

Introduction to Global Politics

FOURTH EDITION

STEVEN L. LAMY
JOHN S. MASKER
JOHN BAYLIS
STEVE SMITH
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FOURTH EDITION

INTRODUCTION TO **GLOBAL POLITICS**

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OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

To our students and our mentors.

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We have written this edition of *Introduction to Global Politics* with an increasingly interdependent world in mind. Perhaps the word *globalization* has become so overplayed that it has not retained much of its original force. Yet there is no unifying topic more important than globalization, no political trend of the same magnitude. Even our everyday decisions—those as seemingly trivial and isolated as what food to eat, what clothes to wear, what books to read, or what movies to see—affect the quality of life of everyone around us and of billions of people in distant countries. Meanwhile, decisions made around the world affect our daily life.

Not only is the world changing, becoming more complex and interconnected than ever before, but the nature of this course is also evolving. No matter what it is called—international relations, world politics, or global politics—the course has transformed in recent years, asking us to examine not only relations among countries but also a broader context of global events and issues. In this book, we therefore take a global approach that fosters an awareness of and appreciation for a variety of worldviews. To quote the French writer Marcel Proust, we believe that “the real voyage of discovery consists not in seeking new landscapes but in having new eyes.”

A Global Approach

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

Second, we discuss in some detail the various **critical actors in global politics**. We explore the role of individual nation-states as well as international institutions such as the United Nations, the European Union, and critically important economic institutions, including the World Bank Group and the World Trade Organization. We carefully assess how different groups and individuals have shaped these global institutions, holding different views on how best to govern this world of nearly two hundred independent nation-states. We also explore the growing number and significance of **nongovernmental actors**, both multinational corporations, such as Nike and McDonald’s, and nongovernmental organizations, such as Oxfam and Doctors Without Borders. The entire world saw how important these actors are as we experienced several significant events early in the twenty-first century: the 2008 global economic crisis; the 2011 earthquake,

tsunami, and nuclear crisis in Japan, estimated to be the most expensive disaster in history; the 2015 terror attacks in Paris, which demonstrated that the Islamic State is more than just a regional threat; the 2015 Paris Climate Change Conference; and the current migrant and refugee crisis. The field is changing as the world changes. With this new edition of *Introduction to Global Politics*, we hope to improve on the standard conversation; to bring the introductory course more in line with today's research; to ask (and try to answer) the kind of questions most relevant for students of world politics today.

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

Learning Goals

An important assumption of this text is that *theory matters*. Every individual sees the world through theories and uses them to organize, evaluate, and critically review contending positions in controversial policy areas. Unfortunately, many people take positions that lack supporting evidence; they accept a statement or position as true or valid because it fits with their beliefs or reinforces what they believe to be true.

After completing a course using this text, students will know more about the global system, the most important global actors, and the issues that shape the priorities and behavior of states and other actors in that system. This text encourages students to approach global politics in an informed, well-reasoned, and theoretically grounded manner. Overall, the chapters in this edition focus on four core learning objectives:

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

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

REVIEW QUESTIONS

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

Organization

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

Foundations of Global Politics

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

Global Actors

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

Global Issues

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

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

Pedagogical Features

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

- **Global Perspectives**—Each one of these feature essays opens a window onto another part of the

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

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

Begin to define theories of international relations.

Explain the concept of levels of analysis.

Define the term *globalization*.

Explain academic disagreements about the character of globalization.

GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

The Trans-Pacific Partnership

Once the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) is ratified, it will be the world's largest trade agreement linking twelve countries that account for 40 percent of the world's gross domestic product. What does this mean for the states involved, and those not involved? Any trade agreement creates sharp divisions between members and nonmembers. Obviously, it becomes more attractive to trade within the community created by the agreement. However, these agreements often create divisions at home as well. Many domestic interests such as labor unions and environmental groups complain about the loss of jobs, lowering of wages, decreases in benefits, and the failure to enact stricter environmental regulations. Within each of the member countries, there will be changes in policies that will shape future debates.

For example, Japanese agricultural workers oppose the TPP because it would eliminate the current tariffs on agricultural imports from other countries that make the prices of Japanese agricultural products much lower. According to Japanese Prime Minister Shinzō Abe, the TPP is critical for both the economy and security of Japan. The government hopes that the TPP will jump-start a meribund economy that has not grown much in the last twenty years. Japan and some of the other Asian member countries, namely Vietnam and Malaysia, are concerned that China's dominance in the region will soon extend to setting the economic rules of engagement in Asia. These states see the TPP as a way of countering Chinese influence in both economic and political sectors. In recent disputes with Japan over the control of the Senkaku Islands and navigation and fishing rights, China cut off Japan's access to rare earth minerals that are essential for the production of many of Japan's high-tech instruments. The TPP will reduce the effectiveness of this form of coercive diplomacy and will reduce the vulnerability of member states.

The United States has been trying to create a free trade pact in this region since the early 1990s. The TPP is a critical element of President Obama's pivot to Asia with the primary goal being the establishment of a set of trading rules that will work in the United States' favor and counter China's effort to create trading rules for the region. U.S. leaders are not opposed to China joining the pact but they expect China to play by the rules that were negotiated by the United States and the other eleven partner countries. Opposition in the United States is mainly from labor unions and some Democratic members of Congress who are concerned about the loss of jobs and the lack of environmental protections in the agreement.



Participants at a 2015 rally held by the Central Union of Agricultural Co-operatives in Japan hold signs to protest the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade agreement. Why do you think domestic workers in Japan and the other eleven states feel that this trade agreement will work against them?

In Australia, industries that rely on exports strongly support the deal because it will create new trading partners and help to grow existing trade deals. Outside the business sector, there are some real concerns about several of the treaty's clauses that suggest that large corporations can prevent governments from passing legislation that protects consumers, workers, and the environment. Labor union representatives have focused on the danger of trading away Australia's sovereign rights, as well as trading away Australian jobs.

All parties to the agreement must figure out ways to manage the processes of globalization to serve their interests and meet their obligations to their citizens. This often requires giving up some sovereignty and opening up their national economies to the forces of globalization that promote competition between economic and political actors.

For Discussion

1. Clearly, domestic interest groups shape global trade policy. Which groups favor more open global treaties and which groups work against them? Why?
2. The TPP is a trading pact but it is also designed to prevent Chinese economic control in the Asia Pacific region. Will great-power rivalry like this extend into other regions?
3. Why is this trade agreement so controversial in the United States?

WHAT'S YOUR WORLDVIEW?

President Putin supported the invasion of Ukraine and the takeover of Crimea in 2014. He also has been silent on the downing of Malaysian Airlines Flight 17, which according to American and German intelligence was shot down by pro-Russian insurgents, also in 2014. Recently, he has sent Russian military forces into Syria to support the Assad regime. Is Russia trying to reestablish its role as a major superpower by challenging Western views of liberal democracy and presenting an illiberal authoritarian governing option?

world, showing how other countries and world organizations perceive and manage global politics.

- **Theory in Practice**—These features examine real-world scenarios through a variety of theoretical lenses, demonstrating the explanatory power of theories in global politics.
- **Case Studies**—For a more in-depth analysis of a subject, students can turn to these essays that delve into world events.
- **What's Your Worldview?**—These short, critical-thinking questions in every chapter challenge students to develop their own, more well-informed ideas about global actors and issues.
- **Thinking About Global Politics**—This feature at the end of each chapter presents in-class activities dealing with real-world political issues. These activities give students the opportunity to develop their critical-thinking skills and apply what they have learned. Each activity includes follow-up questions or writing prompts.
- **Engaging with the World**—These short boxes highlight opportunities to get involved with organizations working for positive change in the world.

CASE STUDY

A Failed Intervention

The Darfur Genocide refers to the current mass slaughter of civilians in Western Sudan, which has claimed the lives of more than 300,000 people and displaced nearly 2.5 million others. The killings began in the early 2000s and continue today. The genocide is being carried out by a group of government-armed and -funded Arab militias known as the Janjaweed, which translates to "devils on horseback." The Janjaweed are destroying Darfurians by burning villages, raping, and torturing civilians.

U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell declared the ongoing conflict in Darfur genocide on September 4, 2004, and on February 18, 2006, President George W. Bush called for the number of international troops in Darfur to be doubled. On September 17, 2006, British Prime Minister Tony Blair wrote an open letter to the members of the European Union calling for a unified response to the crisis. In supporting the United Nations Security Council Resolution in 2007 to authorize the deployment of up to 25,000 peacekeepers to try to stop the violence in Darfur, British Prime Minister Gordon Brown said in a speech before the UN General Assembly that the Darfur crisis was "the greatest humanitarian disaster the world faces today." The British government also endorsed the International Criminal Court's ICC indictment

against Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir for committing crimes against humanity, war crimes, and genocide and urged the Sudanese government to cooperate with the ICC.

Unfortunately, the world seems to have forgotten about Darfur but the killing and human rights violations have continued. The government of Sudan has been able to contain the flow of information by closing the UN Human Rights Office in the capital of Khartoum and convincing peacekeepers to leave regions they deem stable. Once the peacekeepers leave, the atrocities begin again. In 2014, the Satellite Sentinel Project, an organization dedicated to ending genocide and crimes against humanity, was able to confirm evidence that the Sudanese government had burned and bombed some six villages in Darfur's eastern Jebel Marra region.

The government of Sudan has used aid money from Qatar to build model villages for those displaced by the continuing violence. However, Human Rights Watch recently uncovered an incident of mass rape in one of these model villages. In October 2014 in the village of Tabit, soldiers from the Sudanese army raped over 200 women in a thirty-six-hour period. Human rights courts have ruled that rape by police or soldiers is an act of torture because it is used as an instrument of terror and is a tactic of social control and ethnic domination.

The crimes against humanity continue today with only NGOs demanding action. The international community has imposed some sanctions but enforcement is uneven. The United States and its European allies have no stomach for another intervention after Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, and Syria. A major constraint is the fact that both China and Russia have worked to block many UN resolutions in attempts to appease the Sudanese government. From its seat on the UN Security Council, China has been Sudan's chief diplomatic ally. China invests heavily in Sudanese oil (Sudan is China's largest overseas oil provider) and China supplies Sudan's military with helicopters, tanks, and fighter planes. For decades, Russia and China have maintained a strong economic and political strategic partnership and have opposed the presence of UN peacekeeping troops in Sudan. Russia strongly supports Sudan's territorial integrity and opposes the creation of an independent Darfur state. Russia is also Sudan's strongest investment partner and considers Sudan an important global ally in Africa.



Women and children living in the Zanzam camp for displaced people in northern Darfur. The Sudanese government is trying to convince the United Nations that things are stable, citizens are protected, and the peacekeeping forces should leave, yet several NGOs claim that atrocities continue and the world must return its attention to this region. Why do you think the world seems to have moved on and forgotten these victims of violence?

Every part of this textbook has been developed with today's college student in mind. The book includes a number of integrated study aids—such as chapter opening learning objectives, a running glossary, lists of key terms, and review questions—all of which help students read and retain important information while extending their learning experience. Two opposing quotations open every chapter, setting up two sides of one possible debate for students to consider while reading. At the end of every chapter, rather than simply summarizing the contents for students, we provide a conclusion that requires students to analyze the various topics and themes of the chapter a bit more critically, placing everything they have learned into a broader context across chapters. Students need to acquire strong critical-thinking skills; they need to learn how to make connections among real-world events they hear about in the news and the ideas they learn about in class—and so it is with these goals in mind that the authors and editors have developed this edition.

One last point with regard to pedagogical features: the art program has been carefully selected to support critical thinking as well; not only do we present a number of maps that offer unique global perspectives on historic events and

modern world trends, but we have also incorporated data graphics and compelling photographs to engage students visually. The captions of many of these images include questions for further thought—once again connecting the reader back to the core content of the course, with an interesting prompt or relevant point.

New to This Edition

We have thoroughly updated this edition of *Introduction to Global Politics* in light of recent trends and events that are shaping our world, such as the rise of the Islamic State and the continuing effects of the global economic crisis. In addition, we have streamlined each chapter, revised for more balanced coverage, and strengthened our focus on active learning. In making these revisions, we have taken into account the helpful comments from reviewers as well as our own experience using the first, second, and third editions in our classes.

Revision Highlights

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

Adopters of *Introduction to Global Politics* will find the same content previously covered in fourteen chapters now covered in ten chapters:

Fourth Edition Chapters	Third Edition Chapters
Chapter 1: Introduction to Global Politics	Chapter 1: Introduction to Global Politics
Chapter 2: The Evolution of Global Politics	Chapter 2: The Evolution of Global Politics
Chapter 3: Realism, Liberalism, and Critical Theories	Chapter 3: Realism and Liberalism Chapter 4: Critical Theories
Chapter 4: Making Foreign Policy	Chapter 5: Making Foreign Policy
Chapter 5: Global and Regional Governance	Chapter 6: Global and Regional Governance Chapter 7: Nongovernmental Actors
Chapter 6: Global Security, Military Power, and Terrorism	Chapter 8: Security and Military Power Chapter 9: Terrorism
Chapter 7: Human Rights and Human Security	Chapter 10: Human Rights and Human Security
Chapter 8: Global Trade and Finance	Chapter 11: International Political Economy Chapter 12: Global Trade and Finance
Chapter 9: Poverty, Development, and Hunger	Chapter 13: Poverty, Development, and Hunger
Chapter 10: Environmental Issues	Chapter 14: Environmental Issues

Adopters of *Introduction to Global Politics Brief Edition* will find the same number of chapters and chapter organization as previous editions, although the chapter titles have been revised slightly:

Fourth Edition Chapters	Brief Third Edition Chapters
Chapter 1: Introduction to Global Politics	Chapter 1: Introduction to Global Politics
Chapter 2: The Evolution of Global Politics	Chapter 2: The Evolution of Global Politics
Chapter 3: Realism, Liberalism, and Critical Theories	Chapter 3: Theories of Global Politics
Chapter 4: Making Foreign Policy	Chapter 4: Making Foreign Policy
Chapter 5: Global and Regional Governance	Chapter 5: International Law and Nonstate Actors
Chapter 6: Global Security, Military Power, and Terrorism	Chapter 6: Global Security, Military Power, and Terrorism
Chapter 7: Human Rights and Human Security	Chapter 7: Human Rights and Human Security
Chapter 8: Global Trade and Finance	Chapter 8: Global Economics and Trade
Chapter 9: Poverty, Development, and Hunger	Chapter 9: Poverty, Development, and Hunger
Chapter 10: Environmental Issues	Chapter 10: Environmental Issues

Additionally, adopters of *Introduction to Global Politics* will find:

- We have threaded critical international relations theories throughout the text more evenly.
- Revised Case Studies offer updated and further analysis on topics such as global production and the failed intervention to stop genocide in Darfur.
- Throughout the textbook, figures, tables, maps, and graphs have been added, replaced, or updated with the latest and most accurate statistics and information.
- We have significantly updated our photo program, replacing more than half of the photos in the text to coincide with textual updates and keep pace with current events.

Chapter-by-Chapter Improvements

Chapter 1: Introduction to Global Politics

- Expanded theoretical coverage introduces students to the three theoretical traditions in international relations theory: Machiavellian, Grotian, and Kantian.
- New Case Study: “Global Production and the iPhone.”

Chapter 2: The Evolution of Global Politics

- Revised chapter-opening vignette addresses the goals of nation-states for survival and influence in the global system and how critical trends, such as the diffusion of power and increasing demands for vital resources, influence such goals.
- Expanded coverage of U.S.-Cuba relations addresses the restoration of diplomatic ties.
- Further examination of the war on terrorism, including the completion of NATO's International Security Assistance Force mission in Afghanistan and its subsequent transition to the ongoing Resolute Support Mission.
- Global Perspective "Perception, Continuity, and Change After January 20, 2009" has been updated to address the course of the Arab Spring.
- Updated statistics and graphics include Estimated Global Nuclear Warheads, as of 2015, and Number of Wars in Progress Since 1950.

Chapter 3: Realism, Liberalism, and Critical Theories

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

Chapter 4: Making Foreign Policy

- Further coverage and analysis of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, including the goals of the 2015 Paris Climate Change Conference.
- Expanded discussion of fragile states, including updates to the Fragile State Index.
- Discussion of foreign policy evaluation has been expanded to include criticism of the CIA's detention and treatment of prisoners taken in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.
- Additional examples of NGO influence on human rights—e.g., Human Rights Watch pressuring the Chinese government to abolish its re-education through labor detention system.
- Updated statistics and graphics include Top Ten Foreign Aid Donors and the addition of a new figure, "Share of World Military Expenditures of the Fifteen States with the Highest Expenditure."

Chapter 5: Global and Regional Governance

- Revised chapter-opening vignette addresses the impact of the Tunisian National Dialogue as a civil society organization and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize.
- Updated examples of venture philanthropy include Facebook cofounder and CEO Mark Zuckerberg's pledge to donate 99 percent of his wealth.

- Case Study “A Global Campaign: The Baby Milk Advocacy Network” has been updated to include recent statistics from the World Health Organization.
- Updated statistics and graphics include “INGO Growth Continues” and “Distribution of Think Tanks in the World.”

Chapter 6: Global Security, Military Power, and Terrorism

- Updated information on conflicts including the Syrian civil war, the rise of the Islamic State and their goal to establish an Islamic Caliphate, and the UN peacekeeping mission in the Central African Republic to prevent civil wars and sectarian conflicts.
- Condensed coverage of mainstream and critical approaches to security in order to eliminate overlapping content found in Chapter 3.
- Added examples of the importance of collective action and reliance on international/regional organization—e.g., in the case of the 2015 Iran nuclear deal.
- Expanded discussion of the effects of nuclear weapons and the idea that the international community is experiencing a new nuclear age in which weapons of mass destruction are used to secure strategic advantage.
- Case Study “U.S. Drone Warfare: A Robotic Revolution in Modern Combat” has been updated to include recent statistics on drone strikes.
- Updated information on the spread of jihadists, Al-Qaeda, and ISIS and the geographical extent to which the Obama administration (and future administrations) will have to go to find them.
- Updated statistics and graphics include “Arms Deliveries Worldwide” and “Arms Transfer Agreements Worldwide”; the addition of two new figures: “Top Locations of Islamic State Twitter Users” and “Thirteen Years of Terror in Western Europe”; the addition of a new map: “Where ISIS Has Directed and Inspired Attacks”; and the addition of a table detailing the inter-actor relationship of those involved in the Syrian civil war.

Chapter 7: Human Rights and Human Security

- Added information on the latest human rights crises—e.g., the refugee crisis, the Syrian civil war, and South Sudan.
- New Case Study “A Failed Intervention” on the genocide occurring in Darfur.
- Updated statistics on current UN peacekeeping operations.

Chapter 8: Global Trade and Finance

- Updated analysis on the current status of global economic interconnection—e.g., the role that governmental intervention has on the economy of their nation-states (free markets included), the impact of the slowdown of China’s economy, and the effects of increasing global foreign direct investment.
- New discussion of the Trans-Pacific Partnership and its subsequent implications as the largest regional trade agreement in history.

- Theory in Practice “Contending Views of Capitalism” updated to reflect recent changes in the Chinese economy and the cyberwarfare tactics it uses against the United States.
- Updated statistics and graphics include “Main Trading Nations,” “Real GDP Growth,” and the addition of a new graph, “Holdings of U.S. Treasury Securities.”

Chapter 9: Poverty, Development, and Hunger

- Added discussion on the results of the Millennium Development Goals process (including an updated “Progress Chart for UN Millennium Development Goals”) and the United Nations’ subsequent adoption of the new 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (illustrated by “Sustainable Development Goals”).
- Updated discussions of world population statistics and estimated population growth projections, including new graphics “Projected World Population” and “Fastest-Growing Populations.”

Chapter 10: Environmental Issues

- Discussion of the latest environmental issues including the rising number of carbon emissions emitted on the planet, the effect climate change and environmental degradation are having as causes of major violence in regards to specific ethnic communities that compete for scarce resources, and how 2015 was the hottest year in recorded history.
- Added discussion of how climate change is the greatest challenge to economic and political stability across the world.
- Revised discussion of the latest Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change report addresses the rise of global surface temperatures, the continued shrinking of sea ice, and how human influence correlates to climate change and increasing levels of greenhouse gas emissions in the atmosphere.
- Added information and analysis of the 2015 Paris Climate Change Conference, its outcomes, and the importance of adhering to pledges to curb emissions and keeping global temperature rises under 2 degrees Celsius; new concluding thoughts and analysis added as well.
- Table detailing “Recent Global Environmental Actions” was revised to focus on events and actions of the past thirty years.
- Updated statistics and graphics include Global Greenhouse Gas Emissions by Type of Gas, and two new graphics: “Number of Oil Spills Between 1970–2015” and “Largest Producers of CO₂ Emissions Worldwide.”

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