great Britain is politically divided and its withdrawal from the European Union suggests that it may also become more of an economic nationalist state. Germany is clearly emerging as Europe's economic, political, and some would say moral leader due to its refugee asylum policies; however, its history and its current identity make global leadership less likely. India and China are emerging as major economic players, both have millions of citizens mired in poverty, and both have significant domestic challenges that may preclude an activist role in global politics. We need to remember that the United States and its allies created a global system after World War II that provided opportunities for most countries to prosper. This is not to say, however, that the current system does not struggle with significant global challenges, such as how to help the "bottom billion," the poorest billion people in the world. But will the new great powers take responsibility for

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LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading and discussing this chapter, you should be able to:

Describe key global actors and their role in addressing global issues.

Understand the importance of theories and resulting narratives used by scholars and policymakers in the field of international relations.

Explain the concept of levels of analysis.

Define the term *globalization*.

Explain academic disagreements about the character and the effects of globalization.

Globalization A historical process involving a fundamental shift or transformation in the spatial scale of human social organization that links distant communities and expands the reach of power relations across regions and continents.

providing the material resources needed to manage global problems? Maybe as important, what set of ideas and norms will guide the actions of these new leaders? Will the liberal internationalists' ideas that "won" the Cold War serve as the ruling narrative for leaders today or will a non-Western authoritarian set of rules become the ruling narrative?

Henry Kissinger, in his 2014 book *World Order*, suggests that we are living in a world of increasingly contradictory realities that challenge the sovereignty and autonomy of the nation-state and threaten the stability created by a balance-of-power system. Kissinger emphasizes several challenges that every student of international relations should consider and explore in detail. These include:

- Internal and external forces are challenging the independence and authority of the nation-state. Some states are paralyzed by ineffective political leadership, and others face separatist movements that seek to create their own nation-state. All states are constrained by the forces of globalization that may limit their ability to provide security and economic prosperity.
- The political and economic institutions and structures are "at variance." The economic system and the cyberworld are global, and the political structure is still based on the nation-state. Cold War-era institutions such as the World Bank and even the United Nations may be inadequate to manage the forces of globalization and respond to global challenges such as environmental degradation and global extremism.

Kissinger and many others have suggested that reconstruction of the international system may be the ultimate challenge of our time.

The world is changing, and that change is not only about terrorist networks or the end of the Cold War. Globalization—especially economic globalization—has dramatically reshuffled global power arrangements and created new alliances and coalitions with the power to shape our future security and well-being. By **globalization**, we mean *the process of increasing interconnectedness among societies such that events in one part of the world more and more have effects on peoples and societies far away*. This is still a world without a central government or common power, but we all depend on the willingness of some states to provide order, enforce the rule of law, and lead and manage the institutions essential to controlling the processes of globalization. At the same time, we expect our governments to provide security and opportunities for economic growth, and that is not easily

done in this era. Who will lead is one question, and who can afford to lead is maybe an even more important question. Still, the global war on extremism and terrorism, with tremendous costs in terms of blood and treasure, continues to shape the foreign policies of many states. And we know that all nation-states were dramatically affected by the global economic crisis that pinched the wealthy and crushed those without the natural and human resources necessary to compete.

Like past societies, citizens across this world face more challenges than just economic ones. The world is facing a major refugee crisis caused by wars in Africa, the Middle East, and other failed or fragile states, such as Syria, Sudan, Yemen, Venezuela, and Myanmar. The US interventions in both Afghanistan and Iraq did not result in the creation of stable multiethnic democratic states. Communal or ethnic violence continues to destabilize both nation-states, which has caused many Afghan and Iraqi citizens to flee. The conflict in Syria continues. It has raged for more than eight years and is considered the deadliest conflict in the twenty-first century, with over 500,000 deaths. Additionally, 5.7 million Syrians have fled the war and 6.1 million Syrians have been internally displaced. More concerning is the involvement of so many outside actors in this civil war. The United States is supporting several anti-Assad groups and is battling what is left of the Islamic State with its Kurdish allies. Russia is supporting Assad and, by its actions, risking conflict with the United States and its allies. Turkey is also fighting the Islamic State but is concerned that the Kurds might gain territory for an independent state on the Turkish border with Syria. Iran and Saudi Arabia are also indirectly involved, and the European Union has been fighting the Islamic State but has been overwhelmed by refugees from Syria and other conflicts in the Middle East and Africa.

Syria and now Yemen represents what many believe is the biggest challenge that the world faces: ungoverned regions of the world. This is where we find failed or fragile states that often act as incubators of terrorism and fail to provide for their citizens. Further, areas of conflict create tremendous humanitarian crises. The lack of economic security or poverty is often a reason that people seek radical change or simply leave their homelands.

One definitional element of globalization is the interdependence of national economies. Recently, Europe battled its own debt crisis, which threatened the entire global financial system. This crisis started in 2009 with Greece's inability to stabilize its finances. The euro area continues to

face economic issues, which are heightened by the influx of refugees from conflict regions around the world. Germany is taking the lead to stabilize the euro, prevent the collapse of Greece, and contain the crisis. Germany has also taken the lead in accepting refugees and promoting humanitarian responses to this human tragedy. One should note that by taking this humanitarian position toward refugees, Angela Merkel's ruling party lost support in recent elections. This raises an important issue: the rising tide of populism and nationalism that has contributed to many right-wing political party victories across Europe and the United States.

How we react to momentous global challenges like the "four famines" humanitarian crises created by war and violence in Yemen, South Sudan, Nigeria, and Somalia and the increasingly destructive effects of global climate change and weather weirding is linked to how we identify ourselves and the narrative that guides our policy choices. Are we nationalists or internationalists? Do we embrace globalization and work to manage it to our advantage, or do we become economic nationalists and work to withdraw from the global economy? We have seen the rise of antiglobalization movements across the world. The Brexit vote in the United Kingdom and the economic nationalism message that helped elect Donald Trump have seriously eroded the liberal economic system established by the United States and its allies after World War II. But is it even possible to withdraw from a global economy that provides goods and services for most of the world? You might be surprised to know how connected you are to the world. Look at the labels in your clothing. The tag says "Made in someplace," but have you ever wondered how the pieces of your sneakers, for example, got to the factory where they were assembled? Or how the shoes traveled from that factory in Asia to the store in California, Kansas, Texas, or Vermont where you purchased them? Have you ever asked yourself who made your sneakers? How does that person live? How do others in the world view the United States or other wealthy and powerful states where people buy these sneakers? How you are connected goes beyond looking at the goods and services you purchase in a given day. Do you have a passport and have you traveled internationally? Do you have a web-capable cellphone and are you constantly plugged in to internet applications like Facebook? Are you on Skype talking to friends you met while on a study-abroad program? Have you signed up for news alerts from news agencies? Do you also read the international news from foreign sources such as the BBC or Al Jazeera? Do you belong to a global nongovernmental organization

(NGO) like Human Rights Watch, Oxfam, or Greenpeace, which are all dedicated to resolving global problems?

All of us have connections to the world that we are not aware of. Other connections we make, like joining a political group or student club on campus, are more personal and immediate. Yet both types of connections—known and unknown—help shape our identities as individuals in the wider world. The purpose of this book is to help you understand the world of politics that provides those connections. Along the way, you will see how interdependent we all are and how our way of life is shaped by forces of globalization.

We need to remember that globalization is a multidimensional process. Economic or market globalization involves processes of trade, production, and finance that are pushed by communications, technology, and the networking of national markets into a global economy (Hebrun and Stack 2011). Political globalization is the spread of political ideas, values, norms, practices, and policies. Those who study globalization also look at its impact on the state and the ability of the state to do what is expected by its citizens. There are two positions here: (1) *hyperglobalists*, who see the state losing authority and sharing power with other actors, and (2) *skeptics*, who believe that states can use globalization to enhance their power and authority.

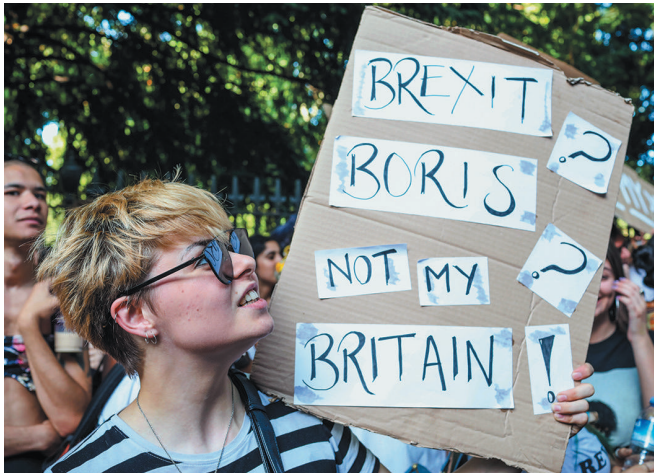
Perhaps as important as economic globalization is cultural globalization. This involves the spread of popular culture, in areas such as music, film, literature, and consumerism, and the global diffusion of more traditional cultural ideas found in religious and ethnic communities. Globalization is a powerful force that may challenge or at times enhance the authority of both state and nonstate actors in a variety of policy sectors. In many nation-states, most notably the United States with the election of Donald Trump with his America First message, the UK vote to leave the European Union, or Brexit, or the Five Star Movement in Italy, there appears to be a fear of globalization and an unrealistic view that countries can withdraw from this global system. Leaders need to remember that in the world today, economic interdependence, not independence, is the reality.

This chapter presents an overview of the textbook—the main actors and topics that we will examine. It also introduces the theories that will guide us in our study of global politics. You will learn more about globalization, and you will begin that important journey of discovery by developing new eyes. You will begin to see how different theories construct our world.

Introduction

In its 2017 publication, *Global Trends: Paradox of Progress*, the US National Intelligence Council presents a future scenario that suggests that we are “living in a paradox”: a world that is more prosperous and possibly more dangerous than ever before. Very few countries have escaped extremist movements and terrorist attacks. The “global war on terrorism” began in 2001 and continues today. The US wars in Afghanistan and Iraq are the two longest in US history, and they are likely to go on for a very long time. Yet, there are other challenges that will shape global politics for many years ahead. If this era of globalization means the end of US dominance, it may not mean the end of the liberal international order in which capitalism, democratic values, and the rule of law guide the behavior of societies and states. But to survive and prevent a new world disorder, leaders and citizens must address the following six challenges:

- The challenge of providing global economic and political order and system stability
- The challenge of achieving human security and addressing global poverty
- The challenge of maintaining the authority and sovereignty of the nation-state
- The challenge of protecting and promoting human rights
- The challenge presented by excessive nationalism and extremism
- The challenge of addressing environmental degradation and the fate of the natural world



Many young citizens took to the streets to protest the election of Boris Johnson as prime minister. Johnson was a leading supporter of the British withdrawal from the European Union or Brexit. Many believe that the fear of globalization and its economic, political, and cultural consequences, especially among older voters, was the primary reason for the narrow rejection of membership in the EU. Should we be concerned that nationalism is on the rise and that a multilateral experiment like the EU is under siege?

These six challenges define the agenda for any student of international relations and will be directly addressed in the issue chapters in this text.

Extremism and terrorist activities across the world in the last nineteen years underscore the seriousness of those who want a war against Western culture and its political and economic dominance. In Kissinger's terms, this may be the most serious threat to world order.

Currently, the ISIS network, once an affiliate of Al-Qaeda, has lost its territorial caliphate but still operates in Iraq and Syria and smaller territories in Libya, Nigeria, and Afghanistan. It has claimed responsibility for attacks in Paris, Brussels, Manchester, and other cities throughout Europe. The attacks were coordinated by using some of the most powerful technologies of the globalized world—namely, mobile phones, international bank accounts, and the internet.

Moreover, the key personnel traveled regularly among continents, using yet another symbol of globalization, mass air travel. More recently, countries must deal with home-grown terrorists. There are two distinctive varieties of these domestic terrorists. First, there are young citizens who may be immigrants or the sons and daughters of immigrants who are radicalized by religious narratives that emphasize the evils of Western popular culture and undermine the norms and values of liberty, freedom of expression, and equality of individuals in every society. A second group of domestic terrorists are the nationalists who see their culture being overwhelmed by immigrants and people of color. Both these groups embrace narratives or stories that inspire hate and violence and create a Manichean view (i.e., us vs. them) of the world. In addition, these narratives are promoted and disseminated across the globe through social media. The white supremacist terrorist in El Paso was inspired by the manifesto posted on the web by the New Zealand extremist who killed fifty-one worshippers at a mosque and an Islamic center.

Still, globalization can also be seen as one of the causes of these attacks. In many parts of the world dominated by traditional cultures and religious communities, fundamentalists see globalization as a Western process bringing popular culture and Western ideas that undermine their core values and beliefs. This “Westoxification” pushed and promoted by globalization is the enemy, and the United States is the leader of this noxious process. In a similar vein, nationalists want to stop the movement of people and the mixing of cultures. They see multiculturalism as a threat to who they are and the traditions and values that define their state. We are all experiencing the “globalization of nationalism,” and with that comes violence, intolerance, and a weakening of governance across the world.

We know that extremist movements representing various ethnic and nationalist communities are using technology and communication tools to promote their positions and even to organize their activities that democratic states have difficulty controlling. Many states and even some of the extremists are trying to control, manage, and, if possible, stop the process of globalization. This is possible in totalitarian societies, but it is becoming more difficult as the internet and global communications spread around the world. The upheavals in North Africa and the Middle East—the so-called Arab Spring—were organized using social networks like Facebook and messaging services like Twitter. Change agents across the globe are certainly aided by new communication technologies, and these are transboundary tools that states cannot effectively contain.

Although there are many indicators that the world has become increasingly globalized over the last thirty-five years, in many ways, the 9/11 attack on the United States, the numerous attacks on European cities, the 2008 economic crisis, and the ongoing conflicts in the Middle East and Africa are the clearest symbols of how distant events reverberate around the world. Other wicked global problems, such as climate change and global poverty, demand a global response, and the 2015 Paris Agreement on climate change and the recently announced UN Sustainable Development Goals suggest that some nation-states are willing to cooperate to respond to these global challenges. These successes do not always

last. The euphoria created by the Paris Agreement on climate was short-lived after the Trump administration stated that it would withdraw from this agreement—a clear example of how domestic politics shapes foreign policy.

Generally, people care most about what is going on at home or in their local communities. We usually elect people to office who promise to provide jobs, fix roads, offer loans for housing, build good schools, and provide quality health care. These promises may get candidates votes, but people in office soon learn that many of the promises cannot be fulfilled without considering the dynamics of the global economy and the impact of major global events. Leaders are now realizing that to provide for their citizens they must manage the processes of globalization, and this is not a task one country can do alone. We all became aware of the breadth and depth of globalization with the economic crisis that began in 2008 and still has continuing effects in 2020. The costs of this global financial crisis were unemployment, home foreclosures, bank failures, a collapse in the stock markets around the world, and a general anger and dissatisfaction with political leaders for failing to anticipate these problems and respond before the near collapse. Continuing discontent with the economy led to the successful Brexit vote, the election of Emmanuel Macron in France, the election of Donald Trump, and changes in political leadership around the world.

Governments, leaders of global institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, and regional organizations like the European Union must prove they can regulate global finance and manage the processes of globalization. World leaders and corporate executives are concerned about the

trade war between China and the United States and the resulting economic slowdown in China. Although China's 6.2 percent growth is the envy of most countries, any slowdown might have a major negative impact on trade in areas of global commodities like iron ore and other minerals. At the 2019 **G20, or Group of Twenty**, meetings in Osaka, Japan, the Japanese prime minister, Shinzo Abe, presented an agenda that was to deal with multilateral trade, global health, climate change, women's empowerment, and global data governance. Unfortunately, the outcomes of these meetings are dramatically shaped by domestic politics. US opposition to a strong position on "battling protectionism" and addressing climate change led to a weaker final declaration. The final document did include two new areas for cooperation: a commitment to facilitate the "free flow of data" and an agreement to embrace the Osaka Blue Ocean Vision that addresses marine plastic waste.

G20, or Group of Twenty An assembly of governments and leaders from twenty of the world's largest economies: Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, and the European Union.



Models of Chinese high-speed trains are on display at a major trade fair in Mostar, Bosnia. Chinese investments in Eastern and Central Europe are booming and the European Union leadership is very concerned. Whereas any EU funding comes with conditionality, the Chinese investments have few requirements. The EU uses its loans and investments to promote democracy, human rights, and sustainable development. China's loans are made entirely for economic reasons. How will Chinese loan and infrastructure programs influence the distribution of global power?

Probably the two most important issues—trade rules and climate change—were not seriously addressed due to US opposition, and this may be the cost of trying to find consensus at these major global conferences and meetings. It is also a recurring theme in global politics: The national interests of major powers usually triumph over the more general interests of the global community.

Again, the aim of this book is to provide an overview of global politics in this globalized world. Let us start, though, with a few words about the title. It is not accidental. First, we want to introduce you to global politics as distinct from international politics or international relations (a distinction we will explain shortly). Second, many think the contemporary, post–Cold War world is markedly different from previous periods because of the effects of globalization. We think it is especially difficult to explain global politics in such an era because globalization is a particularly controversial term. There is considerable dispute over just what it means to talk of this being an era of globalization and whether it means the main features of global politics are any different from those of previous eras. In this introduction, we explain how we propose to deal with the concept of globalization, and we offer you some arguments for and against seeing it as an important new development in global politics.

Before turning to globalization, we want to set the scene for the chapters that follow. We will first discuss the various terms used to describe international relations, world politics, and global politics, and then we will spend some time looking at the main ways global politics has been explained.

International Relations and Global Politics

Why does the title of this book refer to **global politics** rather than to international politics or **international relations**? These are the traditional names used to describe the kinds of interactions and processes that are the concern of this text. Our reason for choosing the phrase *global politics* is that it is more inclusive than either of the alternative terms. With this phrase, we mean to highlight our interest in the politics and political patterns in the world, and not only those among nation-states (as the term *international politics* implies). We are interested in relations among organizations that may or may not be states—for example, multinational companies, terrorist groups, or international **nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)**; these are all known as **transnational actors**. Although the term *international relations* does represent a widening of concern from simply the political relations among nation-states, it still restricts focus to *inter-national* relations. We think relations among cities or provinces and other **governments** or international organizations can be equally important. Therefore, we prefer to characterize the relations we are interested in as those of world politics—or more specifically, given the powerful influences of globalization, global politics.

However, we do not want such fine distinctions regarding word choice to force you to define politics too narrowly. You will see this issue arising repeatedly

Global politics The politics of global social relations in which the pursuit of power, interests, order, and justice transcends regions and continents.

International relations The study of the interactions of states (countries) and other actors in the international system.

Nongovernmental organization (NGO) An organization, usually a grassroots one, that has policy goals but is not governmental in its makeup. An NGO is any group of people relating to each other regularly in some formal manner and engaging in collective action, provided the activities are noncommercial and nonviolent and are not conducted on behalf of a government.

Transnational actor Any nongovernmental actor, such as a multinational corporation or a global religious humanitarian organization, that has dealings with any actor from another country or with an international organization.

Government The people and agencies that have the power and legitimate authority to determine who gets what, when, where, and how within a given territory.

Nonstate actor Any participant in global politics that is neither acting in the name of government nor created and served by government. Nongovernmental organizations, terrorist networks, global crime syndicates, and multinational corporations are examples.

Multinational corporation or enterprise (MNC/MNE) A business or firm with administration, production, distribution, and marketing located in countries around the world. Such a business moves money, goods, services, and technology around the world depending on where the firm can make the most profit.

Nation A community of people who share a common sense of identity, which may be derived from language, culture, or ethnicity; this community may be a minority within a single country or live in more than one country.

State A legal territorial entity composed of a stable population and a government; it possesses a monopoly over the legitimate use of force; its sovereignty is recognized by other states in the international system.

Nation-state A political community in which the state claims legitimacy on the grounds that it represents all citizens, including those who may identify as a separate community or nation.

in the chapters that follow because many academics want to define politics very widely. One obvious example concerns the relationship between politics and economics; there is clearly an overlap, and a lot of bargaining power goes to the person who can persuade others that the existing distribution of resources is simply economic rather than political. So we want you to think about politics very broadly for the time being. Several features of the contemporary world that you may not have previously thought of as political will be described as such in the chapters that follow. Our focus is on the patterns of political relations, defined broadly, that characterize the contemporary world.

Global Actors

After reviewing the foundational and theoretical aspects of global politics in Chapters 2 and 3, we will take a close look at a number of important actors on the world stage. Nation-states (countries) are the most important actors in global politics because they are the actors that engage in diplomatic relations, sign the treaties that create the legal foundation for world politics, and go to war.

Increasingly, however, **nonstate actors** are playing important roles in global politics. These can be international or regional organizations that are composed of states. The United Nations (discussed further in Chapter 5) is the most famous actor in this category; others include the European Union, the Organization of American States (OAS), the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, and the African Union. **Multinational corporations (MNCs)** have also become important players in world politics. These large business organizations can have their headquarters in one country, their design staff in another, and their production facilities in several other countries. MNCs are important in many ways but perhaps most significantly because a factory can provide vital jobs in a developing country. Nike may be the iconic example of a global multinational for many in the world, but China's global communication technology company Huawei and the British-Dutch Unilever consumer products company are well known around the world. These MNCs shape both economics and politics.

In Chapter 5, we will provide an in-depth look at these and other nonstate actors, including a discussion of NGOs, which have increased in numbers and influence in global politics. NGOs like the International Rescue Committee or World Vision provide expertise for policymakers and provide programs and resources to address global problems like the global refugee crisis and global health issues. To clarify the difference, some authors call MNCs for-profit nonstate actors and NGOs not-for-profit nonstate actors. We will also look at foundations and research think tanks that are playing more important roles in global politics. Finally, we will explore the role played by individuals, including celebrities, who become involved in diplomacy. To lay the groundwork for that future discussion, let's take a moment now to look more closely at the definitions—and debates—involving states and nation-states, as well as to consider the problems of the traditional state-centered approach to studying global politics.

Like many of the terms used in the study of global politics, the terms *state* and *nation-state* can be somewhat confusing. The two parts of the term *nation-state* derive from different sources. **Nation** derives from the idea that a group of people sharing the same geographic space, the same language, the same culture, and the same history also share a common identity. As most political scientists use the term, *nation* conveys a group identity that is bigger than a family group or tribal unit. **State** has its origins in Latin and in the legal system of the Roman Empire. In political science, *state* is a particularly divisive term because, as we will see in Chapter 3, academics disagree about what the term means. At a minimum, political scientists agree that the state is the highest-level political structure that makes authoritative decisions within a territorially based political unit. What makes the term confusing for many students in the United States is that the country comprises subunits called “states.” When nation and state are combined in the pair nation-state, we have a term that describes a political unit within which people share an identity. It is important to note that *the state is not always coincidental with a nation*. While the state for many political scientists is a set of governing institutions, *nation* refers to the people who share a history, language, religion, or other cultural attributes. The Flemish in Belgium, the Welsh in the United Kingdom, and the Iroquois of the United States and Canada are examples of nations found within states. Most states, even when called nation-states, actually comprise several nations. As we will see in this book, many problems in the modern international system result from nations with historical rivalry that are forced to live within the borders of one state.

The concepts of state and sovereignty are critical to understand if you are a student of international relations, a diplomat, or a political leader. The **nation-state**—sometimes called “country” or simply “state”—is the primary unit of analysis in the study of international relations. As we will discuss in Chapter 2, the treaties that resulted in the Peace of Westphalia (which ended the Thirty Years’ War in 1648) recognized the state as supreme and the sovereign power within its boundaries. The Westphalian ideal of sovereignty emphasizes the principle of the inviolability of the borders of a state. Furthermore, all states agreed with the idea that it was not acceptable to intervene in the internal affairs of other states. **Sovereignty** is a complex and contested concept in international relations; essentially, it suggests that within a given territory the leaders of a state have absolute and final political authority. However, sociologist Manuel Castells (2005) has suggested that the modern nation-state might be adversely affected by



Globalization and partisan political battles have contributed to the importance of subnational actors and nongovernmental actors in the policymaking process. A global process such as climate change affects all actors at all levels. Here Anne Hidalgo, mayor of Paris and president of C40, meets with former California governor Arnold Schwarzenegger, who now leads R20, a coalition of subnational governments and other actors with a focus on green infrastructure projects. C40 is a network of some ninety cities that are promoting climate action around the world. With some national governments dismissing the Paris Agreement and refusing to recognize the effects of climate change, do you think these coalitions provide a way forward for reform and problem solving?

Sovereignty The condition of a state having control and authority over its own territory and being free from any higher legal authority. It is related to, but distinct from, the condition of a government being free from any external political constraints.



The crisis of equity is felt all over the world. Women are often denied access to their fair share of resources, opportunities, and decision-making power within societies. Here, women protest in Lausanne, Switzerland, demanding fair pay, equal rights, and an end to sexual harassment and violence against women. How effective are these global movements for social justice, and what factors work against these efforts?

globalization in four ways; indeed, all our political institutions are facing the same four crises:

1. States cannot effectively manage global problems unilaterally and thus suffer a *crisis of efficiency*.
2. Policymakers are not always representative of their citizens' interests, and as policymaking becomes more global, decisions are made further away from citizens. This is a *crisis of legitimacy*.
3. Citizens are being pulled toward their cultural identity and toward identity and affiliation with NGOs and other civil-society actors. A variety of forces pull them away from citizen identity and have created a *crisis of identity*.
4. Globalization has increased inequality in many states and created a *crisis of equity*.

Castells argues that nation-states must create collaborative networks with NGOs and other nonstate actors to respond effectively to these crises. The nation-state will survive, but states might be forced to share sovereignty with other global actors to provide for their citizens, meet their obligations, and combat world issues. It will not be easy to convince nationalists that sharing sovereignty with nonstate actors is a good strategy.

Global Issues

In Chapters 6 through 10, we will turn to global issues, demonstrating the connections among state and nonstate actors in the international system, and consider how these global issues are inextricably linked. First, we consider global security and military power—that is, the traditional responsibility of countries to provide for the physical security of the state's territory. We also examine terrorism, including the various groups that use this method and the ways that countries have responded to both global and domestic threats. Chapter 7 discusses an emerging issue area of global politics: human rights and human security. The last three chapters examine the intersections of trade, finance, poverty, development, and environmental issues. Each of these topics overlaps with the others, and it's important not to read these chapters merely in a straightforward fashion but also to review the information from previous chapters as you progress through your coursework.

WHAT'S YOUR WORLDVIEW?

Identity is a major issue in most societies. Do you identify with a particular ethnic community or a nation? Are you an active member of an NGO, like Amnesty International or Greenpeace International? How do these identities affect your responsibilities as a citizen of a nation-state?

ENGAGING WITH THE WORLD

The International Forum on Globalization

Formed in 1994, this is a research, advocacy, and action organization focused on the impacts of dominant economic and geopolitical policies. It is led by an international board of scholars and citizen-movement leaders from ten countries. IFG collaborates with environmental, social justice, and antimilitarism activists, seeking secure models of democracy and sustainability, locally and globally.

IFG convenes private strategic seminars, large public education events, and “teach-ins” and publishes books and reports. It has also generated effective public protest actions, as in Seattle in 1999 against the WTO. Current campaigns focus on the rapidly growing inequities and “plutocratic controls” of global economic policies and practices. This research organization offers a variety of unpaid internships. If you are concerned about issues of social justice and environmental justice, this may be an organization that you might want to work with in the future. You might develop some real political economy research skills.

Theory A proposed explanation of an event or behavior of an actor in the real world. Definitions range from “an unproven assumption” to “a working hypothesis that proposes an explanation for an action or behavior.” In international relations, we have intuitive theories, empirical theories, and normative theories.

Theories of Global Politics

The basic problem facing anyone who tries to understand contemporary global politics is that there’s so much material to look at that it’s difficult to know which things matter and which do not. Where would you start if you wanted to explain the most important global political processes? How, for example, would you explain the US decision to use military force to support rebels in Syria? Why did Russia counter with its own military force to support the current Syrian government? How will the world respond to the challenges created by climate change? What impact will the trade war between the United States and China have on the global economy? Why are the number of extremist groups and the use of violence on the rise? Is this violence the result of failed states or a failure of leadership? Questions such as these seem impossible to answer definitively. Whether we are aware of it or not, whenever we are faced with such questions, we have to resort to **theories** to understand them and to develop effective responses.

What Are Theories?

A theory is not some grand formal model with hypotheses and assumptions. Rather, *a theory is*



Mexico made a deal with the US government to reduce the flow of migrants to the United States. If they refused to act, the United States threatened to impose tariffs on all Mexican exports. Migrants line up every day to find a way to live and work in the United States. A Kantian would support the free flow of people, goods, services, and ideas, and thus, the movement of people would not be illegal. What do you think?

Tradition In international relations, a way of thinking that describes the nature of international politics. Such traditions include Machiavellian, Grotian, Kantian, and Marxism as a critical theory.

Machiavellian tradition A tradition in international relations theory named for Niccolò Machiavelli that characterizes the international system as anarchic; states are constantly in conflict and pursue their own interests as they see fit.

Grotian tradition A liberal tradition in international relations theory named for Hugo Grotius that emphasizes the rule of law and multilateral cooperation. Grotians believe the international system is not anarchic, but interdependent: A society of states is created in part by international law, treaties, alliances, and diplomacy, which states are bound by and ought to uphold.

Kantian tradition A revolutionary tradition in international relations theory named for Immanuel Kant that emphasizes human interests over state interests.

Prescription Recommendations for state survival in the international system based on international relations traditions.

Idealism Referred to by realists as utopianism since it underestimates the logic of power politics and the constraints this imposes on political action. Idealism as a substantive theory of international relations is generally associated with the claim that it is possible to create a world of peace based on the rule of law.

a kind of simplifying device that allows you to decide which facts matter and which do not. A good analogy is sunglasses with different-colored lenses. Put on a red pair and the world looks red; put on a yellow pair and it looks yellow. The world is not any different; it just looks different. So it is with theories. In the sections that follow we will briefly mention the main theoretical views that have dominated the study of global politics to give you an idea of the colors they paint the world. But before we do, please note that we do not think of theory as merely an option. It is not as if you can avoid theory and instead look directly at the facts. This is impossible because the only way you can decide which of the millions of possible facts to look at is by adhering to some theory that tells you which ones matter the most.

You may not even be aware of your theory. It may just be the view of the world you have inherited from family, a group of friends, or the media. It may just seem to be common sense to you and not anything complicated like a theory. But your theoretical assumptions are implicit (implied though not plainly expressed) rather than explicit (stated clearly and in detail), and we prefer to be as explicit as possible when it comes to thinking about global politics.

Theoretical Traditions in International Relations

Martin Wight (1913–1972), one of the founding scholars in the English School of international relations, introduced his students to three **traditions** in international relations theory: **Machiavellian** (named for the Italian Renaissance politician, philosopher, and writer Niccolò Machiavelli), **Grotian** (after Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius), and **Kantian** (named for German philosopher Immanuel Kant). We might also add Marxism, which falls under a critical tradition, meaning it is a theory that advocates a transformation of the existing system. Each tradition describes the “nature of international politics,” according to its adherents, which informs policy **prescriptions** for state survival in the international system. For Machiavellians, the international system is anarchic and states are constantly in conflict: States pursue their own interests as they see fit and systems of law and diplomacy cannot prevent future wars. The Machiavellian tradition describes the most pessimistic shade of realism, which is discussed in the following section. It is important to note that not all realists embrace such a negative view of human relations or accept the best description of international politics as a “war of all against all.”

The Grotian tradition focuses on law and order. For Grotians, the international system is not anarchic. Instead, political and economic exchanges result in an interdependent society of states, created in part by international law, treaties, alliances, and diplomacy. Grotians recognize that no central authority governs international society, and that conflict and cooperation can both occur. Nevertheless, states are bound by legal and moral constraints they themselves intentionally embed in the international institutions they create. Since all states benefit from the order provided by this rule-based society, they are morally obligated to uphold it.

Kantians, on the other hand, argue that human, not state, interactions properly define international relations; therefore, the latter should promote individual

well-being and protect the community of humankind. For many modern-day Kantians, the state system preferred by Machiavellians and Grotians actually causes most global problems, conflict, and violence.

The Marxist tradition is a transformational view that recognizes that the structure of the international system as it exists today creates structural violence. What this means is that the structure of the system prevents full participation by all citizens and actually denies these citizens access to resources and opportunities. To Marxists, globalization is a “race to the bottom” or the constant search for cheap labor and minimal rules that protect people and the environment. Marxist seek a system change that is emancipatory, providing economic and political rights to all and responding to what Professor Castells called the crisis of equity.

Wight recognized that his traditions were ideal types and that there were many “subdivisions” in each. As students of international relations, we must recognize that most leaders borrow their ideas for policy from several traditions, but Machiavellian realism and Grotian liberalism are the dominant perspectives among world leaders.

The Rise of Realism

People have tried to make sense of world politics for centuries, especially since the separate academic discipline of international politics was formed in 1919, when the Department of International Politics was set up at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth. The man who established that department, a Welsh industrialist named David Davies, saw its purpose as to help prevent war. By studying international politics scientifically, many scholars believed they could find the causes of the world’s main political problems and put forward solutions to help politicians solve them. After the end of World War I, the discipline was marked by this commitment to changing the world, and a number of antiwar organizations embraced this **idealism**. We call such a position **normative**, as its proponents concerned themselves with what *ought to be*.

Opponents of this normative position characterized it as overly idealistic in that it focused on means of preventing war and even making war and violence obsolete. They adopted a theory they called **realism**, which emphasized seeing the world as it really is rather than how we would like it to be. The world as seen by realists is not a very pleasant place; human beings are at best oriented toward their own self-interest and probably much worse. To them, notions such as the perfectibility of human beings and the possibility of an improvement of world politics seem

Normative theory The systematic analyses of the ethical, moral, and political principles that either govern or ought to govern the organization or conduct of global politics; the belief that theories should be concerned with what ought to be rather than merely diagnosing what is.

Realism A theoretical approach that analyzes all international relations as the relation of states engaged in the pursuit of power. Realists see the international system as anarchic, or without a common power, and they believe conflict is endemic in the international system.



Chinese and Pakistani soldiers admire Russian military hardware at the Chebarkul training center in Russia’s Chelyabinsk Region. These soldiers were participating in the final stage of the joint counterterrorism exercise Peace Mission 2018 involving member-states of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Both Russia and China are increasing their military strength and asserting themselves around the world. Do you see this as a challenge to the liberal world order supported by the US military?

Liberalism A theoretical approach that argues for human rights, parliamentary democracy, and free trade—while also maintaining that all such goals must begin *within a state*.

Marxism A theory critical of the status quo, or dominant capitalist paradigm. It is a critique of the capitalist political economy from the view of the revolutionary proletariat, or workers. Marxists' ideal is a stateless and classless society.

Constructivism An approach to international politics that concerns itself with the centrality of ideas and human consciousness. As constructivists have examined global politics, they have been broadly interested in how the structure constructs the actors' identities and interests, how their interactions are organized and constrained by that structure, and how their very interaction serves to either reproduce or transform that structure.

Feminism A political project to understand and to end women's inequality and oppression. Feminist theories tend to be critical of the biases of the discipline. Many feminists focus their research on the areas where women are excluded from the analysis of major international issues and concerns.

Interparadigm debate The debate between the main theoretical approaches in the field of global politics.

far-fetched. This debate between idealism and realism has continued to the present day, but it is fair to say that realism has tended to have the upper hand. It appears to accord more with common sense than does idealism, especially when the media bombard us daily with images of how awful humans can be to one another.

Having said this, we would like you to think about whether such a realist view is as neutral as it may seem commonsensical. After all, if we teach global politics to generations of students and tell them that people are selfish, then doesn't that become common sense? And don't they simply repeat what they have been taught when they go off into the media, when they go to work for the government or the military, or when they talk to their children at the dinner table and, if in positions of power, act accordingly? This may be why political leaders find it so important to control the story that gives a situation meaning. We will leave you to think about this. For now, we would like to keep the issue open and point out that we are not convinced that realism is as objective or nonnormative as it is often portrayed.

Rival Theories

Although realism has been the dominant way of explaining global politics in the last nearly one hundred years, it is not the only way. In Chapter 3, we will examine not only realism but also its main rival, **liberalism**, which is a broad category that actually includes Grotian and Kantian traditions and critical approaches such as **Marxism**, **constructivism**, **feminist theory**, and utopian views. Both realism and liberalism are considered mainstream or traditional theories. We use the word *critical* to identify theories or approaches that critique traditional theories—that advocate transforming the present global system and creating an alternative system.

In the 1980s, it became common to talk of an **interparadigm debate** among realism, liberalism, and Marxism; that is, these three major theories (designated **paradigms** by influential philosopher of natural science Thomas Kuhn) were in competition, and the truth about global politics lay in the debate among them. At first glance, each seems to be particularly good at explaining certain aspects of global politics, and an obvious temptation is to try to combine them into some overall account. But this is not the easy option it may seem. These three theories, along with the more recently influential constructivism, are not so much different views of the same world as *four views of different worlds*.

Let us examine this claim more closely. It is clear that each of these four broad theoretical traditions focuses on different aspects of global politics (realism on the power relations among states, liberalism on a much wider set of interactions among states and nonstate actors, Marxist theory on the patterns of the world economy, and constructivism on the ways ideas and values shape our image of the world). However, each is saying more than this. Each view claims that it is picking out the most important features of global politics and that it offers a better account than the rival theories. Thus, the four approaches are really in competition with one another, and while you can certainly choose among them, it is not so easy to add bits from one to the others. For example, if you are a Marxist theorist, you think state behavior is ultimately determined by class forces—forces that the realist does not think affect state behavior. Similarly, constructivism suggests that