

WORLD POLITICS

TREND AND TRANSFORMATION

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



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WORLD POLITICS

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PREFACE

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Since publication of the fourth edition of this book in 1993, the world has continued to witness dramatic changes. The end of the Cold War, the third great-power conflict of the twentieth century, is propelling a transformation of world politics whose scope and dimensions continue to unfold daily. The end of East–West competition has marked the end of bipolarity, the disintegration of the Soviet external empire and the Soviet Union itself, the emergence of powerful economic rivals to the United States (from China, Japan, and Germany to the European Union), and the triumph of liberalism and democratic capitalism over competing ideologies. Yet in this emerging new system, nuclear weapons—so dominant a part of world politics since World War II—have not receded in importance, despite the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) and other monumental disarmament agreements. The threat of new nuclear powers remains, and this could undermine the fragile nonproliferation regime. At the same time, economic power increasingly rivals military power as an instrument of statecraft, and embryonic trade blocs in Europe and Asia portend the emergence of a multipolar world. In addition, war and other forms of violence inspired by ethnic and nationalist animosities long suppressed by the Cold War have erupted with increasing frequency and ferocity, bullets and bloodshed still cast their shadow over the late twentieth century.

Understanding the rapid changes unleashed in the wake of the Cold War poses an enormous challenge to scholars and policymakers alike. There no longer exists a principal axis in world affairs, and no agreement exists about the dimensions of world politics that will be most important in the twenty-first century. This uncertainty

requires that we confront not only the evidence of change but also of continuities in world politics. It makes it imperative that we also probe the theoretical underpinnings of our knowledge and ask not only what is new but also how we know what we know about the forces of change and continuity in the world around us.

World Politics: Trend and Transformation is a comprehensive treatment of the theory and evidence that inform our understanding of the pattern of relations among global actors, the historical developments that underlie them, and how they have been affected by the pace of change of today's world.

The book is divided into five parts. Part I explains the macro, or holistic, view of world politics that frames the book's analyses. It focuses on the contending analytic perspectives that scholars and policymakers have developed to comprehend the kaleidoscopic trends and transformations occurring in world politics. We draw on these theoretical traditions throughout the remainder of the book, using them to enhance an understanding of contemporary world politics.

Part II examines the principal actors on the world stage. Nation-states necessarily command particular attention, and we examine the nature of their decision-making processes, world views, national capabilities, and position in the international hierarchy, all of which propel their efforts to adapt policies to changes in their external environments. Great-power rivalries, as played out in the three global conflicts of the twentieth century and the North-South conflict between the world's rich and poor countries since World War II, are given prominent attention. We also examine the role of international institutions and other nonstate actors, with particular emphasis on international organizations and nongovernmental organizations (such as the United Nations and multinational corporations) and on nonstate entities such as recently resurgent ethnonational movements. This treatment explores the capacity of each of these actors to shape contemporary world politics, and the ways in which the international environment, in turn, shapes their character.

Parts III and IV probe the nature of transnational policy issues. Issues comprising material well-being and countries' efforts to provide for their citizens' general welfare are examined in Part III. Here we explore the nature of the world political economy, the forces promoting conflict and cooperation within the new global marketplace, and developments in demography, the environment, and resources. Although these issues have long been important on the global agenda, many analysts now believe that increasingly they will figure more prominently in the currency of world politics.

In Part IV we examine peace and security and the factors underlying preparations for national defense, the nature of power and influence, the role of military force, and the causes and control of war and other forms of violence in world politics. These, of course, are concerns that have traditionally received the most attention in discussions of world politics, and, as noted, while the end of the Cold War may have changed their character, it has not diminished the compelling need to understand military power and the causes and consequences of changes in its distribution.

We conclude *World Politics: Trend and Transformation* in Part V, where we explore how the underlying trajectories in world politics might influence future trends. Our concern here is how today's world will affect tomorrow's world as well as the policy problems recent developments create for the twenty-first century on the horizon.

NEW TO THIS EDITION

Readers familiar with the previous edition of the book, published in 1993, will quickly recognize that its structure and organization remain intact, but the global changes that have occurred since have caused us to revisit and refine every passage in the book. We also seized this opportunity simultaneously to expand the book's theoretical coverage and to enhance its pedagogical effectiveness. The result is a thoroughly revised text.

In short, the fifth edition captures and explains all the major changes that have occurred since publication of the fourth edition in 1993. The revised text describes a transformed international system that no longer includes a Soviet empire, a Soviet Union run by a Soviet Communist Party, a Warsaw Pact, a Yugoslavia, a Czechoslovakia, a South Africa firmly based in apartheid and run by Afrikaners who still had Nelson Mandela imprisoned and who gave no sign of ever being willing to substantially change their ways, and governments and institutions in a host of other places—Japan and NATO to name but two—whose previous political composition and familiar policy purposes seemed all but permanently installed to us. The world has been turned upside down, and the fifth edition of *World Politics* explains the meaning of these transformations—and others—for the twenty-first century.

Several examples illustrate how thoroughly this edition has been revised:

- The survey of theories has been reorganized to (1) emphasize more the role of perceptions and images, (2) introduce feminist theories and the feminist critique of realism, (3) bring rival theories to the realist perspective up to date, (4) introduce the postmodern critique better and more thoroughly, and (5) reposition regime and hegemonic stability theory to more accurately show how they lie at the intersection of realism and liberalism.
- Neoliberalism is elaborated as a newly popular theoretical umbrella that gives meaning to the European Union, democratization, free trade, international law, international organizations, and other dimensions of global change and cooperation.
- Hegemonic stability theory and the contribution of classical and structural realism, or neorealism, to understanding of the forces that inhibit international cooperation are given revised treatment. Both theoretical thrusts are used to explain the importance of the relative position of U.S. power, in comparison with ascending great powers like China and Japan, and how these changes relate to the world political economy and the emergent multipolar international political system.
- The regionalization of the world political economy, as manifested in transnational capital flows and the emergence of regional monetary and trade blocs, is covered more thoroughly.
- The treatment of the global marketplace has been expanded and updated, so as to cover the recently approved and enlarged North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT),

and other trade agreements, as well as neomercantilist attempts to impose new protective barriers to trade.

- The treatment of nonstate actors is refined and updated to better picture the place and performance of intergovernmental international organizations (IGOs), nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and ethnonational movements in the global arena.
- The coverage of the global refugee problem, migration, and expatriates is expanded, along with a better historical description of the origins of this growing problem.
- New sections deal with ethnicity in international politics and in particular the causes of ethnonationalism and its consequences as a source of international conflict.
- The cultural dimensions of world politics are treated more heavily, with particular attention given to the thesis that a "clash of civilizations and/or cultures" will replace the East–West conflict as the globe's primary axis.
- Greater attention is explicitly given to the moral and ethical dimensions of many of the problems discussed (war, refugees, gender issues, political repression, income disparities, minority persecution, etc.).
- The chapter on great-power relations has been totally reorganized (1) to compare three global wars in the twentieth century, (2) to account for the probability that two rivals (the United States and the USSR) will be replaced by at least five (the United States, Russia, China, Japan, and Germany), and (3) to look to the future of a twenty-first-century multipolar system.
- The chapter on national security has been revised and expanded to provide a comparison of the evolving national security strategies of the United States, Russia, China, Japan, and Germany, as well as to treat the rise of regional powers in a shifting strategic environment.
- The shifting strategic/military balance is assessed in terms of disarmament agreements such as START and the Chemical Weapons Convention, but more pointedly in terms of the continuing arms trade and threat of new nuclear weapon states that could undermine the prospects for renewal of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty in 1995.
- The analysis of changes in warfare captures the rise of separatist revolts and changes in the incidence of interstate wars since the Cold War and accommodates recent thinking about the roots of violence.
- The institutional characteristics of the European Union and its changing character as a nonstate actor are brought up to date, along with an enlarged North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and changes in its membership, geographical scope, and strategic doctrine.
- In the wake of the Cold War and the Persian Gulf War, the prospects for multilateral cooperation and collective security as a substitute for the balance-of-power mechanism in the management of future international conflict are

examined, and treatment of UN peacekeeping and peacemaking operations and the reconfigured NATO is expanded.

- Just war theory is updated in light of recent developments in international law.
- Trends toward democratization of the world, and the countertrends away from that liberalization and their consequences, are freshly examined.
- New maps and cartograms have been added, all designed to enhance the clarity of the text and contribute to readers' geographic literacy.
- The glossary has been amended to facilitate the book's accessibility by providing definitions of key terms and esoteric concepts.

The list of those to whom we are indebted for their contributions of time and insight to this book continues to grow. In addition to those who have helped so generously in the past, we are especially pleased to acknowledge the contributions to this edition made by Arthur G. Atkins, Shannon Lindsey Blanton, Mark N. Crislip, Michael Gubser, Pamela R. Howard, Pavel Kaźmierczyk, John N. Kinnas, Dunbar Lockwood, Jeffrey Morton, Christina Payne, Gregory A. Raymond, Joseph Reap, Linda S. Schwartz, and Franke Wilmer. We would also like to thank our colleagues who reviewed the manuscript for St. Martin's Press and offered many helpful comments and suggestions: Eileen M. Crumm, University of Southern California; Patrick J. Haney, Miami University; and D. Michael Shafer, Rutgers University. The many professional staff members at St. Martin's Press contributed importantly to the final production of the book. Mary Hugh Lester, our charming and responsive editor, eased the strains of final production measurably, and Don Reisman, our editor and friend, was unfailing in his support and encouragement throughout a project that exceeded our wildest time and effort estimates. Finally, we are appreciative of the professional assistance provided by Suzanne Mieso and Russell Till for the book's production.

Charles W. Kegley Jr.
Eugene R. Wittkopf

Note to Instructors

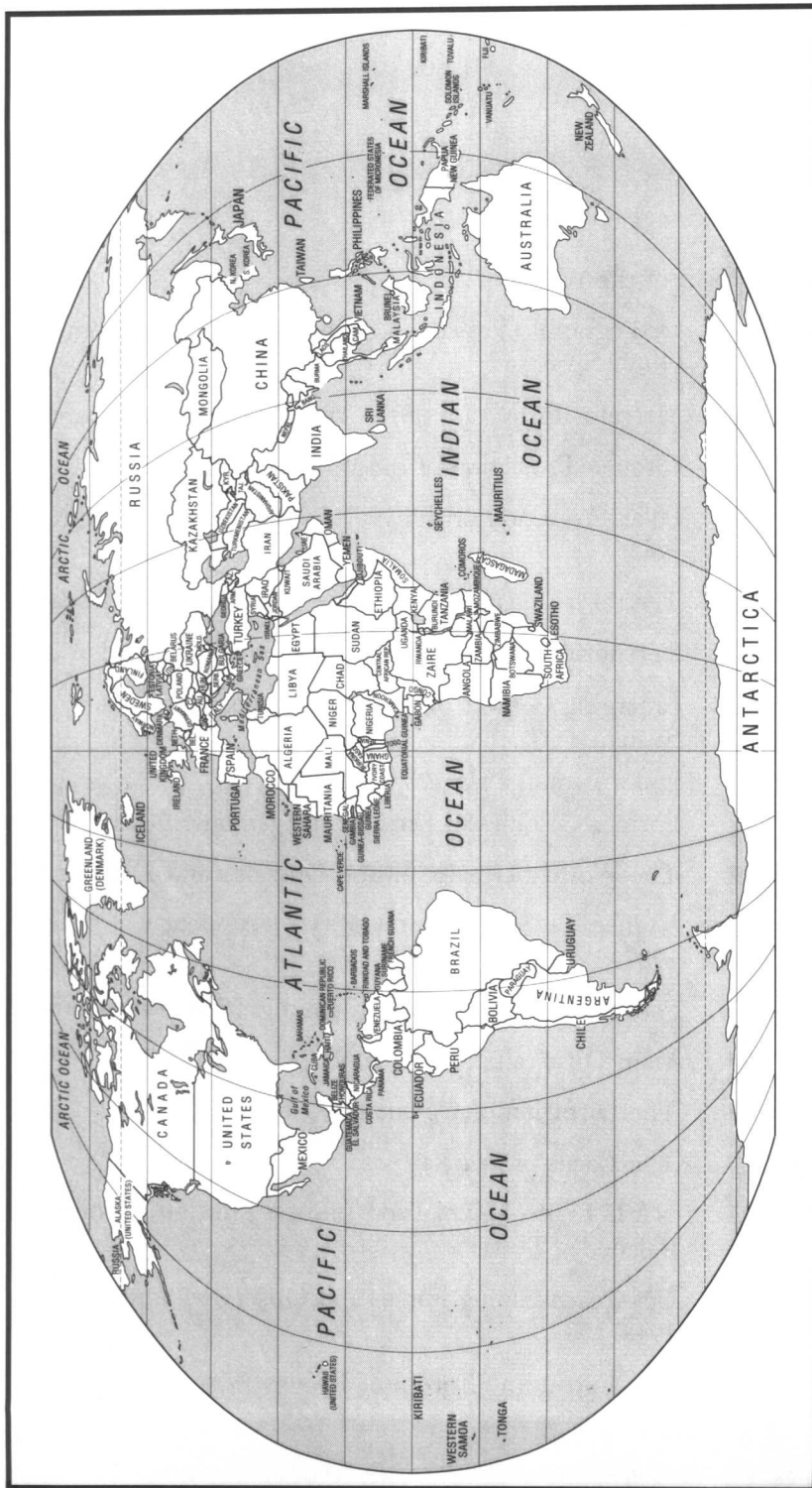
We would like to note the availability of an Instructor's Manual, authored by Gregory A. Raymond of Boise State University. This manual closely follows the major themes of *World Politics* and has been extensively class tested. Featured in the manual are chapter outlines, thematic summaries, learning objectives, key terms, teaching suggestions, and—for each chapter—approximately five essay and twenty-five multiple-choice questions—the latter of which are graded for degree of difficulty. Additionally, the manual contains enlarged versions of the major maps and line art that appear in the text, for use as transparency masters. The manual is available in both print form and in formats for IBM-compatible and Macintosh computers. For more information, please write or call St. Martin's Press, College Desk, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010 (1-800-446-8923) or Fax (212) 780-0115; or contact your local St. Martin's Press sales representative.

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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*, fourth edition (1991); *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*, fourth edition (McGraw-Hill, 1995).



POLITICAL MAP OF THE WORLD

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