



HOW THE WORLD WORKS

A BRIEF SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

SECOND EDITION

RUSSELL BOVA

If you're wondering why you should buy this new edition of *How the World Works*, here are eight good reasons!

1. Chapter 1, “How to Think About World Politics” now surveys **social scientific approaches** to studying international relations.
2. Chapter 4, “War and Violence in World Politics” includes expanded coverage of **asymmetric warfare and terrorism**.
3. Chapter 7, “Economic Globalization” analyzes the challenge of **economic development and North-South relations**.
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7. A new **marginal glossary** puts key concepts at readers’ fingertips and encourages review within the larger context in which the concept is first discussed.
8. Table and figures were updated with the **most recent data**.



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How the World Works

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How the World Works

A Brief Survey of International Relations

Second Edition

Russell Bova

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*For Candace, Laura, Samantha, and Alexandra—
the lights of my life.*

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PREFACE

In the preface to the first edition of this text, I noted that teachers of international relations are fortunate to have the media do such a good job of marketing their courses. The constant swirl of news about global events provides a steady stream of students eager to make sense of world politics and the implications for their own lives. Since the publication of the first edition, that swirl of events has continued unabated. The Obama presidency, the Gaza war, the Greek crisis and the general escalation of the global economic crisis, Climategate, the Wikileaks publication of Afghan war documents, and the BP oil disaster are just a few of the noteworthy developments to take place subsequent to the completion of the first edition. Part of the goal in writing this second edition was to incorporate those events into the analysis of the book.

Even more important, this second edition provides an opportunity to make more general improvements to the book. In many ways, the first edition of any textbook is a beta edition. You can have dozens of reviewers provide suggestions and comments on a manuscript, but until teachers get the book in the hands of their students and use it over the course of a semester, it is difficult to get a firm read on what works and what does not. Having been in use now for several semesters at numerous colleges and universities, I have useful feedback to help guide this second edition. In revising the text, however, the central goal of the first edition has remained unchanged. That goal is to tap into and maintain the interest in global events that leads students to enroll in international relations classes, and to translate that interest into a conceptual and theoretical sophistication that will remain useful long after today's current events become the stuff of history and long after the course in which this book is assigned is completed.

To that end, *How the World Works* provides the detailed micro-level knowledge and information that is necessary to understand world politics. Students will read about such things as the structure of the United Nations, trends in international conflict, the sources of international law, and the role and functions of the World Trade Organization. They will simultaneously pick up a new vocabulary, which will include such terms as “deterrence,” “sovereignty,” “collective security,” and “globalization.” But facts and concepts are not enough. In acquiring a new vocabulary and in learning about the details of institutions and events, it is important that students not become lost in the thicket of world politics to the extent that they lose sight of the forest for the trees. Thus, they also need a larger framework that provides context and meaning for the data, trends, and terminology to which they are exposed.

In teaching over the years, I have found that most beginning students of international relations and world politics come to the first class already in possession of predispositions regarding how the world works. Some are inclined to accept conflict and violence in international life as inescapable, and this leads such students to endorse approaches to foreign policy that entail a reliance on military power and a suspicion of global institutions. These students are “instinctive realists,” even though they may never have encountered the “realist” perspective on international relations as a formal theory. Others come to the first class more optimistic about the prospects for global cooperation and are thereby more inclined to eschew power-oriented approaches to foreign policy and to favor working through institutions such as international law and the United Nations. These students are “instinctive critics of realism” even though they too have never formally encountered “realism” as a concept in international relations theory and could not tell a “liberal” from a “constructivist” from a “feminist” approach to world politics.

How the World Works helps students examine their natural inclinations, question their assumptions, and subject their conclusions to the fire of classroom debate and discussion. The most general goal of the book is to get students to think about how the world works. To this end, the book is organized around the story of realism and its critics, conveying the message that scholars disagree among themselves about the world's political and economic interactions and trends. It is important to note that this is not a “realist” book, and it does not attempt to profess the merits of any single paradigm. On the contrary, the goal is to expose students to contending perspectives and to provide the empirical and conceptual foundation upon which they can begin to develop their own assessment of how the world works. This book does not take sides.

NEW TO THIS EDITION

The second edition of *How the World Works* features a number of pedagogical and substantive revisions. The two major pedagogical changes are two new photos in each chapter (in addition to the chapter opening photos carried over from the first edition) and moving the glossary from the back of the book to the margins of the text. The photos and captions are placed where they can complement the text and help bring ideas, events, or concepts to life for the students. In moving the glossary to the margins, the goal is to place the definitions of the key concepts in the larger context of the chapter. Thus rather than just memorizing definitions, hopefully students will review the context in which the concept or term is discussed.

Among the most significant substantive changes to the second edition are the following:

- Expanded discussion in Chapter 1 of how scholars study international relations
- New breakout section in Chapter 4 on asymmetric warfare and expanded discussion of terrorism
- New breakout section in Chapter 7 on the international monetary regime
- New breakout section in Chapter 7 on the challenge of economic development and North–South relations
- New “Theory in Practice” boxes on Obama and soft power; North Korean nuclear weapons and rational choice theory; NGOs in Afghanistan; and H1N1 and the stages of pandemic flu
- Integration and discussion of recent events including, among others, the Obama presidency, the Gaza war, the BP oil leak, Climategate, the latest on the Google/China standoff; and the continuing global economic crisis
- New or expanded discussion of such key concepts as the iterated prisoners’ dilemma, the balance of threat, the responsibility to protect (R2P), and soft power

In addition to the key revisions noted above, many smaller substantive revisions are found in every chapter. They include updating of data including that found in many of the tables and figures, expanded or improved discussion of

some key concepts to reflect the latest literature, and some general reorganization of a few chapters. Examples of the latter include bringing together the discussion of nuclear weapons and proliferation in Chapter 4 in one section, rather than (as in the first edition) having it scattered in several different places; reorganization of the discussion of the evolution of the global economy in Chapter 7 around issues (trade, money, development, regionalism), rather than institutions; and reorganizing the discussion of the global environment in Chapter 8 by putting the discussion of key concepts, such as public goods, free-riding, and the tragedy of the commons, upfront rather than burying it later in the analysis.

FEATURES

How the World Works begins by laying out the central assumptions of the realist paradigm in Chapter 1 and then discussing the challenges posed to the realist worldview by the paradigms that have emerged as alternatives to realism. Each subsequent chapter then examines a specific issue in the real world of international politics—such as war, human rights, and economic globalization—to shed light on the differences between the realist approach and the alternative paradigms. In different chapters of the book, the essential subject matter may seem to privilege one theoretical perspective or another, but there will be enough competing evidence and perspectives provided so that students will be encouraged to think about and question the various worldviews.

Chapter 2 of the text examines the history of international relations and the related rise and fall of the theoretical paradigms over time. Chapter 3 looks at foreign policy-making and the several levels of analysis that are involved in shaping state behavior, including the domestic sources of state behavior that realists traditionally have tended to downplay. Given the centrality of war to the realist perspective, the discussion of war and violence in Chapter 4 takes place on realism's turf, though there is plenty in the chapter to provide ammunition for critics of realism. Chapter 5 then moves to the turf of liberal institutionalism as the focus shifts to international law and organization. Constructivism gets the home-field advantage in Chapter 6, with its focus on international human rights. Chapters 7 and 8 examine economic globalization and transnational issues, spotlighting the liberal commercialist and neo-Marxist perspectives and discussing in some detail the tension between globalization and many of the core realist assumptions.

Chapter 9 concludes the book with a set of hypothetical histories, each one written from the perspective of an observer looking back from the end of the twenty-first century. Each of these seven different visions of our possible global future extends the logic of a different theoretical perspective on world politics. And each history is subjected to a short critique. The goal of this chapter is to bring back the reader full circle to the theoretical perspectives presented in Chapter 1. On the basis of these hypothetical histories, and in light of the data and analysis absorbed from Chapters 2 through 8, the reader should be in a good position to articulate and defend, in a reasonably sophisticated manner, his or her own theoretical preferences for understanding world politics.

Each chapter in *How the World Works* is structured not only to address the central question of that chapter but also to contribute to an understanding of the book's larger themes and goals. The result is a book that hangs together and that is more than just a collection of useful concepts and pieces of information examined in isolation. The approach to each chapter reflects an assumption that, for beginning students, theoretical sophistication must be based on an understanding of the real world of international relations and world politics. For example, if students are going to be in a position to decide whether liberal institutionalists best explain how the world works, they have to examine the record of liberal institutions such as international law and organizations in practice. Similarly, if students are to be in a position to judge the constructivist notion that norms and ideas can shape world politics, then it is useful and necessary to examine in detail the emergence and impact of the idea of human rights in the conduct of world politics since World War II. To help students keep larger goals in mind, each chapter begins and ends with a reminder of the larger theoretical debate, but the bulk of each chapter focuses on the empirical record of the topic at hand.

Pedagogical features that support the goals in each chapter and throughout the book include:

- *Epigraphs.* Each chapter begins with two quotations that comment on the general topic of the chapter from a realist and nonrealist perspective. These quotations frame the issue in terms of the general theme of the book, and they are referred to in the text of the chapter.
- *Theory in Practice.* Each chapter includes two or three “Theory in Practice” boxes, in which students will find a key chapter concept applied to a recent world event. The goal is to reinforce the idea, stressed throughout the book, that international relations concepts and theories have direct relevance to the world in which students are living. Critical thinking questions at the end of each box encourage students to start doing their own analysis using international relations concepts.
- *Suggested Readings.* Notes in the margin direct students to provocative articles and book excerpts that expand on the ideas raised in each chapter. All of the readings suggested in *How the World Works* are also included in *Readings on How the World Works*, a companion reader that is available for course adoption. For instructors and students using both books, the marginal notes helpfully link the concepts discussed in each.
- *Photos and Figures.* Each chapter includes an opening photo and two interior photos related to the substance of the chapter. Where appropriate, figures are included to help visualize key ideas or put them into quantitative context.
- *Key Terms and Glossary.* In each chapter, key terms are highlighted and then listed again at the end of the chapter. A marginal glossary provides brief definitions of those terms for quick reference in the context of the chapter. Through the key terms and glossary, students have a comprehensive list of the key ideas and concepts necessary to understand world politics.
- *Review Questions.* At the end of each chapter, students are given three review questions that focus on the big issues raised in the chapter. While the

list of key terms helps students ascertain whether they understand the details and specifics of a chapter (whether they see the “trees”), the review questions help students test their knowledge of the larger significance of those details (to determine if they see the “forest”).

- *Maps.* Four-color maps of the world, North America, South America, Africa, Europe, the Middle East, East and South Asia, and Australia and Oceania are included at the beginning of this book. Basic geographical knowledge is essential in the study of international relations, and the maps are intended to put this knowledge within students’ immediate reach.

How the World Works strives for a conversational style that keeps its student readers in mind. This approach does not require dumbing down the content. On the contrary, the clearer the writing, the better the organization, and the more accessible the style, the more one can succeed in conveying sophisticated content to the reader. Especially in a field as intrinsically interesting and compelling as world politics, and at a time in world history when so much is in flux, there is no reason that a text on the topic cannot be intellectually sophisticated and, at the same time, readable, engaging, and even fun. This text introduces students to the concepts and developments at the core of the discipline of world politics but in a way that makes sense to them.

While *How the World Works* is perhaps half the length of many introductory textbooks, it has the advantage of focusing attention on the most salient issues and concepts that often get buried in longer texts. Brevity also provides greater opportunity for instructors to assign supplementary readings that reinforce and develop concepts and issues discussed in this text. There is such an array of good writing, accessible at the undergraduate level, on issues of world politics and international relations that it would be an omission not to be able to incorporate as much of it as possible into the introductory course. Students will be armed with the basic concepts and issues from reading this text. Thus, instructors can assign additional readings by proponents or critics of a particular theory to extend the discussion beyond the text.

A collection of such readings is available in the accompanying *Readings on How the World Works*. These readings bring different voices and perspectives to bear on the ideas and controversies discussed in *How the World Works*. While some of the readings explicitly extend discussion of the main macro-level paradigms, most are in the realm of applied theory. They examine concrete issues in world politics (e.g., terrorism, climate change, human rights), look at larger conceptual and theoretical issues, and offer a context that resonates with students, making the connection of theory to practice easier to comprehend.

SUPPLEMENTS

Longman is pleased to offer several resources to qualified adopters of *How the World Works* and their students that will make teaching and learning from this book even more effective and enjoyable. Several of the supplements for this book are available at the Instructor Resource Center (IRC), an online hub that allows

instructors to quickly download book-specific supplements. Please visit the IRC welcome page at <http://www.pearsonhighered.com/irc> to register for access.

MyPoliSciKit for *How the World Works* This premium online learning companion features multimedia and interactive activities to help students connect concepts and current events. The book-specific assessment, video case studies, mapping exercises, simulations, podcasts, *Financial Times* newsfeeds, current events quizzes, politics blog, MySearchLab, and much more encourage comprehension and critical thinking. With Grade Tracker, instructors can easily follow students' work on the site and their progress on each activity. Use ISBN 0-205-13081-X to order MyPoliSciKit with this book. To learn more, please visit <http://www.mypoliscikit.com> or contact your Pearson representative.

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GOODE'S WORLD ATLAS (0-321-65200-2) First published by Rand McNally in 1923, *Goode's World Atlas* has set the standard for college reference atlases. It features hundreds of physical, political, and thematic maps as well as graphs, tables, and a pronouncing index. Available at a discount when packaged with this book.

THE PENGUIN DICTIONARY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (0-140-51397-3) This indispensable reference by Graham Evans and Jeffrey Newnham includes hundreds of cross-referenced entries on the enduring and emerging theories, concepts, and events that are shaping the academic discipline of international relations and today's world politics. Available at a discount when packaged with this book.

RESEARCH AND WRITING IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (0-205-06065-X) With current and detailed coverage on how to start research in the discipline's major subfields, this brief and affordable guide offers the step-by-step guidance and essential resources needed to compose political science papers that go beyond description and into systematic and sophisticated inquiry. This text focuses on areas where students often need help—finding a topic, developing a question, reviewing the literature, designing research, and finally, writing the paper. Available at a discount when packaged with this book.

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Russell Bova

Maps

WORLD MAP



NORTH AMERICA



SOUTH AMERICA



AFRICA



EUROPE



THE MIDDLE EAST



EAST AND SOUTH ASIA



AUSTRALIA AND OCEANIA



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How the World Works



World Trade Center, September 11, 2001. The events of 9/11 served as a wake-up call that we live in an interdependent world and that the outside world can intrude on our lives in a dramatic and dangerous way.

CHAPTER

1

How to Think About World Politics Realism and Its Critics

Hereby it is manifest that during the time men live without a common power to keep them all in awe, they are in that condition which is called war; and such a war as is of every man against every man. . . . To this war of every man against every man, this also is consequent; that nothing can be unjust. The notions of right and wrong, justice and injustice, have there no place. Where there is no common power, there is no law; where no law, no injustice. Force and fraud are in war the two cardinal virtues.¹

—Thomas Hobbes, 1651

But the homage which each state pays (at least in words) to the concept of law proves that there is slumbering in man an even greater moral disposition to become master of the evil principle in himself (which he cannot disclaim) and to hope for the same from others. . . . For these reasons there must be a league of a particular kind, which can be called a league of peace (*foedus pacificum*), and which would be distinguished from a treaty of peace (*pactum pacis*) by the fact that the latter terminates only one war, while the former seeks to make an end of all wars forever.²

—Immanuel Kant, 1795

All politics is global. Whether you live in New York or Shanghai, in a small town in Kansas or a village in rural India, in the heart of a prosperous European city or on an impoverished subsistence farm in sub-Saharan Africa, your life is affected in countless ways by developments in world politics. Of course, during times of war,

global politics becomes a matter of life and death for individuals and, sometimes, for entire societies. However, even during more “normal” times, global events continually reverberate through our lives. For example, how much it costs you to travel to school could be affected by political instability in an oil-producing country located far from where you live and study. Whether you will be able to afford to study abroad during your college career can be affected by the value of your country’s currency in global currency markets. Getting the job of your choice when you graduate might depend on the evolving patterns of global trade.

The impact of global trends on your life is not merely economic. The quality of the air you breathe can be a direct consequence of pollutants poured into the atmosphere by factories located halfway across the world and on the success or failure of global efforts to regulate the environment. The level of respect given to your human rights increasingly depends on emerging global human rights norms and institutions that go beyond your own government’s policies. Your physical security as you go about your daily life can be affected by trends in global terrorism or the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Indeed, as many discovered after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, you don’t have to be a direct victim of global terrorism to feel its impact. Increased security at airports, tightened immigration rules, and a recalibrated balance between security and civil liberties have affected Americans as well as those who want to visit or study in the United States.

Global events have always affected individuals’ lives, particularly through war, conflict, and trade across national borders. However, in recent decades, developments in the technologies of transportation and, especially, telecommunications have shrunk the world and allowed individuals to become increasingly interconnected. Thus, more than ever before, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, being an informed individual requires understanding the larger world in which we live. But having such an understanding requires more than accumulating information, facts, and details about the world. It also requires a more generalized understanding of how the world works—an understanding that will allow us to make sense of the day-to-day events reported in the news. That is what formal study of international relations (IR) and world politics seeks to attain.

STUDYING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND WORLD POLITICS

The phrases “international relations” and “world politics” are often used interchangeably, including in this book, to refer to the whole gamut of political, military, and economic relations and interactions occurring among nation-states, such as the United States, Russia, and China, and a host of nonstate actors, such as the United Nations (UN), al-Qaeda, and Amnesty International. At the same time, the two phrases do not have precisely the same meaning. “International relations” suggests a focus on relations among nation-states as the key actors. “World politics,” in contrast, implies the casting of a broader net to include nonstate actors. Thus, the trend in recent years has been toward using “world politics” to label the field of study covered in this book.

Whatever label one prefers, the important point is that the scholarly study of international relations and world politics is not the same as journalism or political punditry. Journalists and many other commentators on contemporary history are usually content to describe and analyze specific, discrete events, but political scientists look for patterns and generalizations that can illuminate how the world works. For example, while a journalist might describe and explain al-Qaeda's terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, a political scientist will try to understand more generally the causes and consequences of terrorism. While a journalist might describe the decision of the Bush administration to invade Iraq in 2003, the goal of international relations scholarship is to better understand the causes of war in general.

Though international relations scholars generally agree that their work is different from that of journalists, those scholars disagree among themselves on a number of fundamental questions over how best to study and understand how the world works. Indeed, the scholarly study of international relations has been marked by a series of grand debates. The three most important of those debates are: (1) the debate over whether international relations is a positivist science, (2) the debate over the appropriate methods to be employed in scholarship, and (3) the debate over the choice of paradigms from which to view the world. Each of these debates will be explained below.

The Debate Over Positivist Science

For much of the twentieth century, the study of international relations was dominated by discussion and analysis of diplomatic history, international law, and international institutions. The emphasis was on description of historical events and trends combined with interpretation of those events by scholars, with an eye toward providing advice about how states and their leaders should act to achieve their goals in international relations. In this era, the most influential scholars were those whose historical narratives and institutional analyses seemed most persuasive.

By the 1960s, however, a new generation of scholars had become dissatisfied with this approach. In their view, the traditional scholarship was too descriptive and not much more than a sophisticated type of journalistic analysis. What they wanted was to transform the study of international relations into a more rigorous enterprise modeled on the natural sciences. In particular, they embraced an approach to science known as **positivism**.

Positivist science emphasized the development of scientific laws of international relations developed on the basis of the systematic collection and rigorous analysis of large bodies of hard data about state behavior. From this perspective, to understand why, for example, states go to war, it is not enough for intelligent scholars to describe and ruminate over the causes of World War I. Instead, what is necessary is to collect data about multiple wars, searching for observable patterns in the attributes and behaviors of states or the international system as a whole that are associated with the outbreak of wars.

Traditional scholars resisted, suggesting that the study of human behavior is fundamentally different from the study of the natural world. They argued that it is difficult, if not impossible, to study the human world with the cool, intellectual

positivism ■ An approach to knowledge based on the scientific method and the observation and analysis of empirical data.