Charles W. Kegley, Jr. // Eugene R. W

Aorld Politico

Trend and Transformation

Seventh Edition



SEVENTH EDITION

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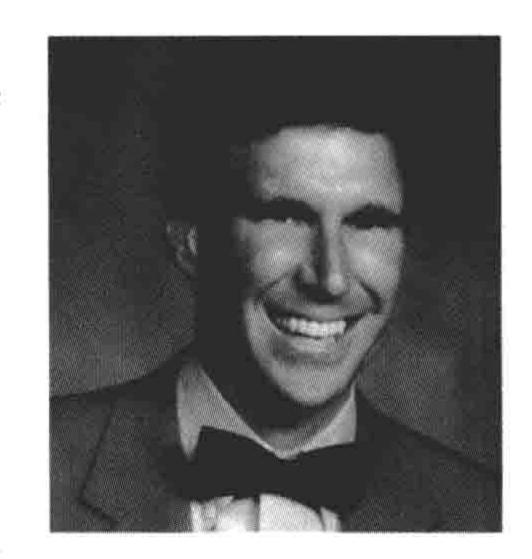
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Together, Kegley and Wittkopf have coauthored and edited several texts and readers for St. Martin's Press, including *American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process*, Fifth Edition (1996); *The Future of American Foreign Policy* (1992); *The Nuclear Reader: Strategy, Weapons, War*, Second Edition (1989); and *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy* (1988). They are also the coeditors of *The Global Agenda: Issues and Perspectives*, Fifth Edition (McGraw-Hill, 1998).

For Jeannie—cwk

For Debra and Jonathan—ERW

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Preface

The rapid changes in world politics in the brief period since the Cold War pose an enormous challenge to students, scholars, and policymakers alike. Without a single, overriding global issue to frame inquiry and understanding, there is little agreement about which dimensions of world politics are most important and the probable characteristics of the approaching century. This uncertainty necessitates thinking critically and theoretically about the forces of global change and continuity that increasingly influence our lives. That is our purpose in *World Politics: Trend and Transformation*. The book seeks to comprehensively cover evidence that describes how the world works and theories that explain what is unfolding. Its goal is to inform your understanding of relations among global actors, the historical developments and issues that underlie them, and the ways in which today's trends are likely to alter the global future.

In this, the seventh edition of *World Politics: Trend and Transformation*, we attempt to keep pace with the dramatic march of events and the reconstructed concepts and theories newly advanced to interpret contemporary international relations. This edition also introduces a number of stylistic revisions and a more user-friendly design—all in an effort to make our message more accessible to undergraduate students.

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OVERVIEW OF THE SEVENTH EDITION

Part I: Trend and Transformation in World Politics

Part I explains the global, multilevel, multi-issue approach that frames the book's analyses. Chapters 1 and 2 focus on the major tools of analysis and the realist and liberal theoretical traditions that most scholars and policymakers use to comprehend and discuss emerging trends and transformations in world politics. The terminology and theories introduced here are drawn on throughout the rest of the book to characterize, clarify, and conceptualize contemporary world politics.

Part II: The Actors and Their Relations

Part II investigates the principal actors on the world stage. Because states command particular attention, we concentrate on their foreign policy decision-making processes and the rational choice and other theories that seek to account for how states conduct their foreign relations. Great-power rivalries, as played out in three global conflicts of the twentieth century, are emphasized in this section, as is an updated discussion of the changing place of the Global South and its struggle to close the gap between rich and poor countries. We also examine the expanding role of nonstate actors on the global stage—intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) as well as nongovernmental organiza-

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PREFACE

tions (NGOs) such as ethnopolitical groups, religious movements, terrorists, and multinational corporations—and the ways in which their activities are accelerating the globalization of international relations and eroding the sovereign power of governments.

Part III: The Politics of Global Welfare

Part III analyzes issues related to material welfare. States' changing positions in the world political economy are given special attention, with trade and monetary issues featured. The globalization of the international political economy through the integration of national economies, trade, information, production, and labor, and the challenge globalization poses to states' autonomy, are put into perspective. So, too, are the dynamics of demographic changes and their effects on international politics, and the controversies surrounding preservation of the earth's ecological system.

Part IV: Global Conflict and Its Management

Part IV explores the perennial issues regarding the search for peace and security. Threats caused by recent trends in armed conflicts within states, the factors spurring preparations for national defense, the changing national security strategies of the great powers, the exercise of coercive diplomacy, and the management of crises are some of the problems covered. This section also compares the various paths to peace prescribed by the realist and liberal theoretical traditions.

Part V: Toward the Twenty-First Century

We conclude with a discussion of how underlying trajectories in world politics might influence future trends. We discuss how today's world will affect tomorrow's, asking questions about the ways contemporary trends will shape the policy problems and issues that today's students—the policymakers and citizens of tomorrow—will face in the twenty-first century.

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CHANGES IN THE SEVENTH EDITION

Many global changes have taken place in the thirty months since the publication of the sixth edition. They required us to revisit every passage in the book and integrate the latest developments with the most current information available as this edition went to press. In addition, we sought to expand the coverage by including, where appropriate, the rise of new issues on the global agenda and new departures in theory that attempt to interpret the transformed setting. In addition to capturing the texture of global politics on the eve of the twenty-first century, the seventh edition has been rewritten to help readers better understand a complex subject; to make the intellectual journey easier, you will now find:

• Chapter topics and themes. We begin each chapter with an organizational outline that lists the major ideas discussed, in the order in which they are presented, and in language that is more descriptive of the contents than the chapter headings and subheadings.

- Abridged chapter titles. To better describe the contents of each chapter, the titles have been condensed and put in phraseology that the reader can immediately comprehend. Running heads on the top of consecutive pages further assist locating the topics addressed in the text.
- Dramatic full-color design. New maps, photographs, illustrations, and tables have been added to heighten interest and to help students interpret and remember the latest information and key concepts.
- Marginal glossary terms and definitions. To aid readers' comprehension, selected key terms are defined directly in the margins on the pages where they appear. This new aid is intended to elaborate and explain, in alternate language, the terminology discussed in the text itself, so that the reader can readily understand, or be reminded of, a phrase or word that might otherwise be unfamiliar.
- Captions. All maps, figures, and photos now have informative captions to instruct readers about their meaning and importance.
- Comprehensive glossary terms. Key terms that are part and parcel of the
 vocabulary of world politics are highlighted in **bold face**, listed at the end
 of each chapter in the order in which they appear, and reassembled with definitions in a glossary at the end of the book for easy cross-referencing.
- **Footnotes.** To make the text material as easy to follow as possible, footnotes have been eliminated and the critical information formerly introduced in footnotes has now been integrated directly into the text.
- Suggested reading. At the end of each chapter, students are provided with
 a select list of authoritative and current books and articles to consult for
 further information or to use as a starting place for conducting further research on the topics and themes discussed in each chapter.
- Where on the World Wide Web? This new feature lists major Internet web sites on which readers can locate additional late-breaking information on the topics discussed in each chapter. Many site references also include suggested activities for further learning and research.

Beyond changes in design and pedagogy, substantial changes have been made in the organization and contents of the book.

- Chapter 1: Our introductory chapter, "Exploring Twenty-First-Century World Politics," opens with a provocative story to show readers why they should explore the topics introduced. (Similarly, many other chapters now begin with a message to stimulate interest.) The chapter has been reorganized to integrate a discussion of the ways peoples' perceptions of international affairs color their often inaccurate images of international realities. The chapter has also been rewritten to more sharply define the multi-level, multi-issue approach of the book; it includes an explicit definition of the three levels of analysis (individuals, states, and the global system) that is relied on to organize much of the interpretation of particular aspects of world affairs. The chapter concludes with a select list of questions that identifies some of the major issues that are discussed throughout the remainder of the text.
- Chapter 2: "Rival Theoretical Interpretations of World Politics" has been reorganized to highlight the two major theoretical interpretations of world politics: the realist and liberal traditions, including their recent neorealist

- and neoliberal variants. The presentation ties rival theories to concrete global issues more closely, and links particular issues and trends to the other theoretical schools that directly address them.
- Chapter 4: "Great-Power Rivalries and Relations" has been revised to summarize, in the context of the great powers' long-term evolving relationships, forecasts about the likely twenty-first-century character of these relations as the ratio of power and resources among them undergoes a transition.
- Chapter 5: "The Plight and Policy of the Less Developed Global South" brings to bear greater coverage of the rapid economic development of the rising new industrial economies and formerly communist countries in transition. It also extends the indications of the widening gap between the rich and poor *within* the Global South by elaborating on how the globalization of trade, investment, and information is altering conditions within, and the policies of, Global South winners and losers.
- Chapter 6: "Universal and Regional Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs)" presents the profound changes in the growth, structure, and goals of intergovernmental organizations, concentrating on the reorganized United Nations and European Union as examples.
- Chapter 7: "Nongovernmental Actors on the World Stage" greatly expands and updates the activities of ethnopolitical groups and indigenous peoples, and sharpens the discussion of the impact of nonstate actors such as religions, terrorists, and multinational corporations on the globalization of world politics and the devolution of states' sovereign authority and power.
- Chapter 8: "Trade and Monetary Issues in a Globalized Political Economy" has been completely reorganized to accentuate how the growth of international trade is transforming the globalized market at the same time that it is undercutting monetary stability. The prospects for sustained prosperity, free trade, and the control of currency and banking crises are now evaluated in light of recent institutional changes (such as the European Union's new "euro" common currency) by comparing the perspectives of commercial liberalism, mercantilism, and hegemonic stability theory on the probable ways politics and markets will intersect in the twenty-first-century international political economy.
- Chapter 9: "Globalization and the Impact of Vanishing Borders" has been reconfigured and expanded to capture the heated debate about the costs and benefits of globalization. To frame the presentation, new material portraying the death of distance and integration of a borderless global village has been added. Contrasting evaluations of the globalization of information, investments, currencies, production, and labor have been sharpened to illustrate the ways in which different members of the international community gain and lose from the rise of an interdependent global marketplace.
- Chapter 11: "Ecological Security and the Preservation of the Global Commons" has been revised to capture the latest information regarding global challenges to environmental preservation and the problems and possibilities of balancing competing demands in a world poorly organized to address transnational issues. Coverage includes institutional efforts, such as the 1997 Kyoto Protocol on global warming, to manage the common ecological problems facing humanity.

- Chapters 12 and 13: "Armed Conflict between and within States" and "The Changing Character of Military Power and National Security" have both benefited from the revisions of the analysis of different types of warfare and of the preparations for war by states to increase their military capabilities. To give the rise of civil wars and the demise of wars between states in recent years their just due, for example, the coverage of the causes of internal rebellions within fragile and failing states has been expanded. Likewise, the revolution in military technology and the proliferation of new ways of waging warfare, as well as their consequences for states' national security, is emphasized. In addition, the comparative analysis of the great powers' new national security strategies has been thoroughly revised to take account of their new doctrines and policies on the eve of the twenty-first century.
- Chapter 14: "The Use of Coercive Diplomacy for Defense, Deterrence, and Bargaining" has been expanded to include how states exercise influence with weapons and by methods short of war. New sections better cover the use of military intervention for humanitarian and peacekeeping purposes, states' growing use of economic sanctions as a method of coercion, and diplomatic negotiation as a substitute method for conflict and crisis management.
- Chapters 15 and 16: "The Realist Road to Security through Alliances, the Balance of Power, and Arms Control" and "The Liberal Institutional Paths to Peace through Law, Integration, and Democratization" have been recast to give greater attention to the place of human rights, ethics, war crimes, and the threat of failed and failing states in the equation that determines the preservation of peace or its collapse. New material also brings up to date recent developments within the United Nations and the "enlargement" of the European Union and NATO, the wave of recently reached disarmament agreements, and the shifting geostrategic balance of power as a result of the new alignments among the great powers and the threat of nuclear proliferation following nuclear tests by India and Pakistan.

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MULTIMEDIA COMPANION

World Politics: Trend and Transformation is accompanied for the first time by an interactive Web site <www.worthpublishers.com/kegley7>. This learning component for instructors and students includes chapter outlines, summaries, learning objectives, teaching suggestions, Internet applications, and suggested materials for inclusion, such as transparency masters of the major maps and figures that appear in the book or that are available elsewhere to supplement the text. For students, the Web site offers Web links, interactive activities, and chapter quizzes.

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INSTRUCTOR'S RESOURCE MANUAL AND TEST BANK

The seventh edition of World Politics is also supported by an extensive Instructor's Resource Manual and Test Bank. The manual includes chapter outlines,

lecture guides, and a test bank containing over five hundred essay and multiplechoice questions. A computerized version of the test-bank portion of the manual is also available in formats for DOS, MAC, and Windows.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people have contributed to the goal of making the seventh edition the most timely and useful version of *World Politics* since the book was first published in 1981. In addition to the many people named in previous editions, we wish to acknowledge the special assistance and advice provided by those who have helped to make this, a leading text, even better.

We greatly appreciate the constructive and supportive comments and suggestions that were offered by the reviewers of the seventh edition. In particular, we single out for providing expert evaluations of the treatment in their areas of specialization: David P. Forysthe, University of Nebraska; Ted Robert Gurr, University of Maryland; and Neil R. Richardson, University of Wisconsin. We thank the following individuals for their constructive critiques of the manuscript: Khalil Dokhanchi, University of Wisconsin-Superior; Manochehr Dorraj, Texas Christian University; S. Maggie Hanson, Northwestern University; Lynn Kuzma, North Dakota State University; Juliet Kaarbo, University of Kansas; Kelechi A. Kalu, University of Northern Colorado; Larry Martinez, California State University-Long Beach; Clark D. Mueller, University of North Alabama; Jeffrey Pickering, Kansas State University; Maria Sampanis, University of California-Davis; Bob Switky, State University of New York-Brockport; and Nina Tannenwald, Brown University.

We also express our gratitude to Lynn Kuzma at North Dakota State University and Greg Raymond at Boise State University who collected sites for the "Where on the World Wide Web?" chapter feature. Lynn Kuzma also contributed her talents to the development of *World Politics PLUS*⊕.

At St. Martin's/Worth, our new Political Science Editor James Headley, President Susan M. Driscoll, and Director of Production Michael Weinstein are to be thanked for applying their own talents and their staff's to so professionally produce a redesigned publication with many new stylistic features. Doug Bell, our production editor, exercised professionalism throughout the production process that brought this edition into print. In addition, Tom Conville and the staff at Ruttle, Shaw & Wetherill, Inc., as well as Susan McIntyre, our copy editor, contributed significantly to the preparation, polish, and production of the book.

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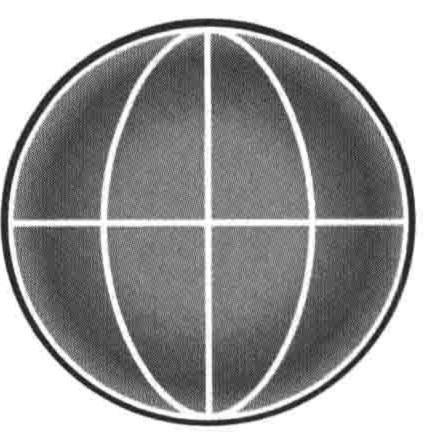
WORLD POLITICS

Trend and Transformation

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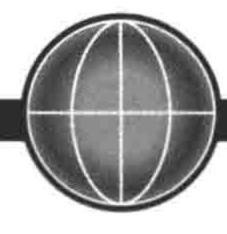




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