

James M. Scott • Ralph G. Carter • A. Cooper Drury



INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**Seeking Security,
Prosperity, and
Quality of Life in
a Changing World**

FOURTH EDITION

IR

Fourth Edition

For Brandy, Nita, and Melanie

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Fourth Edition

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PREFACE

Making sense of the complicated events and interactions of world politics is enormously challenging. As students of world politics, we want to develop familiarity with the events and details, but we also want to see the larger patterns and develop explanations for them. Our challenge is thus to blend an engaging discussion of issues and events with a thematic and conceptual approach that helps place them in context and helps develop better understanding of their meaning, causes, and implications. In short, we want to engage together as students of world politics, not just to think about *what* happens but also to understand *why* and *how* it happens.

IR: Seeking Security, Prosperity, and Quality of Life in a Changing World is our effort to do just that. This textbook offers an introduction to international relations that can fit a typical course term, while also supplying a rich array of relevant, enriching features that illustrate the concepts, bring home the ideas to students, and aid the professor in stimulating discussion and interest in the topic. We anchor our effort by writing the book in an accessible, conversational tone to engage students. International relations can be a daunting arena to which some students cannot relate, but we believe it is a compelling subject that can and should be approached as an exciting conversation that is engaging in the same way that a good movie draws in the viewer. As students read and think, they will find us asking them questions, pausing for reflection, presenting problems and puzzles, and working through ideas and issues with them.

To achieve the goal of addressing events and issues in the context of broader patterns and explanations, we consistently weave together treatment of issues with theory and real-world policy concerns. Rather than introducing the theories of international relations in extensive chapters and thick descriptions in the first section of the text and then ignoring theory in the remaining text, as many books do, we try to present theory and concepts clearly and thoroughly in the first section and then (a) apply the theoretical lenses throughout the book and (b) explicitly incorporate applications of how theories and concepts influence real-world behavior and policy. We also stress a problem- and theme-based approach throughout, not only to unify the chapters but also to provide extensive pedagogical and discussion opportunities focused on understanding explanation, meaning, and implications of the events and issues of world politics. In addition, we direct significant attention to who the players are, what they want, and how they behave to keep the roles and policy behavior of key actors—both states and non-states—central to our investigation of how and why international relations unfolds as it does. Consequently, *IR* is balanced in coverage, combining timeless theoretical understanding and analysis with descriptive elements of contemporary international realities.

THE SEARCH FOR SECURITY IN A CHANGING ENVIRONMENT

This book is organized around the idea of security, but we define security broadly to include international security, prosperity (i.e., economic security), and quality of life (i.e., human security). In most social interactions, humans seek order and predictability, and those goals cannot be reached without adequate security. This desire for security is far more important across the globe than who is politically in charge, what form of governance is followed, or what economic system is used. Our emphasis on the various elements of security—issues of war and peace, wealth and prosperity, and the quality-of-life concerns of humans—provides a unique grounding in what is most important in the lives of most people on the planet. As the players of international relations seek international, economic, and human security, the world in which they

do so has evolved and changed, affecting what they seek, how and why they seek it, and how they interact. Thus, we place our discussions of each related area of security in the context of change and ask our students to think about how the evolving context of world politics affects things like war and peace, wealth and prosperity, and the quality-of-life concerns of humans.

To lend focus and structure, throughout all our chapters, we introduce and apply three fundamental challenges that condition the behavior, interactions, and processes of world politics.

First, the **anarchy** of the international system—the fact that there is no central authority—has pervasive effects on the nature of international conflict and the prospects and forms of international cooperation.

Second, the **diversity** in the international system—the many players, ideas, cultures, and political structures—has similar consequences for international interactions.

Finally, the **complexity** of international interactions—involving multidimensional issues, state and non-state actors, national and transnational processes, and other factors—generates challenges for all the players as they pursue their preferred outcomes.

The anarchic structure of the international system is a foundational element for understanding and managing conflict and war, and it conditions global economic interactions and the pursuit of wealth, as well as the prospects for a human rights regime and environmental cooperation. Diversity of identity, values, and culture is a critical issue for human rights and human security, while also affecting conflict and economic relations. The complexity of the global political system complicates global economic interactions and coordination, and it affects the pursuit of international security and human security. Throughout the text, we raise questions about these challenges to encourage critical thinking, analysis, and reflection.

ORGANIZATION

Our emphasis on the security theme and these three central challenges unifies the textbook and enables us to place description, events, and interactions into a context for explanation and interpretation. To investigate world politics and the pursuit of broadly defined security, we organize the book into four relatively equal and balanced parts, bracketed by introductory and concluding chapters. **Chapter 1** introduces our text's themes: international, economic, and human security; the challenges of anarchy, diversity, and complexity; levels of analysis; and both the prisoner's dilemma and stag hunt concepts.

In **Part I**, we present three chapters that lay out the playing field or game board of world politics, introduce the players and broad trends, and present the theoretical lenses that make up our theoretical toolbox. **Chapter 2** provides a historical overview of the international system and major actors. In the Westphalian international system (1648–1989), anarchy reigns and state actors hold their sovereignty inviolate; non-state actors are secondary players in most cases. In the neo-Westphalian international system, globalization has put some parameters on anarchy and some limits on sovereignty; non-state actors are rising in importance and rival state actors in many instances. **Chapter 3** examines how realist, liberal, and constructivist theories see, understand, and explain world politics. **Chapter 4** presents alternative lenses, including foreign policy analysis and critical approaches such as feminist and Marxist theories, and discusses their contributions and challenges to realist, liberal, and constructivist approaches. With these theoretical and conceptual tools in hand, we then turn to the substantive core of the book—three sections examining different arenas for the pursuit of security.

Part II focuses on security and conflict. **Chapter 5** investigates conflict and its nature, causes, and consequences. **Chapter 6** focuses on efforts to manage conflict and war, including arms, deterrence and alliance formation, collective security, arms control and disarmament, and others. **Chapter 7** explores efforts to build structures and institutions of cooperation that facilitate the pursuit of security through international law and international organizations.

Part III shifts attention to prosperity and economic security. **Chapter 8** emphasizes the pursuit of wealth and prosperity and discusses international trade and the goals and instruments of international finance and monetary relations. It also delves into globalization and its consequences, costs, and benefits. **Chapter 9** devotes attention to economic statecraft and the tools states and others use to pursue economic security. Topics include sanctions and aid and the use of these tools as threats and punishment or as incentives and rewards. **Chapter 10** concentrates on relations between richer and poorer countries and explores the nature and causes of development, the inequalities between and within states, and paths to economic development and security in this context.

Part IV turns to quality of life and human security. **Chapter 11** focuses on human rights. Topics covered include civil, political, economic, and social rights; tensions between externally evaluated human rights and national sovereignty; and efforts at the protection of human rights by states, international organizations, international tribunals, and nongovernmental organizations. **Chapter 12** concentrates on transnational issues in managing the global commons and multiple challenges with which the world must grapple. Topics covered include the challenges facing the physical environment (e.g., pollution, deforestation, desertification, global climate change); the quest for sustainable development; and new, emerging arenas of conflict and cooperation (e.g., maritime issues, cyberspace, human migration, and pandemic diseases) and the international responses to them by individuals, states, international organizations, and nongovernmental organizations. **Chapter 13** takes up transnational advocacy networks, collections of nongovernmental actors crossing traditional borders and boundaries. Topics covered include the types, activities, and impact of transnational advocacy networks active in international politics—religious, terrorist, humanitarian, economic, and others.

Chapter 14 concludes our text by reflecting on the pursuit of security in the future and discussing the directions and challenges of world politics. In this chapter, we synthesize our preceding discussions and draw some ideas and questions for reflection that build on our main theme (seeking security) and the three core challenges the players of world politics face as they pursue it and interact with each other.

FEATURES AND PEDAGOGY

On a practical level, this textbook is explicitly organized for the instructor's convenience for term structure and testing. The four major sections are of roughly equal length and lend themselves to be used with either four sections/exams for the class or the more traditional midterm/final in which two sections would be covered for each test. Further, we provide a series of features that involve either (a) critical thinking or (b) interpreting evidence. The exercises in these features provide the professor with considerable flexibility in how the class is run. For example, a large class with discussion sections could rely on these exercises for the separate discussions, while a smaller class could use them to illustrate concepts during a regular lecture, thereby making the lecture itself more interactive. We regard these as “features that teach,” and each chapter includes six complementary types:

Chapter Openers. We begin each chapter with an opening vignette or puzzle that frames the chapter topics and themes. With each, we provide some reflection questions for use in and out of the classroom.

Spotlight On. These boxed features raise topics that may need more explanation and highlight interesting cases. Each of them presents a closer look at relevant concepts and issues that tie the topic back into the chapter and book themes.

Theory in Action. International or world politics is the result of real people making decisions and choices. Thus, the importance of how ideas (e.g., beliefs, values, preferences, motivations) shape our decisions, choices, and actions is important to emphasize. These boxed features demonstrate how ideas are directly translated into policy and action, and each ends with a set of critical thinking questions. For students, these can take the mystery out of why they are expected to learn the underlying theories of international politics like liberalism, realism, constructivism, and other critical theories (e.g., Marxism, world systems theory, feminism).

The Revenge of Geography. As globalization has caused national boundaries to mean less and less, the physical realities of geography retain their importance. These boxed features (named after Robert D. Kaplan's 2009 *Foreign Policy* article of the same title) incorporate maps, mapping exercises, and discussion questions alongside a case demonstrating how geography can influence international relations. For example, in a map of Africa, we show the states and ethno-linguistic groups of the continent. Along with discussion questions, this map engages students in thinking about how competing forces (political borders and ethnic borders) shape international politics.

Foreign Policy in Perspective. We bring student focus on how the dynamics of international relations translate into policy and behavior with boxed features that explore how certain actors—states (big and small) and non-states—pursue international, economic, and human security in particular contexts. These boxes include examples drawn from many perspectives that allow students to think about what the players of world politics seek and how and why they do so. Each ends with a set of critical thinking questions.

Think About This. We close each chapter with a problem or puzzle drawn from and relating to the chapter contents. These problems are grounded in the relevant concepts and present opportunities to apply theoretical lenses and analysis and extract evidence and information from the chapters to make arguments and explanations. Each of these chapter-enders includes a short paragraph framing a problem and culminates in a question or puzzle to “solve.”

TEACHING RESOURCES

This text includes an array of instructor teaching materials designed to save you time and to help you keep students engaged. To learn more, visit sagepub.com or contact your SAGE representative at sagepub.com/findmyrep.

A FINAL NOTE

Underlying all our efforts is our fundamental philosophy, organized around student engagement and active learning, and around efforts to facilitate subject mastery and the development of critical and analytical thinking generated when students ask “why” questions and formulate answers. We have been gratified by the warm reception our text has received from students and instructors since its inception, and we have made every effort to strengthen and improve this most recent edition. Although our overall approach and outline remain consistent, we have revised this edition substantially to ensure its continued relevance and success. We hope you find it helpful as you engage with your students to make sense of international relations and think about how the world works.

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The UN Security Council in an early 2020 meeting
What issue could the countries represented here be discussing?

Spencer Platt/Getty Images

1

World Politics

Seeking Security, Prosperity, and Quality of Life in a Complicated and Connected World

Learning Objectives

After studying this chapter, you will be able to . . .

- 1-1** Summarize the complex arena of world politics.
- 1-2** Identify the nature and challenges of security, prosperity, and quality of life in international relations.
- 1-3** Define the levels of analysis in the study of international relations.
- 1-4** Describe the challenges of cooperation among the actors of international relations.
- 1-5** Assess the dilemmas of cooperation illustrated by the prisoner's dilemma and stag hunt scenarios.

The Challenge of Security, Prosperity, and Quality of Life in World Politics

Let's begin with a brainstorming exercise. Considering what you know right now about world politics and the interactions that make up international relations, *what does it mean to be secure?* Jot down some ideas, perhaps drawing on current events, previous classes you have taken, and even your own experiences. Now, think about the kinds of things that threaten security as you have just characterized it, and make a list of some of the most important factors, forces, situations, and so on that reduce or diminish security. Finally, consider the kinds of things that improve or enhance security as you have defined it and draw up another list of the most important factors, forces, and situations that make countries and their citizens more secure in world politics.

INTRODUCTION: MAKING SENSE OF WORLD POLITICS

Your brainstorming probably produced a relatively complicated collection of ideas. This is no surprise. In fact, it is to be expected. Making sense of world politics can be a daunting task. Although the study of **world politics** once concentrated almost exclusively on the political relationships between the countries of the

Chapter Outline

- 1-1** A Complex World Connected to You
- 1-2** The Challenge of Security, Prosperity, and Quality of Life in World Politics
- 1-3** The Levels of Analysis and International Relations
- 1-4** Explaining the Patterns of World Politics
- 1-5** Dilemmas of Cooperation in International Relations: The Prisoner's Dilemma and the Stag Hunt

world, today it involves a much broader range of activities and interactions—political, economic, and social—among these states and a wide variety of non-state actors, such as international organizations, non-state national and ethnic groups, transnational corporations, nongovernmental organizations, and individuals. As time has passed, world politics has evolved to include an increasingly diverse set of states from the developed and developing worlds; a rich array of cultural perspectives and values held by states, nations, and individuals; and a great variety of non-state actors. Important resources have changed, as have the nature and characteristics of power, while the traditional issues of world politics have expanded to include a more complex variety of international and transnational matters.

1-1 A COMPLEX WORLD CONNECTED TO YOU

>> 1-1 Summarize the complex arena of world politics.

Today there is simply no end to the stream of events and activities that constitute international relations, and, at first blush, there often seems to be no rhyme or reason to them, either. Consider, for example, a few select items from just one 90-day period in 2020:

.....
world politics: political, economic, and social activities and interactions among states and a wide variety of non-state actors, such as international organizations, non-state national and ethnic groups, transnational corporations, nongovernmental organizations, and individuals.

- The United Arab Emirates and Israel negotiated normalized relations in the Abraham Accord.
- Fighting between Armenia and Azerbaijan risked regional stability, with Turkey supporting Azerbaijan and Russia supporting Armenia.
- The United States imposed new sanctions against Iran for its nuclear programs but failed to persuade the UN Security Council to vote to do the same.
- International piracy increased, spurred by the global pandemic and its economic repercussions.
- Russian president Vladimir Putin engineered constitutional changes and a national referendum to allow him to stay in power until 2036.
- A World Trade Organization report condemned US imposition of sanctions against China as a violation of WTO and free trade rules, despite the US argument that China was engaging in the theft of US technology and intellectual property.
- The UN Security Council condemned the Islamic State for acts it labeled as possible war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide in Iraq.
- In Rome, Pope Francis issued his third encyclical— "Brothers All"—calling for love to transcend geography and distance. The Pope articulated opposition to tribalism and xenophobia in global society and highlighted the dangers posed by social media.
- The global pandemic caused by the new coronavirus (SARS-CoV-2) continued to expand around the world, with more than 45 million cases and over a million deaths. The US led the way, with nearly 9 million cases—including the US President—and 225,000 deaths.
- All the while, thousands around the globe continued to die from malnutrition and disease because they did not have access to potable water, food, and basic medicine.

As this brief list suggests, the range of issues and events extends across many areas and in many directions—from conflict to cooperation, and from

traditional security issues to concerns about wealth and prosperity, quality of life, and even basic human survival. Detecting the patterns and forces at work and explaining their causes and consequences appear overwhelming and impossible. What, if any, underlying factors or forces drive such a disparate set of events?

1-1a World Politics and You

At the same time, it can be difficult to connect the dots between events and developments on the world stage and our lives. Students frequently wonder what impact developments such as those we have just introduced have on them personally. World politics can seem like an abstract, far-off realm of movie-like events that appear to have little bearing on our lives. Textbooks such as these frequently go to some lengths to connect students in classrooms to events on the world stage. Frankly, although it can appear distant, international relations affects our daily lives in many ways, from the trivial to the profound. Let's consider a few examples:

- More than 150 million deaths have occurred because of war over the past five centuries, with the vast majority happening in the 20th and 21st centuries (e.g., Beer 1974; Levy 1983; Pettersson and Öberg 2020). Have you, a family member, or a friend served in the armed forces? Do you live near a military base of some kind? What characteristics and issues of world politics lead countries like the United States to maintain sizable military



Workers in the clothing industry from around the world

Where are your clothes from, and what does this suggest to you about international relations?

Universal Images Group via Getty Images

and security establishments and send their soldiers into harm's way?

- Have you been frustrated by long lines and security delays at airports in recent years? What about having to remove your shoes and belt, take your laptop out of your carry-on bag, and so on? What world politics issues and events do you suppose are behind such inconveniences?
- Take a look at the clothing you are wearing today. How many countries do you represent in your wardrobe alone? Which ones are represented? What impact and issues do you think this list indicates?
- You did some things in 2020 that you never seriously considered before—staying at home, maintaining at least six feet from other people, and wearing a mask in public. How did the global COVID-19 pandemic, which began in China and rapidly spread throughout the world, affect you?

The world is increasingly interconnected, which means events that might appear relatively obscure can have dramatic effects on the lives of individuals far away. For example, think about how the conflicts in Iraq and Syria and the rise of the Islamic State have affected those countries, the region, and countries all over the world through violent conflict, humanitarian crises generated by the displacement of refugees and civilian deaths, and terrorist actions in places such as Paris, Brussels, Manchester, London, San Bernardino, and elsewhere. Or consider how events in a relatively obscure area of China have affected the entire world, including your own hometown.

What about the examples of several of the economic crises of the past 20 years or so? In 1997, economic problems in the relatively tiny economy of Thailand exploded into a global financial crisis that seriously affected countries all over the world, including the United States. About a decade later, in 2008, a similar dynamic occurred in the United States, stemming from ballooning real estate prices coupled with risky—and ultimately failed—gamble on complicated debt instruments. The ensuing global financial crisis, the so-called Great Recession of 2008–2010, put more than 10% of the US labor force out of work and heavily affected the lives of citizens around the world. About a decade after that, the economic consequences of the global COVID-19 pandemic shook the world, causing economic downturns and pushing hundreds of millions of people out of work in every country of the world. As these examples suggest, the interconnections between countries often mean that problems



A family fleeing the violence in Mosul

What would it be like to live in the middle of a civil war?

Gail Orenstein/NurPhoto via Getty Images

in one place can quickly become problems for many places!

1-1b Geography and the Small-World Phenomenon

It also helps to understand how spatially connected states are in the contemporary international system. Consider basic geography for a moment. In the Western Hemisphere, we typically see the world as shown in Map 1-1 (see “The Revenge of Geography: The Shrinking World”). Starting from this view, let’s take the example of two large countries—Russia and the United States. It is easy to think of these two countries as far apart, but doesn’t that really depend on how we look at things? Based on a Pacific-centered perspective, as in Map 1-2, the two states look closer together. They look even closer together from the perspective of the North Pole, as shown in Map 1-3. Now consider that modern technology means you can visit the Russian Federation’s official website in a matter of seconds and travel between New York and Moscow by airplane in less than 11 hours. An intercontinental ballistic missile can make the trip in 30 minutes—a primary concern during the Cold War, but now Russian hackers can attack the computer and information systems of Western democracies almost instantaneously, without leaving the comfort of their own offices. Finally, have a look at Map 1-4, which presents the world from a perspective that, though not as familiar to most of us, more accurately represents the size and location of most countries. How does this alter your view of the relationship between countries?

Increasingly, what happens around the world and in the relations between countries and other important players has real-life and significant consequences for ordinary citizens going on about their lives. So understanding and explaining the patterns and forces

THE REVENGE OF GEOGRAPHY

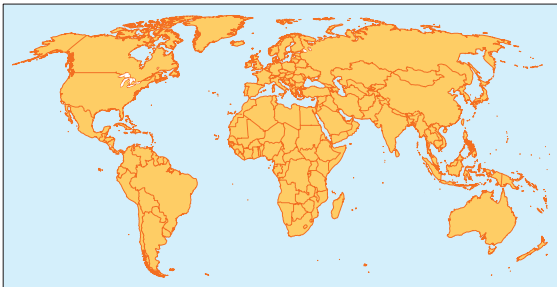
The Shrinking World

As world politics has evolved, and the technologies of information, communication, and transportation have developed, the geographic landscape of the world has taken on new meaning. One way to begin to understand the changing nature, opportunities, and constraints of geography for world politics is to reflect on the meaning and implications of different perspectives.

Consider Map 1-1, a common image of the world that shows the vast distances between countries such as Russia and the United States, while also illustrating the close proximity of other countries to each other. Now consider Map 1-2: How does this image change your perspective on the possibilities of conflict, cooperation, and interaction between countries?

MAP 1-1

Political Map of the World



Source: WikiCommons.

MAP 1-3

Polar Projection Map



What if we adopted the perspective shown in Map 1-3? Which countries are neighbors now? What difference, if any, would this perspective make to your sense of which countries are most likely to interact with each other?

Now, look at Map 1-4, which presents roughly the same perspective as Map 1-1 but with the perspective corrected to more accurately reflect the relative geographic size and location of the continents and countries of the world. What does this image suggest to you about world politics and the relationships among its major players?

How do these different perspectives change the way you understand the relationships between countries? ●

MAP 1-2

An Alternative Perspective of the Political World



MAP 1-4

The Peters Projection of the World



Source: WikiCommons.

at work in world politics is increasingly important. In this textbook, we try to bring some order and focus to the complex arena of world politics and help you develop a better understanding of its dynamics. We blend descriptive content with a conceptual toolbox and practical applications as a foundation for understanding and explaining international interactions.

1-2 THE CHALLENGE OF SECURITY, PROSPERITY, AND QUALITY OF LIFE IN WORLD POLITICS

>> 1-2 Identify the nature and challenges of security, prosperity, and quality of life in international relations.

Because world politics is such a complex arena, there are many approaches to its study. In this textbook, we approach world politics as a search for security, but we define security very broadly to include traditional, economic, and human dimensions that give us insight into the traditional security, global economic, and quality-of-life matters of international relations. This overarching theme helps provide focus and coherence to our efforts to make sense of the subject. In our perspective, the key to understanding events, such as those we listed at the start of the chapter, is to consider the broad meaning of security in its traditional, economic, and quality-of-life—or human—dimensions and its pursuit by both states and non-state actors in world politics. We hope that by the time you have worked through this text, you will be able to return to those examples—and a wide range of other current events—and provide context and explanation for what drives them.

1-2a The Nature of Security

At its core, **security** is a relatively simple concept: It refers to survival and safety. As one political scientist has characterized it, seeking security involves the “pursuit of freedom from threat” (Buzan 1991: 18). To achieve this, states and other actors in world politics try to maintain their independent identity and functional integrity, while addressing a substantial range of concerns about the conditions of existence (Buzan 1991: 18–19). However, in our perspective, the idea of security has a much broader meaning than it is often given, and understanding its broad scope is critical for understanding world politics.

Traditionally, in world politics, the term *security* has referred principally to the military, intelligence, and law enforcement arenas, with special emphasis

on conflict, violence, and war. These are clearly central issues in world politics, but we define security more broadly. In most social interactions, humans seek order and predictability, and those goals cannot be reached without adequate security. One way or another, most of what the players in world politics—states, international institutions, nongovernmental organizations, and other transnational actors—seek in their interactions with one another involves the desire to be safe and to survive and thrive, broadly speaking.

We prefer to think about international relations as the search for security, prosperity, and quality of life by using a broad conception of security as encompassing three arenas or dimensions. The first—*national and international security*—is the most common and what people usually think of when discussing security. This dimension involves issues related to national defense, conflict and war, and arms control and disarmament. So, for example, when countries build up their armed forces, deploy military forces to defend themselves or to disrupt terrorist networks, place restrictions on visits by citizens of other countries, and negotiate arms control agreements with other countries, they are seeking national and international security. Recently, we have seen this aspect of security reflected in uses of force in Afghanistan and Iraq, the conflict in Ukraine, the escalation of violence in Israel and the Palestinian Territories, efforts to counter the Islamic State insurgency in Syria and Iraq, and actions to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to countries such as Iran and North Korea.

The second arena or dimension is *economic security*. When countries, corporations, and others seek wealth and prosperity through profitable economic relations and exchanges, they are ultimately seeking economic security. In the current context, we observe this aspect of security reflected in trade and trade competition among countries, cooperation to ensure economic recovery in the wake of the global recession of recent years, efforts to deal with debt crises for both developed and developing countries, and the ways countries are grappling with the challenges of globalization.

The third arena or dimension is *human security*. This dimension fundamentally concerns the quality of life that people experience. So when the players of world politics grapple with issues of health and disease, such as the global COVID-19 pandemic, or environmental threats, such as climate change, pollution, and deforestation, or when they try to promote and protect human rights, they are seeking human security. In recent years, this aspect of security has been

security: survival and safety, typically referring to the military, intelligence, and law enforcement arenas but also including economic and human dimensions.

seen as countries wrestle with appropriate responses to public health crises and their extensive implications, in the growing problem of climate change, as people throughout the world rebel against their governments in pursuit of greater participation and protection for human rights, and as some states and organizations, such as the US and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), use force to intervene in Libya to support rebels seeking the overthrow of Muammar Gaddafi or in Syria in response to alleged uses of chemical weapons by the Assad regime against its citizens. Thus, as we stress the general pursuit of security—freedom from threat—that underlies world politics, we direct our attention to national and international security, economic security, and human security, as depicted in Figure 1-1. As you will see, we have organized our text to address these dimensions of security into Part II (international security), Part III (economic security), and Part IV (human security).

1-2b Fundamental Challenges: Anarchy, Diversity, and Complexity

In world politics, the search for security is quite complicated (see “Foreign Policy in Perspective: Shifting Ways of Seeking Security”). As we devote our attention to the players of world politics and their interactions in pursuit of this multifaceted objective, we focus on three fundamental challenges that influence world politics: anarchy, diversity, and complexity. As we will see throughout our text, these challenges are linked together as well (Figure 1-2).

- *The anarchy of the international system.* There is no central, authoritative government over the players of world politics, both states and non-states. This absence of central authority has pervasive effects on the nature of world politics across almost every issue, from international conflict to the prospects and forms of international cooperation. Formal anarchy does not mean chaos or disorder, or that there are no **norms**, that is, regular patterns of behavior in world politics. Neither does it necessarily mean that there is always conflict and war. It means, simply, that *there is no central government*. Unlike established countries, world politics does not have authoritative central bodies to make, enforce, and adjudicate laws. The international institutions that do exist—such as the United Nations and the World Court—are dependent on their member states and have only the very limited authority those states willingly give them. Formally, there is no authority above the nation-state, and this structural fact has enormous implications for conflict,

norms: commonly held standards of acceptable and unacceptable behavior.

FIGURE 1-1

The Pursuit of Security in Three Arenas

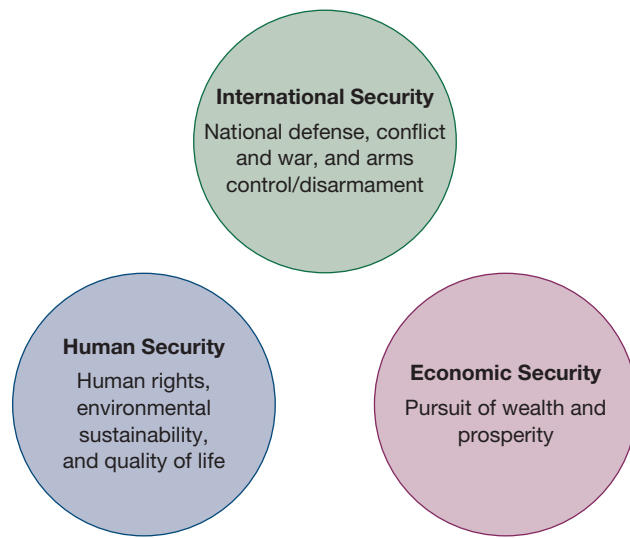
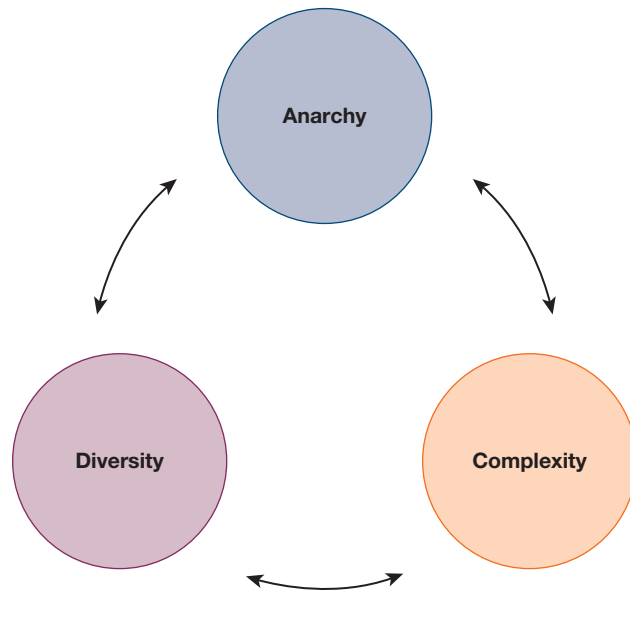


FIGURE 1-2

The Fundamental Challenges of World Politics



economic relations, and efforts to meet transnational problems and challenges, such as human rights and the environment.

- *The diversity in the international system.* World politics is characterized by myriad players. About 200 states and many thousands of

FOREIGN POLICY IN PERSPECTIVE

Shifting Ways of Seeking Security

During presidential campaigns, and quite often after being elected, US presidents talk about how to achieve national security—how to make the country safe from harm. They want to both reassure US residents and warn others not to trifle with US national security interests. These national security interests rarely change when a new president enters office, but presidents often differ in how they want to approach attaining their national security goals. They also often like to differentiate themselves from their predecessors.

When President Barack Obama entered office, he wanted to differentiate his approach from that of his predecessor—George W. Bush. Obama found Bush's approach too unilateralist. President Bush often said he was going to do what he thought was right to make the US safe, even if other states or organizations such as the UN disagreed. Bush's decision to topple the regime of Saddam Hussein by invading Iraq in 2003 was one example of a "go it virtually alone" approach that Obama rejected. For his part, Obama sought to engage other world leaders often and become part of a more multilateral, cooperative effort to achieve shared international goals. While involving others makes any resulting decisions have more international legitimacy and potential significance, it also slows the process and can lead to outcomes that fall short of one's desires. Critics of Obama's approach accused him of

indecisiveness and of abandoning the leadership role long played by the US in the Western world.

Just as presidential candidate Obama sought to differentiate his approach from that of President Bush, presidential candidate Donald Trump sought to differentiate his approach from that of Obama. Trump saw an international system rife with dire threats to US security interests, threats that had increased on Obama's watch. His approach was to emphasize an independent United States, reducing multilateral commitments while increasing military power, and regularly threatening to use it, to deter others from taking actions that jeopardized US interests. Trump said that by doing so, he would put "America first" and "make America great again." By acting decisively and swiftly, he said he would make other countries both respect and fear US power. Based on these examples, consider the following questions:

1. How do the assumptions about security vary in each approach?
2. What interests does each of these approaches best achieve, and what problems might each cause?
3. What effects do these changes in US security approaches have on other relevant international actors? ●

nationalities are involved, as are hundreds of international organizations and thousands of nongovernmental organizations. Businesses of various shapes and sizes—including transnational corporations whose production facilities and reach extend across borders and regions—interact with each other, with the governments of countries, with international organizations, and with groups and individuals all over the world. The diversity of these players is staggering. States come in different shapes and sizes and are differentiated by size (geographic and population), wealth (from the very rich to the very poor), type of economy, and regime type (from the many flavors of both democratic and non-democratic systems). But widely differing ideas, religions, cultures, and subcultures divide the players in world politics as well. Such diversity has important consequences for international interactions.

- *The complexity of international interactions.* In part due to the many different players and values just described, world politics is an extraordinarily

complex arena. The players of world politics are increasingly connected and interdependent, with many linkages stretching across and between them. World politics involves multidimensional issues, state and non-state actors, national, international, and transnational processes, and many other factors, all connected in ways that can confound the players as they seek international, economic, and human security. Imagine playing a game of chess but on a system of boards arranged in multiple levels, so that players make their moves in multiple channels with multiple linkages (see Nye 2005). This is what the "game board" of world politics approaches. These connections and linkages may create problems and complications, but they also often reduce the impact of anarchy by enabling—and sometimes forcing—the players of world politics to work together.

These three challenges permeate our examination of world politics in the chapters that follow. For

example, the anarchic structure of the international system is a foundational element for understanding and managing conflict and war, and it affects global economic interactions, the pursuit of wealth, the prospects for protecting human rights, and environmental cooperation. Diversity of identity, values, and culture is a critical issue for human rights and human security, while also having a great impact on conflict and economic relations. The complexity of the global political system often forces the players of world politics together, sometimes leading to cooperation on problems that transcend borders, and sometimes leading to conflict. Complexity can facilitate global economic interactions and coordination to address such problems as the economic and financial crises of the past 20 years or so, but it can also trigger clashes among players with different preferences or values and make it difficult to pursue international security, economic security, and human security at the same time.

1-3 THE LEVELS OF ANALYSIS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

>> 1-3 Define the levels of analysis in the study of international relations.

By now you have almost certainly gained some appreciation for how complicated it is to make sense of world politics. The search for security across international, economic, and human dimensions and the three central challenges (anarchy, diversity, and complexity) of world politics involve a dizzying array of actors and events, but they can still be understood if we have the right tools. For analytical purposes, these things can be organized into **levels of analysis** that help us comprehend the interactions, causes, and consequences of world politics.

The broadest of these levels is the **systemic or international level**, where attention is directed to the broad patterns and interactions among the players of world politics, and emphasis is placed on the impact of the structural characteristics of the international system itself—including anarchy, the distribution of

power, interdependence, globalization, and others—on those interactions.

At the **state or national level**, attention is directed to the states—or units—themselves, and emphasis is placed on the attributes of countries and nations, such as the type and processes of government or the economy, culture, or other national attributes, and how these factors shape policy goals and behavior and the interactions among the players.

At the **individual level**, attention is directed to people—policymakers, business CEOs, and other influential persons. This level of analysis emphasizes the personalities, perceptions, and preferences of individual decision makers and their effects on policy and interactions. This includes leaders, such as Donald Trump (United States), Angela Merkel (Germany), Vladimir Putin (Russia), Hassan Rouhani (Iran), Xi Jinping (China), and Pope Francis (Vatican), and other individuals from the non-state actor arena, such as investors and philanthropists George Soros and Warren Buffett, U2 singer and African aid activist Bono, actress and Special Envoy for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees Angelina Jolie, Nobel Peace Prize winner and founder of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines Jody Williams, Microsoft founder and foundation head Bill Gates, and Aga Khan of the Aga Khan Development Network.

Thinking in terms of levels of analysis points us to certain kinds of issues and events but also prompts different kinds of questions and explanations. Table 1-1 summarizes these levels of analysis and identifies some explanations at those levels that you will find in upcoming chapters. As you review the table, note the last column, which includes some very simple explanations at each level of analysis for the case of Russia's interventions into Ukraine. At the system level, the emphasis for explanation might be on the challenge posed by Russia as a rising power seeking to regain lost power and influence in the areas around its border. The state level might stress the impact of alleged threats by Ukrainian nationalists against ethnic Russians living in Ukraine and the impact that had on the Russian public back home, whereas the individual level might emphasize the worldview of Russian President Vladimir Putin, who saw the breakup of the Soviet Union as one of the greatest catastrophes of the 20th century. Each of these perspectives may help explain the interventions, even if they differ in their focus.

These levels of analysis serve at least two important purposes in the study of world politics. First, they offer useful guides for organizing information, events, and the factors that shape them so that we can make distinctions between them. Second, they guide explanation, helping us organize cause-and-effect relationships, ask different kinds of questions, and be aware

levels of analysis: different perspectives from which international relations may be examined.

systemic or international level: locating the causes of behavior and outcomes in the nature and characteristics of the international system.

state or national level: locating the causes of behavior and outcome in the nature and characteristics of states and nations.

individual level: locating the causes of behavior and outcomes in the nature and characteristics of people.

TABLE 1-1

Levels of Analysis and World Politics

LEVEL	FOCUS	KEY VARIABLES	SAMPLE EXPLANATIONS FOUND IN UPCOMING CHAPTERS	EXAMPLE: RUSSIAN INTERVENTIONS IN UKRAINE
System	Structural characteristics of the international system are central to explaining patterns of behavior in world politics.	Anarchy Distribution of power Interdependence Globalization	Balance of power Power transition theory	Rising power Russia seeks greater power and influence in the region and challenges declining Western powers (the US and NATO).
State	Characteristics of countries (national attributes) are central to explaining patterns of and variations in behavior in world politics.	Regime type Nationalism Subnational groups	Democratic peace Group identity Fascism	Authoritarian Russia behaves aggressively, alleges threats to Russian-speaking Ukrainians by non-Russian-speaking Ukrainians, and alleges fascist threat to Russian speakers, invoking memories of World War II.
Individual	Characteristics of individuals are central to explaining the foreign policy behavior of states and other players in world politics.	Personality Psychology Individual worldviews and preferences Perceptions and misperceptions	Aggressive versus nonaggressive leaders Leadership style and worldviews Cognitive processes	President Vladimir Putin says the demise of the Soviet Union was the most catastrophic event of the 20th century, feels threatened by Western encroachment in Russia's traditional sphere of interest, and acts quickly before the West can react.

of interactions and explanations that link up across the levels of analysis.

One simple and recognizable illustration may help clarify these contributions. Consider a serious traffic jam in a heavily populated area. Observing and explaining its causes and effects might take place from the perspective of the helicopter that sees the jam from above and can describe and explain its broad pattern and consequences. This is similar to the system level of analysis focusing on the broad structure that affects behavior (in this case, road networks and traffic patterns). But one might also focus on two cars that collided and examine their unique characteristics, actions, and role in the traffic jam, which would be similar to focusing on state-level factors in world politics. Finally, one can consider the individual drivers and their decisions, such as the person texting a friend instead of paying attention to driving, and explain things at that level, which is similar to the individual level of analysis. One thing to note is that the kinds of questions that can be asked and the kinds of explanations that can be offered from each perspective are different, but all of them shed light on the phenomenon to be explained (in this case, the traffic jam). Look again at Table 1-1 and examine it carefully

to be sure you are comfortable with the level of analysis concept before you move on.

1-4 EXPLAINING THE PATTERNS OF WORLD POLITICS

>> 1-4 Describe the challenges of cooperation among the actors of international relations.

As we work together to build a better understanding of the dynamics of world politics, focusing on the pursuit of security in the face of the three fundamental challenges described previously, we want to improve our ability to explain the patterns of world politics that we encounter and identify. In such a complex arena, this requires the use of theoretical and conceptual shortcuts that focus attention on critical cause-and-effect relationships. **Theories** are essential tools for the explanation of complex realities, and they help

theories: tools for explaining cause-and-effect relationships among often complex phenomena.

us strategically simplify the world to bring important features into clearer relief. One way to understand theories of world politics is to think of them as lenses, such as those you might find in a good pair of sunglasses. Such lenses might come in a variety of colors, and each shade filters out some portion of the light in order to improve vision. Theory is like that: A good theory simplifies reality to reduce the white noise and sharpen the clarity of key factors, which aids in the explanation of patterns and the prediction of likely developments.

As we discuss in Chapters 3 and 4, the pursuit of security in world politics can be interpreted in a variety of sometimes complementary and sometimes contradictory ways. In these chapters, we present a number of theoretical paradigms or frameworks with which to examine world politics to make sense of how the world works:

- *Realism*, which revolves around the issues of conflict and power and stresses the role of states pursuing their self-interests
- *Liberalism*, which tends to emphasize cooperative approaches and includes the role and influence of non-state actors
- *Constructivism*, which builds on the social construction of reality and stresses the role of the identity, ideas, culture, norms, and interactions of people
- *Foreign policy analysis*, which emphasizes the individuals and groups who make decisions and the processes and policies that they produce
- *Marxism*, which stresses class-based economic interests and the role of wealth and who controls it as the key to behavior
- *Feminism*, which focuses on gender issues and approaches and asks what the world would be like if it were not historically dominated by men

Each of these broad paradigms grapples with the meaning and consequences of anarchy, diversity, and complexity differently and, therefore, presents different versions of the nature and dynamics of world politics. After we present these theories and concepts clearly and thoroughly in Chapters 3 and 4, we then (a) apply the theoretical lenses throughout the remainder of the book and (b) explicitly include in each chapter discussions and “Theory in Action”

prisoner's dilemma: a situation in which two prisoners must decide whether to collaborate with each other or not.

boxes considering how theories and concepts influence real-world behavior and policy.

In the context of these theories, we also draw attention to what we believe are two of the most important current trends in world politics. First, the current world is experiencing great uncertainty because of the changing power and roles of key states. The US, which has enjoyed dominance in the international system for at least several decades, is struggling with the costs of leadership, while other countries such as China and Russia are increasingly asserting themselves and challenging the US. As realist theorists and others suggest, such potential power transitions are moments of great importance in world politics. Second, the current world is greatly affected by the forces of globalization, which generates integration and connections across borders but also prompts tension and conflict within and between states because of its impact on international, economic, and human security. We highlight the nature and impact of these two critical developments in each part and chapter, calling attention to the opportunities and challenges they pose and applying the theoretical lenses to understand their causes and consequences.

1-5 DILEMMAS OF COOPERATION IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: THE PRISONER'S DILEMMA AND THE STAG HUNT

>> 1-5 Assess the dilemmas of cooperation illustrated by the prisoner's dilemma and stag hunt scenarios.

Let's bring this first chapter to a conclusion by considering two ideal-type situations often introduced to highlight some of the patterns and challenges of world politics.

1-5a The Prisoner's Dilemma

The first situation is known as the **prisoner's dilemma**. Imagine two individuals who are suspected (for good reason) of being involved in a crime, say, a major theft. The authorities isolate the two suspects in separate rooms so that they cannot communicate. Both suspects know that if they remain silent, they will be charged for lesser violations and receive minor punishment and very short jail time, due to lack of evidence for their more serious offense. However, in their separate rooms, each

TABLE 1-2

The Prisoner's Dilemma

		SUSPECT B	
		CONFESS	REMAIN SILENT
Suspect A	Confess	Suspect A—10 years Suspect B—10 years	Suspect A—free Suspect B—20 years
	Remain Silent	Suspect A—20 years Suspect B—free	Suspect A—1 year Suspect B—1 year

is informed that if they confess and betray the other suspect, the one who confesses will receive immunity for cooperating with law enforcement and go free, while their partner will be prosecuted and punished for the crime. If both confess, they both go to jail (with somewhat reduced terms for cooperating with the authorities). Realize that even if both thieves do not want to rat out their partner and are willing to split the loot evenly, they must think defensively. It's not just what one suspect might gain from confessing but what they would lose if they keep quiet and their accomplice confesses. What do you think will happen? What would you do? This situation is represented in Table 1-2.

1-5b The Stag Hunt

The second situation is known as the **stag hunt** and was described by the political philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau in the 18th century. Imagine a village, a hunting society, organizing a hunt to bring down a great stag that will feed the whole village and provide other benefits, such as its hide. To bring down this stag, the hunters plan an approach that depends on each hunter collaborating with the rest by covering a specific area, so that the stag will be trapped and killed. However, while the hunt is proceeding, one of the hunters flushes a rabbit. The hunter immediately recognizes that pursuing and killing the rabbit means that he or she will be fed. But the rest of the hunters will end up losing the stag because it will escape through the area vacated by the hunter who is abandoning the hunt and chasing the rabbit. What do you suppose happens? Put yourself in the place of the hunter who sees the rabbit. What would you think? What would you do?

1-5c Considering the Implications of the Prisoner's Dilemma and the Stag Hunt

Together these two stories highlight several key issues about the nature of world politics. Both of them suggest there are important structural obstacles to cooperation between states, and other players, in world politics. In particular, these scenarios illustrate the tension between pursuing self-interest and broader collective interests. They also suggest that the conditions of the game provide powerful incentives for the players to see things through the lens of self-interest rather than more broadly. In the prisoner's dilemma, for example, it is logical for the suspects to confess, even though they each could derive greater mutual benefits through cooperation. By confessing, they give up the best mutual outcome, but they avoid the worst outcome—being held solely responsible and serving a long jail term. The opposite is true in the stag hunt, where it is easier to cooperate and bring down the stag rather than grab the rabbit.

In world politics, a similar result can be seen in arms races, where two countries give up the best outcome (mutual cooperation to avoid them and control armament), instead choosing to build up their weaponry so that they are not victimized if the other country cheats and builds up its own while the first does not. Perhaps neither really wants to continue to arm itself (best outcome), but both choose to do so (less desired) to avoid being vulnerable if the other one does (worst outcome). Even if we all want our leaders to be honest and not break the promises they make in international treaties, the prisoner's dilemma suggests otherwise. Imagine if all the states with nuclear weapons agreed to eliminate all those weapons. Might the world be considered a safer place? Let's say that the United States went along with this agreement, but the Russians did not. Instead, they kept a secret stockpile of nuclear weapons but only for defensive purposes. Would that make you feel safe? What if other countries cheated on the agreement? Do you think that, just in case, it would be a good idea for the United States to cheat as well—just for defensive purposes? Do you think the United States would be irresponsible if it didn't cheat? Notice how something as simple and good as maintaining the defense of one's country can make cooperation so difficult.

The prisoner's dilemma isn't just about conflict, however. For example, few people would dispute that pollution is a bad thing, or that cars significantly contribute to the world's pollution. If everyone agreed to cut back driving by simply riding a bike for any trip

stag hunt: a situation in which hunters must decide whether to collaborate with each other or act on their own.

Defeating the Prisoner's Dilemma and Getting a Stag, Not a Rabbit

The paradox of the prisoner's dilemma (PD) is that what is mutually best for the two people or states involved is not best for the individual person or state. If more than two people or states are involved in a PD-type situation, it is referred to as a **collective action problem**. Whether 2 or 20 actors are involved, individually reasonable choices lead to bad outcomes for all. But not all PD situations end in the default outcome; sometimes the involved states cooperate with each other so that they attain the mutually beneficial outcome (in the PD story, cooperation means that neither prisoner confesses). For example, during the Cold War, the US and the Soviets came to several nuclear arms control agreements that limited the number of nuclear weapons in the world, and as discussed in Chapter 8, states have generally not engaged in trade wars after World War II. So how can the prisoner's dilemma be overcome?

The first solution is an actor that has the power to force other countries to follow the rules. In the PD story, this would be the case if both suspects worked for an organized crime syndicate, such as that headed by the fictional Vito Corleone of the *Godfather* film trilogy. If the prisoners ratted each other out, they would face serious consequences from the mob boss, such as "sleeping with the fishes," as the saying goes. In the international arena, this solution is difficult because only a few times in history has one state been powerful enough to enforce cooperation. That is one of the keys to anarchy—there is no world government or police to keep states from misbehaving.

The second solution is referred to as a tit-for-tat strategy. The idea behind this strategy is to begin by trusting the other actor, but if the other actor betrays you, then punish it by not cooperating. Of course, this strategy works only if the PD situation is one that repeats over and over. In that situation, you can switch between cooperating and not cooperating, depending on what the other actor does. If the other actor does the same thing, then both actors will cooperate with each other over time. For the PD story, imagine two criminals who worked together for most of their lives and trust each other implicitly—they would not rat on each other.

This cooperative situation does not spring up out of nowhere, however. During the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union initially had great distrust of one another as they found themselves competing and conflicting over issue after issue in Europe and around the world. With time and repeated interactions in settings such as the UN, the two states began to trust each other enough to attempt an arms reduction treaty. Forums such as the UN provide an important place for states to interact on a public stage so that they can build

collective action problem: a condition in which the uncoordinated actions of individuals lead to less than optimal outcomes because, although many individuals would benefit from cooperative action(s), few incentives lead any particular individuals to assume the costs of such action(s).

cooperative or hostile reputations. As the United States came to realize that the Soviets were not as aggressive after Premier Joseph Stalin's death as they had been under Stalin's rule, and as the Soviets realized that the United States could also be trusted, they negotiated ways to "trust but verify," the phrase used by President Ronald Reagan during the arms negotiations with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

The solution to the stag hunt (SH) is both easier to attain but also less clear than the PD situation. In SH situations, the hunter who sees the rabbit must decide between sure individual gain and likely collective gain. If she trusts her fellow hunters, it is an easy decision: Hunt the stag because there is more meat, and everyone will benefit. However, if she does not completely trust her fellow hunters, then she must decide how likely it is that the other hunters will go after the stag or after a rabbit if they see one. So how can she be sure the other hunters won't go after a rabbit?

First, if the hunters, or states, are all part of a cohesive group, then trust has already been developed. For example, the Canadians and the British are close allies with the United States. These states are unlikely to betray each other, so cooperating is easy. The less positive, cooperative history a pair of states shares, the less able they will be to cooperate.

Second, if there is a way that the actions of all the hunters can be seen by each other, then no one can chase the rabbit without the others knowing. Because all hunters prefer the stag and can see each other, they know no other hunter will go for the rabbit. Imagine hunting on a grassy plain where each hunter can see the other. In the international context, this means the actions of all states must be transparent. For example, the best way to compel North Korea to curtail its nuclear program is for the powerful states in the region (China, Japan, Russia, South Korea, and the United States) to place unified pressure on North Korea. Together these states would have more influence than if they acted alone (which is why North Korea continues to object to multistate talks). Given that for any one of these states to back away from the unified talks would be a public act, they can trust that each of the other states will not back down from the unified position. Solving the SH situation is both as easy as trusting each of the other actors and as hard as developing that trust.

1. Summarize the factors discussed previously that could enable the participants in a prisoner's dilemma to cooperate. What other factors might also contribute?
2. What factors best enable the participants in a stag hunt situation to trust each other and cooperate?
3. What are the short- and long-term implications of the actions associated with the stag hunt scenario? ●

within two miles of their home (that's 40% of all trips), pollution would be reduced significantly. If everyone did this, we would all enjoy cleaner air, but if everyone did this *except* you, you would still get clean air—and the convenience of driving a car (particularly when it's raining, snowing, extremely hot, etc.). Thus, by cheating on the agreement, you would get all the benefits and none of the costs. The problem, of course, is that few people would ride a bike and give up the convenience with only the hope that the rest of the world will eventually do the same.

Similarly, the two scenarios suggest that part of the underlying issue is trust. In the study of world politics, this is often referred to as a **commitment problem**—countries have a hard time committing to cooperative courses of action that assure their partners that they will keep their end of the deal for mutual benefit and forgo the possibility of their own short-term gains (see “Theory in Action: Defeating the Prisoner’s Dilemma and Getting a Stag, Not a Rabbit”). In the stag hunt, for example, the individual hunter must choose between cooperating for the good of all or defecting for selfish gain. But each hunter must also consider the possibility that another member of the hunting party might be faced with a similar choice and must consider the consequences of cooperating with the group if another member does chase the rabbit.

In this case, the game between the players isn’t a competition like it is for the prisoners. Instead, this is a coordination and reassurance game. The hunter who chooses not to chase the rabbit will also get her dinner from the stag. Further, by going after the rabbit, the hunter will betray the society and make it very likely that she will be kicked out of the village. Thus, there are plenty of reasons for the hunter to stay the course and go after the stag. However, all the hunters

need to know that they are equally committed to the stag hunt, so that a rabbit will tempt none of them. What would ensure that the hunter continued the stag hunt?

CONCLUSION: SEEKING SECURITY AND CONTENDING WITH CHALLENGES

The tensions revealed in the prisoner’s dilemma and stag hunt scenarios are rooted in the very same challenges we introduced in this chapter: anarchy, diversity, and complexity. Contending with them forms a major part of world politics and the interactions among the various players. Furthermore, these are not merely abstract questions: There are potentially enormous consequences for countries and other players as they grapple with the dilemmas of self-interest and mutual interest, between doing what is best for oneself and what is best for the group, and between short-term and long-term perspectives. As we bring this introductory chapter to a close, let’s return once more to our initial question about how you thought about security. Consider again the ideas you brainstormed at the outset. Given some of the ideas discussed in the chapter, how would you revise your thinking about the meaning of security in light of the challenges of anarchy, diversity, and complexity? ●

commitment problem: countries have a hard time committing to cooperative courses of action that assure their partners that they will keep their end of the deal for mutual benefit and forgo the possibility of their own short-term gains.

KEY CONCEPTS

1-1 Summarize the complex arena of world politics.

The study of world politics involves more than the political relationships among the countries of the world. It also includes the activities and interactions—political, economic, and social—among states and a wide variety of non-state actors, such as international organizations, non-state national and ethnic groups, transnational corporations, nongovernmental organizations, and individuals. The range of issues extends across conflict to cooperation and from basic security issues to quality-of-life concerns, so identifying the patterns and forces at work and explaining their causes and consequences is difficult. What happens in world politics has real-life consequences for ordinary citizens everywhere, so

understanding and explaining the patterns and forces at work in world politics is increasingly important.

1-2 Identify the nature and challenges of security, prosperity, and quality of life in international relations.

In world politics, security involves three arenas or dimensions:

- National and international security, which involves issues related to national defense, conflict and war, and arms control and disarmament
- Economic security, which involves the pursuit of wealth and prosperity by countries, corporations, and others

- Human security, which concerns the quality of life that people experience and includes issues such as human rights and the global environment

As the players in world politics seek security in these three arenas, they grapple with three fundamental challenges:

- Anarchy, which is the absence of a central, authoritative government over the players of world politics, both states and non-states
- Diversity, which is the myriad differences among the players of world politics
- Complexity, which refers to the multidimensional issues, players, connections, and interactions of world politics

1-3 Define the levels of analysis in the study of international relations.

Levels of analysis help us comprehend the interactions, causes, and consequences of world politics. The broadest of these levels is the systemic or international level, where attention is directed to the structural characteristics of the international system itself—including anarchy, the distribution of power, interdependence, globalization, and others—and their impact on the broad patterns and interactions among the players of world politics. The state or national level directs attention to the states—or units—themselves and their attributes, such as the type and processes of government or the economy, culture, ethnic groups, or other state or national attributes, and how these factors shape the goals, behavior, and interactions of the

players. The individual level directs attention to people—policymakers, business CEOs, and other influential persons—and how their personalities, perceptions, and preferences affect policy and interactions.

1-4 Describe the challenges of cooperation among the actors of international relations.

It would make sense for countries to cooperate in order to control the costly acquisition or dangerous spread of weapons, but often they do not cooperate, even when doing so would be in their mutual best interest. Attempts at mutually beneficial collaboration to promote economic growth and development and to protect the environment are frequent, but these attempts also frequently fail.

1-5 Assess the dilemmas of cooperation illustrated by the prisoner's dilemma and stag hunt scenarios.

Stories of the prisoner's dilemma and the stag hunt highlight the tension between pursuing self-interest and broader collective interests. They also suggest that the conditions of the game provide incentives for the players to see things through the lens of self-interest rather than more broadly. In the prisoner's dilemma, it is logical for the suspects to confess, even though they each could derive greater mutual benefits from cooperation. By confessing, they give up the best mutual outcome, but they avoid the worst outcome—being held solely responsible and serving a long jail term. The opposite is true in the stag hunt, where it may be easier to cooperate and bring down the stag rather than grab a rabbit, but fear of betrayal by others can lead to individual pursuit of the rabbit anyway.

KEY TERMS

world politics 3

security 7

norms 8

levels of analysis 10

systemic or international level 10

state or national level 10

individual level 10

theories 11

prisoner's dilemma 12

stag hunt 13

collective action problem 14

commitment problem 15

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What does it mean to be secure in international relations?
2. How might anarchy, diversity, and complexity pose challenges for the pursuit of security in international relations?
3. What are levels of analysis through which we can attempt to understand and explain international relations?
4. What are the key challenges for cooperation in international relations?

THINK ABOUT THIS

The Cooperation Puzzle in World Politics

At first glance, the benefits of cooperation seem obvious and compelling. They can be observed at almost any level of interaction. In fact, we all engage in cooperation when we obey traffic laws when driving—if we didn't, there would be traffic accidents all over the place, many of them lethal. Yet in world politics, cooperation appears less often and is more difficult to attain than we might expect. It would make sense for countries to cooperate in order to control the costly acquisition or dangerous spread of weapons, but often they do not, even when cooperating would be in their mutual best interest. Attempts at mutually beneficial collaboration to promote economic growth and development and to protect the environment are frequent, but these attempts also often fail. The players of world

politics work together to establish institutions, norms, and rules to shape behavior in mutually beneficial and predictable ways, but those efforts are often incomplete and episodic or fleeting. And although most states are at peace with most other states most of the time, many observers would argue that conflict and war happen regularly enough to be the rule and not the exception in world politics. All countries are not necessarily “engaged in, recovering from, or preparing for war,” as Professor Hans Morgenthau, a famous international relations scholar, once argued, but certainly war happens persistently enough to make us wonder why countries do not cooperate to prevent it more often.

Why is cooperation so hard in world politics, and what conditions make it most likely?

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PART I

Theory and Practice

CHAPTER 2.

The Players and the Playing Field: Anarchy, States, and Non-state Actors

CHAPTER 3.

Powerful Ideas: Realism, Liberalism, and Constructivism

CHAPTER 4.

Alternative Perspectives on International Relations





Hundreds of thousands dead, millions driven from their homes
Why have so many international actors allowed the Syrian civil war to continue?

Muhammed Said/Anadolu Agency via Getty Images

2

The Players and the Playing Field

Anarchy, States, and Non-state Actors

Learning Objectives

After studying this chapter, you will be able to . . .

- 2-1** Summarize how the search for international, economic, and human security has evolved in a changing international system.
- 2-2** List the major types of actors and relationships of the pre-Westphalian international system.
- 2-3** Differentiate the major types of actors and relationships of the Westphalian international system.
- 2-4** Recognize the major types of actors and relationships of the neo-Westphalian international system.

A Look at the Players: Conflict and Violence in Syria

The wave of change in the Arab world known as the Arab Spring of 2011 was a watershed event. Long-standing regimes fell in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya. However, the Bashar al-Assad regime in Syria managed to push back at its domestic challengers, prompting a ten-year civil war with hundreds of thousands of dead and more than 13 million driven from their homes. By 2020, with Russian help, the Assad regime steadily defeated its challengers and asserted its control over most of Syria.

When faced with domestic protests, both Syrian police and security forces turned on the protesters, but the protesters fought back, prompting harsher reprisals from the regime's defenders. Soon elements of the Syrian military who objected to killing their own citizens defected and created the Free Syrian Army to fight against the regime. Other anti-Assad rebel groups also formed, often with the support of outsiders. The Islamic Front was supported by Saudi Arabia; the al-Nusra Front was an al-Qaeda-linked group; and the Syrian Democratic Forces comprised militias of Syrian Kurds, Turkmen, Assyrians, and Armenians, along with other Syrian Arabs. The group known as the Islamic State, the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS), or the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), or simply by its Arab initials Da'esh, sought to carve out an Islamic-ruled territory in Syria as well. Further, the United States provided technical support to some rebel groups seen as

Chapter Outline

- 2-1** The Search for International, Economic, and Human Security in a Changing World
- 2-2** The Pre-Westphalian System (Pre-1648)
- 2-3** The Westphalian System (1648–1989)
- 2-4** The Neo-Westphalian System (1990–Present)

moderates in the conflict. How did the Assad regime manage to stay in power in the face of so many opponents?

There are two immediate answers to that question. First, the Assad regime has not held back its military in attacking Syrian rebels and rebel-held civilian areas. In violation of international law, the regime has used chemical weapons and antipersonnel barrel bombs against civilian areas more than once. President Assad seems willing to do anything to stay in power. Second, he's had a lot of help. Iran, its al-Quds special operations forces, and its client Hezbollah forces from Lebanon have waded into the war on the regime's side because of a religious connection. The Assad regime is dominated by Alawites, an offshoot of Shi'a Islam, and Iran is a Shi'a-based theocracy. Syrian Alawite militias have joined in as well in defense of the regime—and of themselves. Syrian Christians have formed their own militias in support of the regime, as they too fear an Islamic-themed regime in the future. Further, Russia has intervened significantly in the conflict, supporting Assad's military actions and using its air force to pound rebel targets. Russia has long been a military backer of the Assad regime, has both a naval base and an air base in Syria, and is thought to have millions if not billions of dollars in commercial contracts with the Assad regime—which could disappear if the regime falls.

There's also a broader reason the war has gone on so long. The Assad regime and its defenders want it to stay in power, but the opposition forces have different goals. Some simply want the Assad family and its entourage

gone and a secular or democratic regime installed. Others want to create an Islamic regime. The United States attacked a Syrian air base in retaliation for chemical weapons attacks and wants the Assad regime gone. The US also wants the Islamic State exterminated. Turkey too wants the Islamic State exterminated, but it wants Kurdish militias operating near the Turkish border to be eliminated as well, some of which are US allies. Indeed, Turkey aggressively intervened in northern Syria against the Kurds, one of the most effective groups opposing Assad. Iran wants the Islamic State defeated because it sees the group as a Saudi-backed agent, so it cooperates with the United States on that goal, but it pushes back when the US military targets Assad's forces. Russian air forces strike at the Islamic State, but they also strike at rebel forces that the US backs. Turkey even shot down a Russian jet that crossed its border. Finally, after 2017, the US sharply curtailed its activities in support of Syrian rebels as well.

The result is a prolonged conflict like something out of *Game of Thrones*, in which you can't tell the players without a scorecard. The UN, the US, and Russia have all tried to negotiate cease-fires, but none of the attempts have worked. The results have been devastating for the Syrian people and surrounding countries.

1. What types of international actors are involved in this conflict?
2. Which are the most significant actors?
3. What is the basis of their power in this regional conflict?

INTRODUCTION: THE IR GAME BOARD

The complex patterns and dynamics of international relations take place on an evolving “game board.” The players in this game engage in an international system that both shapes, and is shaped by, their actions and interactions as they seek security in its international, economic, and human dimensions. In this chapter, we take a broad look at this game board, or playing field, to lay out and assess its main features, the key types of players involved, and the patterns and trends that characterize both over time. As we set this context, we will see that the system, the players, and their roles and interactions have developed through three historical periods.



Nuclear arsenals

Why is it okay for some states to have nuclear weapons but not others?

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2-1 THE SEARCH FOR INTERNATIONAL, ECONOMIC, AND HUMAN SECURITY IN A CHANGING WORLD

>> 2-1 Summarize how the search for international, economic, and human security has evolved in a changing international system.

You are probably familiar with different types of international actors. You're a citizen of a country (or a *state*, as we say in international politics), you may be a member of the local Amnesty International chapter on your campus, and someone you know may work for a multinational corporation. These examples represent different types of international actors in world politics. The playing field for such actors is the international system, which consists of the players and the relationships between them. Both the players and the relationships matter. In the modern era, the players, or international actors, are of several broad types. States—such as France or Japan—are typically easy to identify, as they occupy defined spaces on maps. There are about 200 such states; the newest one is South Sudan, which became a recognized state in 2011. There are also non-state actors. Some non-state actors are actually made up of states. Examples include the United Nations (UN), the European Union (EU), or the African Union (AU). These are typically termed international organizations (IOs). Other non-state actors are organizations that allow individuals to join, such as Amnesty International, Greenpeace, or the

Red Cross. These are usually called nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Some are commercial business entities, such as General Motors, British Petroleum (BP), or Bayer, which are commonly referred to as multinational or transnational corporations (MNCs or TNCs) when their production facilities and transactions cross the boundaries of several countries. Others are transnational advocacy networks (TANs), such as al-Qaeda. Local or subnational actors can be identified, too. These might include *individuals* who change the world around them, like the Dalai Lama or Bono, or wealthy people who take action in world politics, such as Bill Gates or George Soros. Other subnational actors may be *governmental units* within a state that influence world politics with their actions, such as when the Spanish city of Barcelona sends a trade mission to China. As you can see, the numbers and types of international actors are numerous, and we take a closer look at them later in this chapter.

The **international system** includes the ongoing relationships among these actors as well. International actors do not just bump up against each other randomly. There are expectations about what actors should do in certain situations. There are both written rules and unwritten norms that condition how these actors behave. For example, the United States may still be the most powerful state in the international system at this point, but that does not mean it can do anything it wants. Other international actors prefer order, and thus they want to be able to anticipate what actors like the United States will do whenever possible. The presence of expectations, rules, and norms makes anticipating such actions somewhat easier. As you'll see, both the actors and their relationships matter.

2-1a Anarchy and Interdependence

Let's begin with the international system and its key characteristics. One of the defining structural characteristics of the international system is anarchy. As we said in Chapter 1, formal anarchy does not mean chaos. Anarchy simply means the lack of a central, overarching authority that governs world politics and the actors involved in it. In the anarchic international system, the main players—states—have **sovereignty**, which means they govern themselves. There is no equivalent of the cop on the corner to make sure that rules and norms are followed or that expectations are met, and there is no central authority to govern the members of the system. International actors, particularly states, will often pursue their own interests with seemingly little concern about how their actions affect others, in part because no one has the responsibility, authority, and power to make them behave, and

in part because the anarchic structure of the international system makes **self-help** a core motivation. In such circumstances, some international actors behave as if the only law is the law of the jungle—the survival of the fittest. Of course, among these actors, power differences exist, and such asymmetries can be important elements of what states do and how they interact. China has more options regarding what it does than do states like Moldova or Haiti.

However, anarchy is not the only significant structural characteristic. The fact that most international actors do not behave in a purely self-interested fashion suggests that anarchy is not the law of the jungle. Other features of the international system help create order. One of these important structural characteristics is **interdependence**, which refers to the mutual connections that tie states and other players to each other. No state is fully independent and able to provide for all its needs and manage all its problems, and the mutual dependencies that exist and grow link players together. Not all these dependencies are equal, and interdependence between different actors varies, but the bottom line is that what one state does often affects other states. This interdependence—in varying levels and degrees—creates significant connections between the players that force them to interact with each other and often result in greater cooperation than would otherwise be expected. Therefore, although formal anarchy is an essential feature, it does not mean that states or other players are not connected.

Similarly, although there are no authoritative central bodies—those that can enforce laws—to govern the international political system, formal anarchy does not mean there is no order, organization, or meaningful institutions in world politics. In part due to interdependence, but also due to common goals and common problems, the international system has many international organizations whose members are the sovereign states of the anarchic system. These organizations, such as the United Nations, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and many others, provide forums for members to coordinate efforts to solve common problems. Moreover, although these organizations' authority is severely constrained by their members, they often play important roles,

international system: the constellation of international actors and the relationships between them.

sovereignty: having supreme authority over people and territory.

self-help: the idea that individual actors are responsible for making themselves secure and protecting their own interests.

interdependence: mutual connections and reliance between international actors.

help develop norms and rules, and frequently have resources (provided by their members) to address problems. The international system is anarchic, but a level of structure and order exists within it, and these IOs can mitigate the effect of anarchy to some degree.

Furthermore, even for major powers such as the United States, China, Russia, or Germany, there are costs to be paid for not meeting others' expectations or not following well-established rules and norms. International actors are often concerned with reciprocity—the practice of behaving toward others as they behave toward you—and therefore follow these rules and norms to help ensure that others do as well. Violating rules and norms can result in costs ranging from international scorn to economic or military punishment. Despite the formal anarchy of the system, the international system is like a society in some ways. Those who repeatedly choose to act outside its rules, norms, and expectations are typically seen as outlaws. So when North Korea is called out for failing to follow the rules of the system, spokespersons for the regime react to such labels because those words sting. In the anarchic international system, diplomatic communications can lessen or inflame tensions between actors as well as clarify or obscure an actor's intentions; sometimes words are substitutes for actions, and at other times they trigger the very reactions they are trying to prevent (Trager 2010). So how do we protect ourselves?

2-1b The Security Dilemma

The most tempting response to the question of how we protect ourselves is the simplest one. As “Rule 2: Double-Tap” in *Zombieland* reminds us, in anarchy, you'd better have a gun. In an anarchic system, self-help is the norm, as states must depend on themselves to provide for their own security and protect their own interests. But how does one society increase its own security without threatening the security of others? This consequence of self-help is the **security dilemma**: Often, the things that a state does to make itself secure threaten—or at least appear to threaten—the security of other states, who respond in ways that end up creating or expanding threats to the first state. This dilemma represents a central dynamic in world politics.

When we think of rivals such as India and Pakistan or Israel and Iran, the dangers involved in the security dilemma become self-evident. India

security dilemma: the steps that states take to make themselves secure often result in threats to other states, whose reactions to those threats make the first state less secure; thus, what a state does to gain security can often make it less secure.

Treaties of Westphalia: two treaties in 1648 that ended the Thirty Years' War and created the modern international system.



The Walking Dead, an American horror drama television series
What happens when there is no central government to provide order?

Atlaspix/Alamy Stock Photo

and Pakistan share a border; they have fought three major wars since 1947, all of which India has won; and they have minor border clashes virtually each year. In 1998, India detonated a series of nuclear devices, and Pakistan did the same just a few weeks later. There seems no doubt that rivals like these two adjoining states would benefit from more cooperation. Yet as the prisoner's dilemma in Chapter 1 showed, cooperation is hard to achieve. The gains that come from both sides' cooperation are attractive, but the risks to one side if it cooperates and the other doesn't are profound—literally life-and-death in this case! Prudence suggests that each country should continue to arm itself and watch the other closely. That means the next war could be fundamentally more deadly.

For their part, Israel and Iran have not fought each other directly, but former Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad has called for the destruction of Israel. More to the point, Iran has been a primary financier of the Hezbollah militia in Lebanon, which Israeli forces were unable to defeat following a series of border clashes in 2006. Israel's government is troubled by Iran's nuclear programs, fearing it will acquire nuclear weapons that would threaten Israel, but Israel is reputed to have 100 to 200 nuclear weapons itself. Each of these rivals watches the other's actions closely. A strike by Israel against Iran, or by Iran against Israel, could happen, and the state that launched the attack would probably claim it acted in self-defense.

Although core features of the international system such as the role of anarchy and the security dilemma are persistent, their nature and effects change over time. To best understand international politics, the key turning point in history came in 1648 with the **Treaties of Westphalia** that ended the Thirty Years' War and began the modern state system. Given this starting point, we can divide the international system's history into three periods: the pre-Westphalian



A meeting between Iranian and European Union officials in Vienna, Austria, in 2015 to discuss issues regarding the Iranian nuclear program

Why are agreements like these so hard to make and keep?

Hasan Tosun/Anadolu Agency/Getty Images

system, the Westphalian system, and the neo-Westphalian system.

2-2 THE PRE-WESTPHALIAN SYSTEM (PRE-1648)

>> 2-2 List the major types of actors and relationships of the pre-Westphalian international system.

For most of human history, geography limited people's contact. Oceans, rivers, mountain ranges, dense forests, and deserts divided peoples and limited their interaction. Individuals might live their whole lives without traveling more than a few miles from their place of birth. Over time, innovations like domesticating plants and animals led to larger communities and thus larger political organizations. Year-round agriculture and constantly occupied communities began approximately 7,000 years ago with the Sumerian culture in ancient Mesopotamia (Kramer 1988). Around the globe, monarchies and empires rose and fell, but *modern international politics arose out of European history*. The combination of Europe's advantages—temperate climate, adequate rainfall, arable land, natural resources, navigable rivers, and multiple maritime linkages—allowed its inhabitants to expand and dominate others (Diamond 1999). Thus, we can say that the international system is Eurocentric.

The Romans used both military force and technological innovations, such as a superior system of roads, to knit together much of Europe. After the fall of the Roman Empire, a weak monarchy system

evolved. That system was dominated by **feudalism**, a socio-economic-political system in which rulers would grant land to the local aristocracy in return for their loyalty and support. In return for the landowners meeting their material needs, peasants would work the land. As monarchs became militarily stronger, the territories they controlled grew larger and better integrated, becoming the bases of modern states—and modern state rivalries.

The **Thirty Years' War** (1618–1648) was the watershed event in modern international politics. It began as a religious conflict between Protestants and Catholics in the Holy Roman Empire when the pope tried to force Protestant rulers to return to Catholicism. Because the Holy Roman Empire stretched across all of Central Europe, over time virtually every European power became involved. The Danes, Dutch, Swedes, Spanish, French, and others sequentially entered conflicts that became more about power—and who would rule where—than about religion alone. When the wars finally ended with the Treaties of Westphalia, many of Europe's modern states had broken free from the Holy Roman Empire, and a new international system was created based on sovereign states and the principle of nonintervention into their domestic affairs (see Map 2-1). In short, within a state's borders, the religion of both the people and their ruler was their business, not the business of outsiders, and the modern state system was born.

feudalism: a socio-economic-political system in which rulers granted land to the local aristocracy in return for their loyalty and support, and others worked the land in return for food, shelter, and protection from the local aristocracy.

Thirty Years' War: a series of wars (1618–1648) that created many modern European states.

MAP 2-1

Europe After the Treaty of Westphalia, 1648



Source: Wikicommons, Europe on the 24th of October 1648, after the Peace of Westphalia. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Europe_24_October_1648.svg. Licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/deed.en>.

2-3 THE WESTPHALIAN SYSTEM (1648–1989)

>> 2-3 Differentiate the major types of actors and relationships of the Westphalian international system.

The idea of borders as barriers to political interference from outside was very important in the Westphalian

state: a political-legal unit that (a) has an identifiable population, (b) is located within defined borders recognized by others, and (c) has a government with sovereignty.

system, and, as we'll see, within those borders different types of governing regimes developed.

2-3a States and Their Characteristics

States were the primary actors in the Westphalian international system. A **state** is a political-legal unit that meets three conditions: (a) It has an identifiable population; (b) it is located within defined territorial borders recognized by others; and (c) its government possesses sovereignty, which means it

is self-governing. States have great diversity in their form of government, from presidential and parliamentary democracies of many kinds to authoritarian regimes centered around individual leaders, parties, the military, and combinations of these rulers. However, one core idea of the Westphalian system was that these states all possessed sovereignty. In **Westphalian sovereignty**, *within a state's borders there is no higher authority than the government of the state itself*. Each state—regardless of its size or form of government—rules over its own territory and domestic affairs as it sees fit, and states are entitled to non-interference by other states in their domestic affairs, a principle included in Article 2 of the UN Charter in 1945. Westphalian sovereignty also has an external component. Sovereign states are free to choose their own courses of action in the world beyond their borders, and with that freedom comes the opportunity to succeed or to fail.

The roughly 200 states in the international system vary widely across many dimensions. As shown in Table 2-1, they can be large or small, rich or poor. States also vary widely in how much freedom their citizens experience. As Map 2-2 shows, states can be politically free, partly free, or not free based on their regime type and protection of political rights and civil liberties.

As Table 2-2 shows, some of the states with the strongest nonnuclear militaries may surprise you. Did you expect to find India, Egypt, or Brazil on the list? Almost certainly the presence of the United States as the number-one conventional military power did not come as a surprise, but what does this number-one ranking mean? How strong is the US military, and how do others react to it? Those questions are addressed in the box “Foreign Policy in Perspective: The US Military and Its Impact on Global Armaments.”

An interesting exception to the sovereignty principle can be found in the foreign embassies in a state's capital city. **Embassies** are properties that house the permanent diplomatic missions of other countries. They have the benefit of **extraterritoriality**. For example, that meant when WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange stepped into the Ecuadorian Embassy in London, he left the United Kingdom and entered Ecuador. While Ecuador allowed him to stay there—until 2019—the British could not execute an arrest warrant issued by Sweden against him for the alleged sexual assault of two of his Swedish volunteers or extradite him to the US to face espionage charges brought against him there. Thus, extraterritoriality explains why some people accused of wrongdoing may seek asylum in the embassies of other states. The key officials working in these missions are professional diplomats—individuals occupying positions in the foreign policy establishments of states or the management of other organizations who represent

TABLE 2-1

The Range of States in the International System

FIVE LARGEST STATES (IN SQUARE MILES) ^a	FIVE SMALLEST STATES (IN SQUARE MILES) ^b
1. Russia (6.6 million)	1. Vatican City (0.2)
2. Canada (3.9 million)	2. Monaco (0.7)
3. United States (3.71 million)	3. Nauru (8.5)
4. China (3.70 million)	4. Tuvalu (9)
5. Brazil (3.3 million)	5. San Marino (24)
FIVE LARGEST STATES (EST. POPULATION 2016) ^c	FIVE SMALLEST STATES (EST. POPULATION 2016) ^c
1. China (1,373,541,278)	1. Vatican City (1,000)
2. India (1,266,883,598)	2. Nauru (9,591)
3. United States (323,995,528)	3. Tuvalu (10,959)
4. Indonesia (258,316,051)	4. Palau (21,347)
5. Brazil (205,823,665)	5. Monaco (30,581)
FIVE WEALTHIEST STATES (WORLD BANK 2018 GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT IN MILLIONS) ^d	FIVE POOREST STATES (WORLD BANK 2018 GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT IN MILLIONS) ^d
1. United States (\$20,544,343,456,936.5)	1. Tuvalu (\$42.5)
2. China (\$13,608,151,864,637.9)	2. Nauru (\$125.6)
3. Japan (\$4,971,323,079,771.9)	3. Kiribati (\$188.3)
4. Germany (\$3,947,620,162,503)	4. Marshall Islands (\$221.3)
5. United Kingdom (\$2,855,296,731,522)	5. Palau (\$284.0)

Sources: ^aInfoplease, “The Top Ten: Largest Countries,” <https://www.infoplease.com/top-ten-largest-countries>; ^bThoughtCo., “The World’s Smallest Countries,” <https://www.thoughtco.com/the-worlds-smallest-countries-1433446>; ^cUS Central Intelligence Agency, “Country Comparison: Population,” *The World Factbook*, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2119rank.html>; ^dWorld Bank, <http://databank.worldbank.org/data>.

Westphalian sovereignty: the idea that within a state's borders there is no higher authority than the government of the state itself.

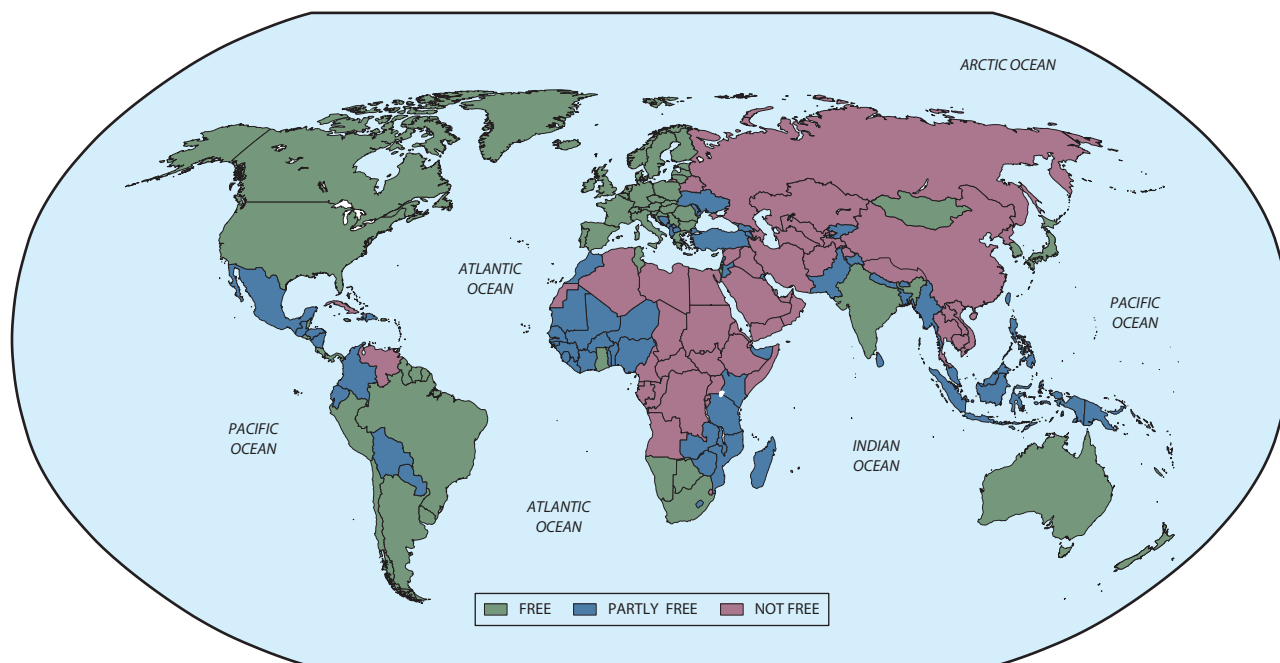
embassies: properties that house the permanent diplomatic missions of other countries, typically located in the capital city of a state.

extraterritoriality: the principle that one is exempt from prosecution of the laws of the state, typically applied in the case of an embassy.

MAP 2-2

Map of Freedom, 2020

Do any of these classifications of free, partly free, or not free states surprise you?



Source: © Freedom House/*Freedom in the World*.

TABLE 2-2

Ten Strongest Conventional Military Powers in the World (comparing nonnuclear forces only, 2020)

1. United States
2. Russia
3. China
4. India
5. Japan
6. South Korea
7. France
8. United Kingdom
9. Egypt
10. Brazil

Source: GlobalFirepower.com, "2020 Military Strength Ranking," <http://www.globalfirepower.com/countries-listing.asp>.

and negotiate on behalf of their country or employer. Even when they leave the grounds of the embassy, accredited diplomats are still largely exempt from the laws of the state in which they work. Thus, if an accredited diplomat (or even an immediate family member of one) is accused of a crime, typically the most a state can do is to expel the diplomat or person from the country. Of course, the other state involved may expel one of the first state's diplomats in retaliation, as indicated in the box "Spotlight On: Diplomatic Immunities."

Diplomatic immunity is a pragmatic adjustment to the sovereignty principle based on reciprocity: If countries are to sustain communication—even in times of violent conflict—and try to resolve disagreements, they must have confidence that their official representatives and negotiators will be able to engage in diplomacy safely. Yet embassies and embassy officials are increasingly the targets of state and non-state actors. For example, in 2015 and 2016, attacks resulting in deaths occurred in foreign embassies