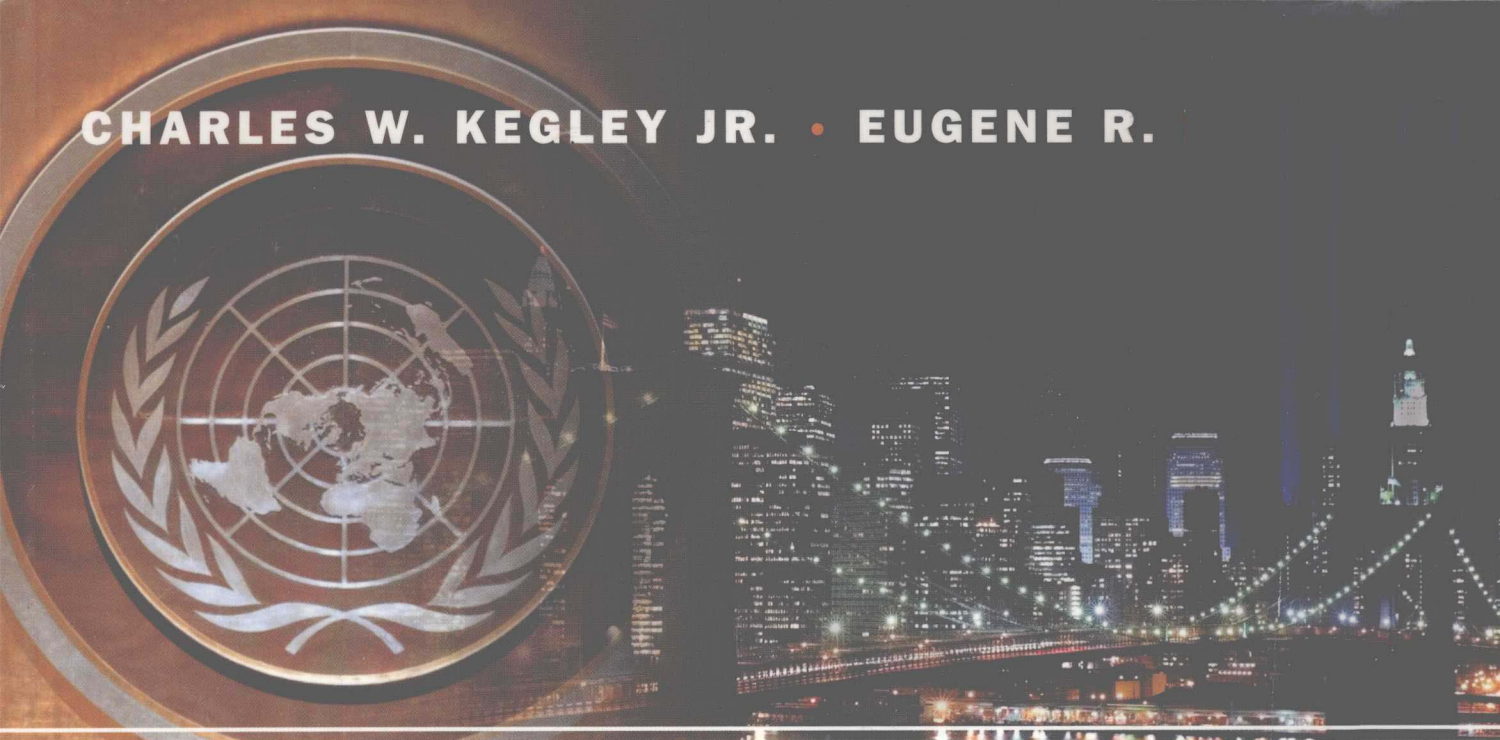


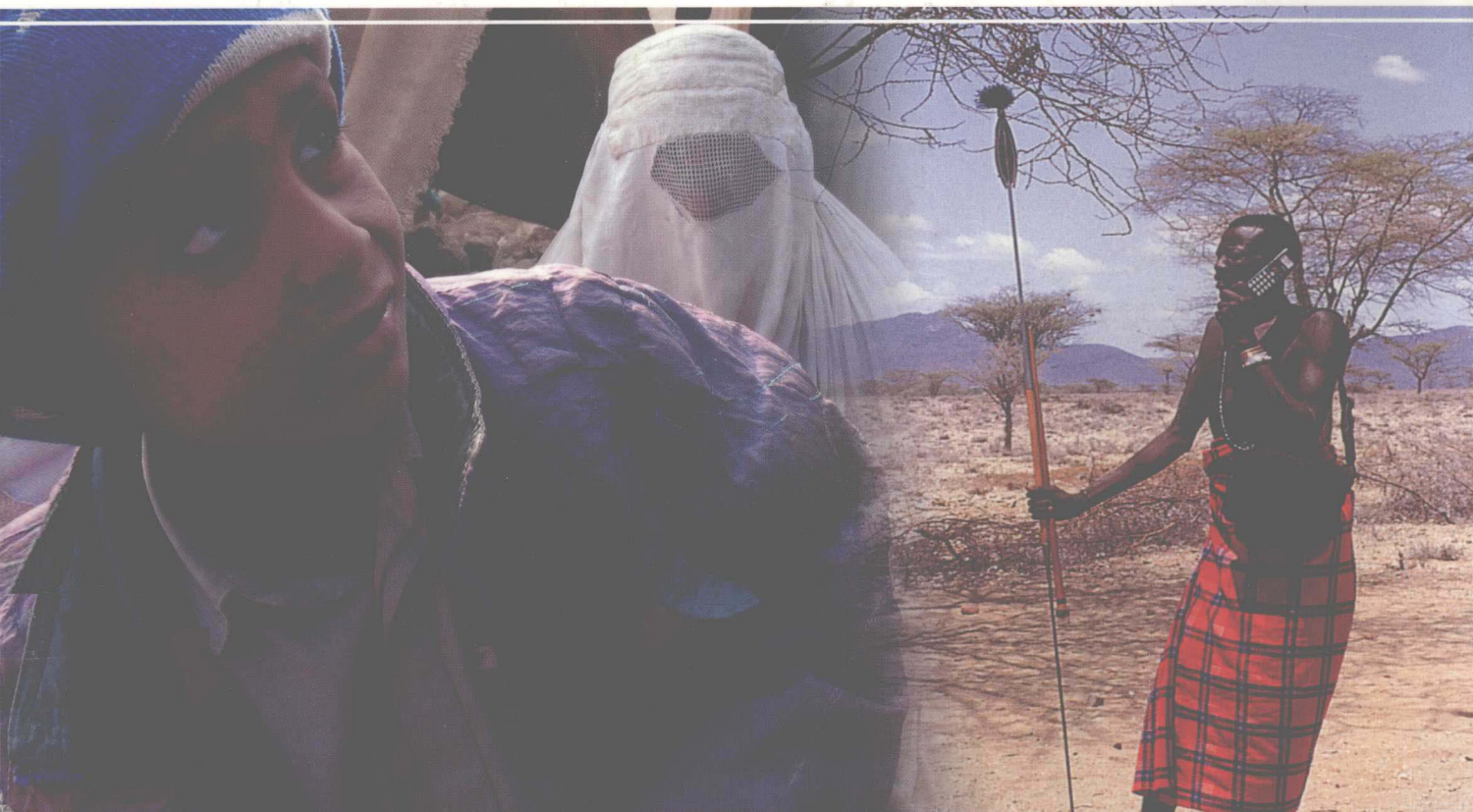
CHARLES W. KEGLEY JR. • EUGENE R.



WORLD POLITICS

TREND & TRANSFORMATION

NINTH EDITION



N I N T H E D I T I O N



WORLD POLITICS

Trend and Transformation

CHARLES W. KEGLEY, JR.

University of South Carolina

EUGENE R. WITTKOPF

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DEDICATION

To our wives, Debra and Barbara, for their loving support for our endeavors, in and through this book, to make the world, through education, a better place for future generations.



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PREFACE



At the start of the twenty-first century, much was said about the prospects of the new millennium in which there would arise a “new world order.” Talk about possible global transformations reached frenzied proportions, buoyed by the rising hope that the peace between states and rising prosperity within them during the 1990s would persist. Many people set their sights on the promise of a stable global future. Those expectations were abruptly shattered on September 11, 2001, when a shocked world witnessed the terrorist destruction of the World Trade Center in New York. Almost immediately, visions of world politics shifted as a new mood of doom and gloom set in about the probability that, rather than peace, the twenty-first century would be colored by the resumption of past patterns of violence on the world stage.

Our age does not have, as yet, a name. True, we are in a post-Cold War, post-twentieth-century, post-September 11 phase. But those labels do not adequately describe the period of transition through which world history is moving. We have left something behind but do not yet possess sufficient confidence about the future to predict how later generations will classify the defining characteristics of world affairs in our present period of history. Rapid changes sweeping world politics pose an enormous challenge to policymakers, scholars, and especially students. Without a single overriding issue like the Cold War, or the continuing threat of global terrorism, to structure thinking about global affairs, little agreement exists about which dimensions of world politics will come to the fore as the twenty-first century unfolds to define our age.

It is the purpose of the ninth edition of *World Politics: Trend and Transformation* to provide the framework students need to put changes and continuities into perspective. The book combines the latest available data with contemporary debates in international relations to prepare students to assess the possibilities for the global future and its potential impact on their lives. *World Politics* aims to provoke such critical thinking by presenting a picture of the evolving relations among global actors, the historical developments that affect those actors’ relationships, and the salient contemporary global trends that those interactions produce. The major theories scholars use to explain the dynamics underlying international relations—realism, liberalism, and their variants—frame our study. At the same time, this book incorporates the reconstructed theories newly advanced to interpret contemporary developments (such as constructivism) and resists the temptation to over simplify world politics with a superficial treatment that would mask complexities and distort realities.

OVERVIEW OF THE BOOK

To help students make sense of political complexities, *World Politics* is organized into five parts. Part I introduces the central issues and major theories in

the study of international relations. Part II identifies the major actors in the global arena and discusses the processes by which those actors make decisions. Part III looks at issues of global welfare, beginning with a new chapter focusing on humans as important agents in international relations and the various threats of prevailing global conditions to human rights. It then discusses the impact of globalization on international trade and economic relations and on the linkage between population demographics and the ecological environment, whose preservation is necessary for the saga of the human story to continue. Global conflict is the subject of Part IV, including warfare, terrorism, national security, arms races, and rival approaches to peace. The text concludes with Part V, in which ten questions provoked by presently unfolding trends in world politics are posed to stimulate thinking about the global future.

CHANGES IN THE NINTH EDITION

Content and Organization

Many global changes have taken place in the thirty-six months since the publication of the eighth edition. They required revisiting every passage of the manuscript and integrating the latest developments with the most current information available as the book went to press. This edition incorporates the most recent available indicators of global trends and addresses the most important issues on the global agenda, ranging from human development and the empowerment of women to the number of terrorist acts and military interventions in progress, and from fluctuations in foreign direct investments by multinational corporations to changes in the globalized political economy. In addition, coverage has been expanded to take account of new departures in theory that attempt to interpret recent global developments.

Without identifying every modification in the new edition, attention is drawn to the most important changes in each chapter. Those familiar with previous editions will immediately note that some modifications reduced the number of chapters to sixteen (to more closely match the number of weeks in a typical semester. The new organization reflects the following major revisions:

- Chapter 1, “Exploring Twenty-First-Century World Politics,” has been revised to further highlight the impact of perception on the social construction of images and theories of international relations. The five questions that conclude the chapter anticipate future trends in global politics and have been updated to account for recent changes in a global system rife with controversy. Some of these questions are revisited in greater length in the final chapter.
- Chapter 2, “Theories of World Politics,” builds on the two major theoretical interpretations of world politics, the realist and liberal traditions, by introducing coverage of theoretical inquiry constructivism and by relating more explicitly to concrete global issues, thereby encouraging students to appreciate the contribution of political theory to an understanding of international relations.
- Chapter 3, “Foreign Policy Decision Making,” more instructively illuminates the obstacles to rational choice facing both state and nonstate actors,

such as international organizations and multinational corporations when they make policy choices to cope with changing international circumstances. New case material is introduced about the impediments to rational decision making presented by “bureaucratic politics” and interagency competition, featuring the failures in the U.S. intelligence community to identify the planning by the Al Qaeda terrorist network to destroy the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001.

- Chapter 5, retitled “Nonstate Actors in the Interstate System,” merges Chapters 6 and 7 from the eighth edition. It now places the streamlined and updated material ahead of the discussion of the Global South countries to better emphasize the profound and sometimes harmful impact that IGOs and NGOs, such as powerful multinational corporations, have on the impoverished conditions in many less-developed countries. New analyses of both the World Trade Organization and the International Monetary Fund are provided to better cover the activities and impact of these global actors, which increasingly find themselves under attack as symbols of the problems attributed to globalization and the rules created by global institutions. Moreover, a new discussion is provided on how the push and pull among IGO and NGO nonstate actors exerts pressure for globalization while countervailing coalitions among them lessen their influence over sovereign states. This new chapter allows the discussions of the United Nations and the expanding European Union to be consolidated in Chapter 15.
- Chapter 6, formerly Chapter 5 in the eighth edition, is retitled “The Global South in a World of Powers” and takes a fresh, critical look at the widening gap between an impoverished and youthful Southern Hemisphere and a wealthy and aging Northern Hemisphere. It emphasizes how the less-developed countries are often marginalized by the great powers and the institutions of global governance that they create. Expanded coverage is provided of the impact of globalization on the Global South and their foreign policy responses to it. The focus is confined to the conditions facing Global South *countries* as a level of analysis, with material in a new Chapter 7 dealing with conditions experienced by people at the individual level of analysis.
- Chapter 7, “Humans and Global Challenges to the Protection of Human Rights,” is an entirely new chapter that pulls together materials formerly scattered throughout the previous edition dealing with the individual in relation to the global forces that shape his or her experiences. In looking at world politics through a lens that gives each individual primacy, the new chapter isolates the so-called individual level-of-analysis in order to punctuate the supreme importance of individual experience in the overall scheme of world history, while capturing the ways in which each person’s encounter is mediated by social, political, religious, and linguistic institutions and traditions. The new chapter gives the issues of human security and human rights, such as gender equality, the special separate treatment they deserve, as these issues assume increasing significance in comparison to traditional concerns about entire countries’ national security without regard for the security of welfare of the people living in them. Included in this new chapter are new discussions of ethics—the moral principles that speak to the challenge of protecting the human rights and civil liberties of people such as refugees and displaced persons—people who are victimized

by the proverbial “man’s inhumanity to man” that is a tragic component of contemporary international politics.

- Chapter 8, retitled “Does Globalization Spell the End of Borders as Boundaries?” has been repositioned to introduce the problems and politics of global welfare issues examined in the next two chapters. The potential decline in states’ sovereign power is considered as a global trend, not only in the liberal democracies of the Global North but also in the “failed states” of the Global South. The chapter has been revised to highlight the growing controversies between winners and losers in the process of globalization by addressing the intensifying popular backlash against globalization. The new chapter reviews divided opinions about whether globalization is a process that states have the power to control.
- Chapter 9, retitled “Markets and Money in the New Global Political Economy,” takes into account newly evolving perspectives in commercial liberalism, mercantilism, and hegemonic stability theory to evaluate whether sustained prosperity, free trade, and the management of hypercurrency volatility, banking crises, and rising debt will continue and, if so, if the liberal international economic order will erode. The chapter pays attention to the influence of a globalized marketplace on international and national economic conditions, while taking into account the hegemonic supremacy of the United States as the dominant player in the international political economy, whose position and recent new protectionist policies raise questions about the preservation of the liberal trade regime.
- Chapter 10, now titled “Population Pressure, Resource Depletion, and the Preservation of the Global Environment,” repackages in a revised and abridged merged version Chapters 10 and 11 from the eighth edition. The consolidation permits a direct linkage to be drawn between population growth pressure and the question of how the global ecology might be preserved through sustainable growth. Also explored are the opportunities and problems associated with the “birth dearth” in the aging Global North compared to the continuing population explosion in many Global South countries as they relate to the problematic status of recently negotiated new legal regimes to control global warming and common environmental problems associated with biotechnology and genetic engineering.
- Chapter 11, now titled “The New Face of Twenty-First-Century Armed Conflict,” has been updated to examine the so-called new age of global terrorism in the aftermath of September 11, with a fresh interpretation provided of the causes, characteristics, and control of terrorism today. The chapter also covers recent changes in the incidence of other types of warfare, specifically expanding discussion of the wave of internal rebellions in failing states.
- Chapter 12, now titled “Military Power and National Security in the Age of Globalized Terrorism,” punctuates the new military doctrines that have been promulgated by the United States and the other great powers to wage a worldwide war against global terrorism and to prevent the use of weapons of mass destruction, and the shifting distribution of military expenditures toward those goals. The so-called revolution in military technologies that makes new methods of warfare available are also discussed, and the chapter introduces the latest declassified estimates of the global distribution of arms sales.

- Chapter 13, “Coercive Diplomacy and Intervention in the Age of Global Terrorism,” brings up-to-date the discussion of how states increasingly exercise military influence by methods short of war. The use of military intervention for humanitarian and peacekeeping purposes and the controversies surrounding such interventionism are given prominence; so, too, is the radical U.S. strategic shift from deterrence to the preemptive prevention of violence by attacking potential aggressors before they can undertake anticipated military actions. In addition, changes of the uses of economic sanctions as a method of coercive diplomacy are built into the revised discussion.
- Chapter 14, “The Realist Road to Security through Alliances, the Balance of Power, and Arms Control,” has been refocused to sharpen awareness of the similarities and differences in the realist and liberal approaches to world order. Incorporated is coverage of NATO’s expansion by seven new members in November 2002 and the U.S.-Russian SORT nuclear weapons reduction agreement in 2002, as well as the changing laws giving increased license to humanitarian military interventions.
- Chapter 15, “The Liberal Institutional Paths to Peace,” reexamines, in light of the post-9/11 wave of terrorism, the controversies surrounding the possibility of preserving peace by promoting the enlargement of the coalition of liberal democratic states, which have seldom if ever waged war against one another. Also added is a new assessment of the European Union’s decision to expand to twenty-five members.
- Chapter 16, “Ten Questions about Twenty-First-Century Global Prospects,” concludes with a series of questions designed to generate critical thoughts about the trends and issues identified in the preceding chapters and the dilemmas they pose for the global future. A new section on the controversies surrounding the means for containing global terrorism has been added, and two overlapping questions from the previous edition have been condensed into a refashioned and refocused issue. These ten questions have been revised thoroughly, and the discussion presents the most recent assessments of the global prospect, while relating them to enduring issues in international relations.

Design and Pedagogy

This ninth edition of *World Politics* features an attractive new interior design and the following pedagogic improvements to make the intellectual journey through world politics easier than ever for students.

- **The reorganization of the table of contents to reduce the number of chapters to 16.** The merger of several chapters, the addition of an entirely new chapter, and the repositioning of some topics makes a more orderly and organized presentation of topics. The instructor is not required to follow the book’s presentation in sequence from start to end, as each chapter and part is self-contained.
- **Chapter Topics and Themes revised to parallel chapter headings.** Each chapter begins with a new outline of major topics that correspond to the chapter headings and titles of featured sections. By breaking each topic into separate components, students can more easily navigate each chapter.

- **Controversy boxes presenting essential debates.** As a sense of change grips much of the world, discourse about international relations gives rise to questions that inspire intense new debate, such as rival hypotheses about the causes of global terrorism and contending prescriptions for combating it. Each *Controversy* identifies a major issue on which there are opposing positions. The essays, several newly written to deal with new issues, encourage students to consider rival viewpoints and develop their own opinions. Addressing both classic dilemmas in international affairs and the most-heated current debates, Controversy boxes offer excellent starting points for class debates or research papers.
- **Comprehensive marginal glosses for all key terms.** Responding to the popularity of the marginal glosses introduced in the seventh edition, marginal glosses for *all* key terms in the text are provided, and the number of key concepts introduced has been increased to expand the students' understanding of concepts that will be used to interpret world politics for the rest of their lives. For complex terms with multiple meanings, the marginal glosses provide the explanation that is most relevant to the topic being discussed, along with a cross-reference to alternate definitions and meanings, enabling students to compare different uses of the term as it applies to different topics and to broaden their understanding of its meaning.
- **Expanded up-to-date map and illustration program.** Over three dozen new maps, tables, photographs, or figures broaden the book's coverage, provoke interest, and enable students to visualize the ideas that now command attention. These new photographs and illustrations have been selected with an eye toward introducing the timeliest topics, including a detailed caption that identifies the picture and explains its relevance to the larger issues discussed in the text.
- **Updated "Where on the World Wide Web?" listings.** Responding to the new and rapidly changing information available on the Internet, the "Where on the World Wide Web?" section at the end of each chapter has been updated and expanded to list major Web sites that students can explore for further information on the topics discussed in the chapter. Each Web listing is accompanied by a lively annotation describing the site's contents and suggesting activities and research that students can pursue on the site.
- **InfoTrac® College Edition.** Four months of FREE anywhere, anytime access to InfoTrac® College Edition, the online library, is automatically packaged with this book. The new and improved InfoTrac® College Edition puts cutting edge research and the latest headlines at readers' fingertips, giving access to an entire online library for the cost of one book. This fully searchable database offers more than 20 years' worth of full-text articles (more than 10 million) from almost 4000 diverse sources, such as academic journals, newsletters, and up-to-the-minute periodicals including *Foreign Affairs*, *International Security*, *Foreign Policy*, *World Politics*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, *Science*, and *USA Today*. A listing of the most current articles from the database relevant to the subject matter appears at the end of each chapter.

- **Revised list of suggested reading.** To bring the most recent scholarship and commentary to the attention of students for further study, a thoroughly revised list of authoritative books and articles appears at the end of each chapter, incorporating groundbreaking published research within the past two years into this inventory of essential books and journals for further reading.

SUPPLEMENTS

International Relations Interactive CD-ROM

For the first time, *World Politics* includes a CD-ROM packaged free with every new copy of the text. The CD-ROM gives you; access to Online MicroCase exercises that allow you to work with actual data, map exercises exploring the current demographic information of selected countries, historical maps and related exercises that supply context for the events of today, Internet and InfoTrac ® College Edition research activities, and more.

Instructor's Resource Manual with Test Bank

An *Instructor's Resource Manual with Test Bank* supports the ninth edition of *World Politics*. The manual includes chapter outlines to guide lectures; thematic guides suggesting a variety of approaches to covering each chapter's material; learning objectives; suggested readings for instructors; creative teaching aids for each chapter, including simulations, teaching cases, and multimedia offerings; and a test bank containing over five hundred new or revised essay and multiple-choice questions. A computerized version of the test bank and manual is also available on CD-ROM.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people have contributed to making the ninth edition the most timely and useful version of *World Politics* since the book was first published in 1981. In addition to those whose assistance helped establish *World Politics* as the field's leading text in its previous editions, we wish to acknowledge the special assistance and advice of those who have contributed specifically to this edition.

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Kegley and Wittkopf have both been recipients of the Distinguished Scholar Award in Foreign Policy of the International Studies Association. Together, Kegley and Wittkopf have coauthored and edited a number of leading texts, including *American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process* (6th edition, 2003); *The Global Agenda* (6th edition, 2001); *The Future of American Foreign Policy* (1992); *The Nuclear Reader* (2nd edition, 1989); and *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy* (1988).

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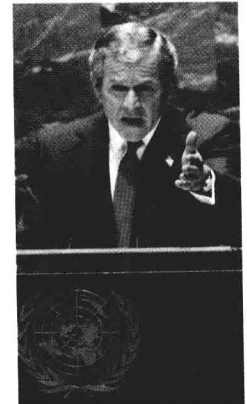
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