

# International Relations

Eleventh Edition



JON C.W. PEVEHOUSE  
JOSHUA S. GOLDSTEIN

# International Relations

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# International Relations

Eleventh Edition

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

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# Preface

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

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

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

## New to the Eleventh Edition

The eleventh edition of *International Relations* includes important revisions throughout to keep the text current in a time of extensive changes in the international system.

### Chapter 1:

- Completely updated economic and demographic data
- Updates on Middle East conflicts, including Syria, Libya, Yemen, and the Iranian nuclear negotiations
- Updates on East Asian maritime tensions
- Discussion of the Ebola health crisis in West Africa

### Chapter 2:

- New Policy Perspectives box feature
- Revised Seeking the Collective Good box feature
- Updates on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO's) withdrawal from Afghanistan
- Discussion of Russian annexation of Crimea

### Chapter 3:

- New Policy Perspectives box feature
- Revised discussion of Women in IR
- Updates on Arab Spring transitions and violence in the Middle East

### Chapter 4:

- Revised Seeking the Collective Good box feature
- Discussion of congressional debate over Iran nuclear deal

### Chapter 5:

- Revised listing of wars of the world
- Revised discussion of Islamic groups, including the rise of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS)
- New discussion of violence in Nigeria
- Updated discussion of civil wars in Syria and Yemen
- New discussion of Ukrainian-Russian tensions and violence
- Revised discussion of maritime tensions in East Asia

### Chapter 6:

- Completely updated data on military forces worldwide
- Expanded discussion of drones and cyberwarfare
- New discussion of Iran nuclear negotiations and the 2015 nuclear agreement
- Updated Policy Perspectives box feature

### Chapter 7:

- Completely updated data and discussion of current UN peacekeeping efforts
- Discussion of new UN Disabilities Treaty
- Updated discussion of International Criminal Court
- Discussion of Saudi Arabia's refusal to join the UN Security Council

### Chapter 8:

- Updated data and discussion on the continuing slow recovery from the global economic crisis of 2008–2009
- Discussion of controversial Transatlantic and Trans-Pacific trade agreements
- Updated discussion on continued struggles to complete the Doha Round of trade negotiations over new World Trade Organization mandates
- Updated discussion of global public support for free trade

### Chapter 9:

- New and updated data on global economic trends in international finance
- Updated discussions of state economic positions in the global economy, including Russian economic struggles
- Discussion of Chinese currency devaluations
- New discussion of virtual currencies such as bitcoin

## Chapter 10:

- Updated discussion of the economic difficulties in Greece, including the possibility of the country's exit from the eurozone
- Revised discussion of eurozone countries
- Revised discussion of the global digital divide, including updated data
- Discussion of attempts at a new Internet treaty

## Chapter 11:

- Updated discussion of negotiations for a comprehensive global warming treaty
- Updates on attempts by China and the United States to move to smaller side agreements on environmental issues
- New discussion of Ebola in West Africa
- Revised discussion on the global fight against HIV/AIDS
- Revised Seeking the Collective Good box feature
- Updated Policy Perspectives box feature

## Chapter 12:

- Completely updated data on progress toward the UN Millennium Development Goals
- Discussion of European immigration crisis
- Updated discussion of world trends in economic development

## Chapter 13:

- More focus on developments in BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China)
- Updated discussion of foreign assistance based on updated data from 2014 and 2015
- Updated discussion of Chinese economic situation, including devaluations and stock market slides
- Revised discussion of international debt, including updated data

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

Finally, this eleventh edition of *International Relations* revises the photo program substantially. Dozens of new photos, mostly from 2014 and 2015, draw visual attention to current events while reinforcing key concepts in the text.

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## Structure of the Text

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

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

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

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

## Pedagogical Elements

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

### Seeking the Collective Good

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

### Policy Perspectives

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

### Let's Debate the Issue

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

### Careers in International Relations

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

Many people find information—especially abstract concepts—easier to grasp when linked with pictures. Thus, the text uses color photographs extensively to illustrate important points. Photo captions reinforce main themes from each section of the text and link them with the scenes pictured. Many of the photos in this edition are recent, taken in 2014 and 2015.

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

IR is a large subject that offers many directions for further exploration. The Suggested Readings list additional sources for additional reading on various topics.

Unless otherwise noted, they are not traditional source notes. (Also, to save space in the notes, publisher locations are omitted and major university or state names refer to their university presses, although this is not a correct research paper style.)

*Jon C. W. Pevehouse*

*Joshua S. Goldstein*

## Supplements

Pearson is pleased to offer several resources to qualified adopters of *International Relations* and their students that will make teaching and learning from this text even more effective and enjoyable. Several of the supplements for this text are available at the Instructor Resource Center (IRC), an online hub that allows instructors to download text-specific supplements quickly. Please visit the IRC welcome page at [www.pearsonhighered.com/irc](http://www.pearsonhighered.com/irc) to register for access.

**INSTRUCTOR'S MANUAL/TEST BANK** This resource includes chapter learning objectives, lecture outlines, multiple-choice questions, true/false questions, and essay questions for each chapter. Available for download on the IRC.

**PEARSON MYTEST** This powerful assessment generation program includes all the items in the instructor's manual/test bank. Questions and tests can easily be created, customized, saved online, and then printed, allowing flexibility in managing assessments anytime and anywhere. Available for download on the IRC.

**POWERPOINT PRESENTATIONS** Organized around a lecture outline, these multimedia presentations also include photos, figures, and tables from each chapter. Available for download on the IRC.

## Acknowledgments

Many scholars, colleagues, and friends have contributed ideas that ultimately influenced the eleven editions of this text. The text owes a special debt to the late Robert C. North, who suggested many years ago that the concepts of bargaining and leverage could be used to integrate IR theory across four levels of analysis. For help with military data issues, we thank the late Randall Forsberg. For suggestions, we thank our colleagues, and the students in our world politics classes. For help with data research and bibliographic work, we thank Felicity Vabulas, Inken von Borzyskowski, Alex Holland, Lindsey Wagner, Monica Widmann, and Natalia Canas. Thanks to Mark Lilleleht for assistance on the Careers in International Relations feature. Finally, we appreciate the years of support we received from our late colleague, teacher, and friend Deborah "Misty" Gerner.

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The errors, of course, remain our own responsibility.

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# To the Student

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

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

*J. C. W. P.*

*J. S. G.*

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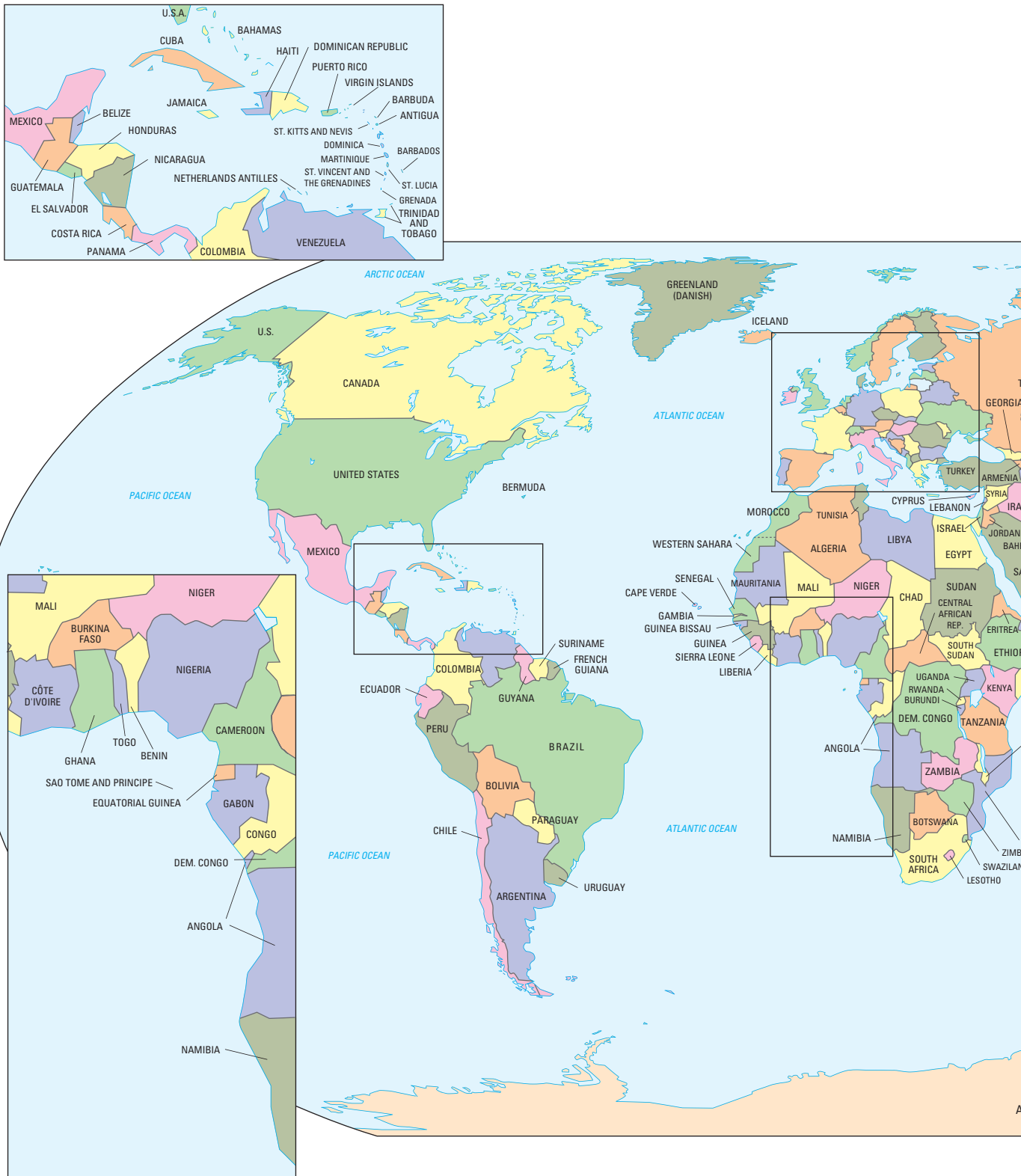
# A Note on Nomenclature

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



# Maps

## World States and Territories





# North America



# Central America and the Caribbean



# South America



# Africa



# Northern Africa and the Middle East



# Europe





# Asia



# Chapter 1

# The Globalization of International Relations



INTERNATIONAL SPACE STATION, 2010.

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## Learning Objectives

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- 1.1** Describe the properties of the collective action problem and how each core principle addresses the problem.
- 1.2** Evaluate whether states are still the key actors in international relations.
- 1.3** Identify at least three commonalities between states in the global North and states in the global South.
- 1.4** Explain at least two differences between the Cold War era and the post-Cold War era.

# Globalization, International Relations, and Daily Life

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

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

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

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

Indeed, three key events of recent years reflect globalization. In 2014, an outbreak of the Ebola virus in Africa led to concerns of a global epidemic. Victims far from Africa—in Spain, the United States, and Great Britain—were quarantined, while new health-screening procedures to prevent the spread of the virus were implemented at hospitals and health clinics throughout those countries. The young protesters of the Arab Spring who overthrew several governments in 2011–2012 used Facebook and cell phones to plan and coordinate their revolutions. And the global economic recession of 2008–2009, which began with a collapse of the U.S. home mortgage market, spread quickly to other nations. Highly integrated global financial markets created a ripple effect across the globe that is still being felt today. Thus, three hallmarks of globalization—the ease of global travel, expanding communications technology, and integrated markets—propelled events that affected our daily lives.

Not only large-scale events influence our lives. The prospects for getting jobs after graduation depend on the global economy and international economic competition. Those jobs are also more likely than ever to entail international travel, sales, or communication. And the rules of the world trading system affect the goods that students consume every day, such as electronics, clothes, and gasoline.

Globalization has distinct positive impacts on our daily lives as well. As technology advances, the world is shrinking year by year. Better communication and transportation capabilities constantly expand the ordinary person's contact with people, products, and ideas from other countries. Globalization is internationalizing us.

In addition to feeling the influence of globalization and international relations on our daily lives, individual citizens can influence the world as well. Often, international relations is portrayed as a distant and abstract ritual conducted by a small group of people such as presidents, generals, and diplomats. Although leaders do play a major role in international affairs, many other people participate. College students and other citizens participate in international relations every time they vote in an election or work on a political campaign, buy a product or service traded on world markets, and watch the news. The choices we make in our daily lives ultimately affect the world we live in. Through those choices, every person makes a unique contribution, however small, to the world of international relations.

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

## Core Principles

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

IR revolves around one key problem: How can a group—such as two or more countries—serve its *collective* interests when doing so requires its members to forgo their *individual* interests? For example, every country has an interest in stopping global warming, a goal that can be achieved only by many countries acting together. Yet each country also has an individual interest in burning fossil fuels to keep its economy going. Similarly, all members of a military alliance benefit from the strength of the alliance, but each member separately has an interest in minimizing its own contributions in troops and money. Individual nations can advance their own short-term interests by seizing territory militarily, cheating on trade agreements, and refusing to contribute to international efforts such as peacekeeping or vaccination campaigns. But if all nations acted this way, they would find themselves worse off, in a chaotic and vicious environment where mutual gains from cooperating on issues of security and trade would disappear.

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

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

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



**TOUCHED BY WAR** IR affects our lives in many ways. This woman's boyfriend died in Iraq in 2006.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The advantage of the dominance solution to the collective goods problem is that, like a government, it forces members of a group to contribute to the common good. It also minimizes open conflict within the group. However, the disadvantage is that this stability

comes at a cost of constant oppression of, and resentment by, the lower-ranking members in the status hierarchy. Also, conflicts over position in the hierarchy can occasionally harm the group’s stability and well-being, such as when challenges to the top position lead to serious fights. In the case of international relations, the great power system and the hegemony of a superpower can provide relative peace and stability for decades on end but then can break down into costly wars among the great powers.

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

But reciprocity operates in both the positive realm (“You scratch my back and I’ll scratch yours”) and the negative



**TRAVEL COMPANIONS** Collective goods are provided to all members of a group regardless of their individual contributions, just as these migrant workers crossing the Sahara desert in Niger in 2006 all depend on the truck’s progress even while perhaps jostling for position among themselves. In many issue areas, such as global warming, the international community of nations is similarly interdependent. However, the provision of collective goods presents difficult dilemmas as players seek to maximize their own share of benefits.

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

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

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

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

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

**AN EVERYDAY EXAMPLE** To sum up the three core principles, imagine that you have two good friends, a man and a woman, who are in a romantic relationship. They love each other and enjoy the other's company, but they come to you for help with a

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

problem: When they go out together, the man likes to go to the opera, whereas the woman enjoys going to boxing matches.<sup>1</sup> Because of your training in international relations, you quickly recognize this as a collective goods problem, in which the shared interest is spending time together and the conflicting individual interests are watching opera and watching boxing. (Of course, you know that the behavior of states is more complicated than that of individuals, but put that aside for a moment.) You might approach this problem in any of three ways.

First, you could say, “Traditionally, relationships work best when the man wears the pants. For thousands of years the man has made the decision and the woman has followed it. I suggest you do the same, and buy season tickets to the opera.” This would be a dominance solution. It could be a very stable solution, if the woman cares more about spending time with her true love than she cares about opera or boxing. It would be a simple solution that would settle all future conflicts. It would give one party everything he wants, and the other party some of what she wants (love, company, a stable relationship). This might be better for both of them than spending all their evenings arguing about where to go out. On the other hand, this solution might leave the woman permanently resentful at the unequal nature of the outcome. She might feel her love for her partner diminish over time by a longing for respect and a nostalgia for boxing. She might even meet another man who likes her *and* likes boxing.




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

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

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<sup>1</sup>This scenario is adopted from the game theory example “Battle of the Sexes.”

**Table 1.1** Core Principles for Solving Collective Goods Problems

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

**AN IR EXAMPLE** Now consider the problem of nuclear proliferation. All countries share an interest in the collective good of peace and stability, which is hard to achieve in a world where more and more countries make more and more nuclear weapons. If individuals in a particular country acquire dangerous weapons, the government can take them away to keep everyone safe. But in the society of nations, no such central authority exists. In 2006, North Korea tested its first nuclear bomb, and Iran continued uranium enrichment for many years that could lead to a nuclear bomb—both defying UN resolutions.

One approach to nuclear proliferation legitimizes these weapons' ownership by just the few most powerful countries. The "big five" with the largest nuclear arsenals hold veto power on the UN Security Council. Through agreements like the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and the Proliferation Security Initiative, the existing nuclear powers actively try to keep their exclusive hold on these weapons and prevent smaller nations from getting them. This is a dominance approach. In 2003, when the United States thought Iraq's Saddam Hussein might have an active nuclear weapons program, as he

## Seeking the Collective Good

### Introduction

In explaining how countries behave in IR, a central concept is the "collective goods problem" (p. 3). This recurring problem results when two or more members of a group share an interest in some outcome of value to them all but have conflicting individual interests when it comes to achieving that valued outcome. For example, the world's countries share a desire to avoid global warming, but each one benefits from burning fossil fuels to run its economy. If a few members of a group fail to contribute to a collective good, the others will still provide it and the few can "free ride." But if too many do so, then the collective good will not be provided for anyone. For instance, if too many countries burn too much fossil fuel, then the whole world will suffer the effects of global warming.

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

To help tie together a central topic in a chapter with the core principles used throughout the text, each chapter contains



Aftermath of Hurricane Sandy, New Jersey, 2012. Global climate stability is a collective good.

a Seeking the Collective Good box. Each box will discuss how the world's states deal with an important issue in IR using one (or more) of the core principles. Examples include stopping genocide (Chapter 7), enhancing world trade (Chapter 8), and slowing global warming (Chapter 11).



had a decade earlier, it invaded Iraq and overthrew its government. Similarly, in 1982, when Iraq had begun working toward a nuclear bomb, Israel sent jets to bomb Iraq's nuclear facility, setting back the program by years. One drawback to these dominance solutions is the resentment they create among the smaller countries. Those countries point to an unenforced provision of the NPT stating that existing nuclear powers should get rid of their own bombs as other countries refrain from making new ones. And they ask what gives Israel the right to bomb another country, or the United States the right to invade one. They speak of a double standard for the powerful and the weak.

Reciprocity offers a different avenue for preventing proliferation. It is the basis of the provision in the NPT about the existing nuclear powers' obligation to disarm in exchange for smaller countries' agreement to stay nonnuclear. Reciprocity also underlies arms control agreements, used extensively in the Cold War to manage the buildup of nuclear bombs by the superpowers and used currently to manage the mutual reduction of their arsenals. Deterrence also relies on reciprocity. The United States warned North Korea in 2006 against selling its bombs (an action that would be in North Korea's short-term self-interest), threatening to retaliate against North Korea if any other actor used such a bomb against the United States. And when Libya gave up its nuclear weapons program in 2003, the international community gave it various rewards, including the ending of economic sanctions, in exchange.

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

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

## IR as a Field of Study

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

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

## Policy Perspectives

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

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

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

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

The fourth section, Choose Your Policy, asks you to make a choice responding to the Scenario. With each decision, think

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

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

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

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

Political relations among nations cover a range of activities—diplomacy, war, trade relations, alliances, cultural exchanges, participation in international organizations, and so forth. Particular activities within one of these spheres make up distinct **issue areas** on which scholars and foreign policy makers focus attention. Examples of issue areas include global trade, the environment, and specific conflicts such as the Arab-Israeli conflict. Within each issue area, and across the range of issues of concern in any international relationship, policy makers of one nation can behave in a cooperative manner or a conflictual manner—extending either friendly or hostile behavior toward the other nation. IR scholars often look at international relations in terms of the mix of **conflict and cooperation** in relationships among nations.

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

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

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

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