

GLOBAL POLIT

FOURTH EDITION

James Lee Ray



GLOBAL POLITICS

F O U R T H E D I T I O N

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Preface



The Fourth Edition of GLOBAL POLITICS is the best one so far, I believe, because the new material on which it focuses—what is happening in the world around us, even as we go to press—is so dramatic.

HISTORY, POLICY, AND THEORY OF GLOBAL POLITICS

This edition retains the three major thrusts of its predecessors. First, it gives introductory-course students a *basic understanding of the history of the international system* from the First World War to the present. Second, it explains the *current issues and crises in the global political system* that are likely to have the greatest impact on the future. Finally, it demonstrates to students the *possibility of discovering patterns* in the foreign policies of states, the behavior of other important political entities (such as individual leaders, multinational corporations, and terrorist groups), and the operation of the global system.

Any one or two of these themes can be found in most current texts for introductory courses in international relations. GLOBAL POLITICS offers all three—the historical, the contemporary and policy-oriented, and the scientific, because without such an integration students will be deprived: Historically oriented texts usually ignore or deny the possibility of discovering patterns in foreign policies or international relations. Books that do emphasize such patterns often entangle students in methodological jargon or assume that students know much more about recent history and recent events than they actually do. Texts that stress contemporary topics, on the other hand, become quickly outdated and create the impression that the past is irrelevant to our understanding of the future.

DRAMATIC RECENT EVENTS

Events and relations continually shape and shift world politics and the nature of this book. In June 1989, Chinese troops in Beijing's Tiananmen Square came face to face with what some cite as a worldwide trend toward "democracy" (which I define as a political system based on fair, competitive elections). Undemocratic regimes are now on the defensive—not only in China, but in the rest of Asia, in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, parts of the Middle East and North Africa, as well as Latin America.

One reason involves the economic pre-eminence of the democratic industrialized societies, such as the United States and Western Europe. Until recently, this success has been generally perceived as irrelevant to the rest of the world, because the process of development took so long, and because it was assumed that countries industrialized only by exploiting undeveloped parts of the world. Meanwhile, the twentieth century development of the Soviet Union supposedly served as a model for countries aspiring to rapid economic and political growth.

But Mikhail Gorbachev, responding to strong external challenges as well as grave internal problems, has argued persuasively that Joseph Stalin, the architect of alleged Soviet successes, not only was brutal but imposed upon the Soviet Union a political system that must be transformed if that country is to avoid permanent political and economic inferiority. At the same time, Japan has demonstrated since the Second World War that rapid economic and political development are possible in a democratic system, and in a non-Western, non-European country. Not only the successes of democratic industrialized countries but the unprecedented views of Gorbachev have undermined the idea that dictatorial discipline is necessary for rapid development in the twentieth century.

I find contemporary international politics even more dramatically interesting than usual, because the global beneficial trends such as the one toward democracy are so fragile and reversible. In the "First World," Japan has developed the second largest economy in the world, Western Europe seems on the verge of a dramatic breakthrough in 1992, and the United States is in the midst of the longest period of continuous economic growth in its peacetime history. But the United States faces perilous economic problems that could trigger another Great Depression, with political as well as economic disasters resulting for all industrialized countries. In the communist world, democratic political reforms and market-based economic innovations are the order of the day, especially in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. But as recent events in Tiananmen Square demonstrate, a vicious

counterattack by Stalinists is certainly possible. In the Third World, democracy has made important advances in almost all regions, and some developing countries (most in Asia) have taken economic steps forward. Still, foreign debt and increasing First-World protectionism could bring disaster to the Third World.

FEATURES OF THIS EDITION

Positive trends in our world today may well overcome the more dangerous ones, but the additions to the Fourth Edition of *GLOBAL POLITICS* offer essential information for understanding the conflict among current trends.

- Chapter 6 details some of the most recent evidence regarding the historical absence of international warfare between democratic states, and considers the implications of that evidence and the global trend toward democracy for future international politics.—But it also acknowledges some evidence that relationships between democratic and nondemocratic states are particularly conflict-prone.
- Chapter 7 focuses on arguments about the possible decline in U.S. hegemony in the world, as well as the meteoric rise of Japan in recent years.
- Chapter 8 emphasizes the success of the East Asian “Gang of 4” but questions their relevance as models for developing countries in the 1990s.
- Chapter 9 discusses, as before, the military confrontation between the superpowers, but now concludes with a discussion of convergence theory, which suggests that the United States and the Soviet Union are likely to become increasingly similar to each other in the coming decades.
- Chapter 10 contains a new discussion of the prospects for Project 1992 in the European Community.
- Chapter 12 is new to this edition: It focuses on ethical problems, and the influence of moral values in such areas as nuclear deterrence, economic inequality, and human rights, and concludes with the impact of international law and “regimes” on global politics.
- Chapter 13, substantially revised, provides a much more detailed discussion of the balance-of-power theory, especially as developed by Kenneth Waltz and other “neorealists.”
- Chapter 14 delves anew into the controversies surrounding a global political issue that will almost certainly achieve unprecedented priority in the 1990s: that is, the fate of the world environment in

the face of global warming from the greenhouse effect and the destruction of the atmosphere's ozone layer.

Some other new features of this Fourth Edition include:

- More maps showing relationships among countries during wartime conflict (Vietnam, Middle East), in trade relationships (OPEC, the 1992 European Community), and military balance (U.S.–U.S.S.R. naval powers). The expanded number of maps provides students with easy geographical access to areas discussed in the text; some illustrate global classifications (“First,” “Second,” and “Third” Worlds) and some zero in on specific areas (The Four Asian Dragons, Central America).
- More photographs to portray historical events (Cuban Missile Crisis, Russian Invasion of Afghanistan) and to convey recent happenings (development of the U.S. stealth bomber, Alaskan Exxon–Valdez oil spill, the Tiananmen Square massacre).
- Expanded teaching support package includes:
INSTRUCTOR’S MANUAL, carefully written by myself, includes chapter summaries, suggested classroom activities, and more test items for your use, and
MICROTEST software package test bank, for tailoring quizzes and tests to your specific needs.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Students from all my courses probably have made the largest contributions to this book. J. David Singer’s influence on my thinking is reflected on almost every page. Monte Palmer offered detailed comments on Chapter 8 (dealing with the problems facing developing countries), while Russell Leng provided helpful advice regarding the issues of diplomacy and international bargaining. Several graduate students made important contributions to this edition: Jianhua An, Kristin Selle, George Hollingsworth, and Kevin Wang made especially concerted efforts. Each of the following provided me with many useful suggestions and constructive criticisms, plus enough encouragement to enable me to complete this project:

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Unfortunately, I have not always accepted the advice of these people, which undoubtedly accounts for any shortcomings or errors that remain in this book—errors for which I take full responsibility.

Fortunately, I have always relied on the support of my wife Cam, in this as in all ventures.

James Lee Ray
Tallahassee, Florida

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