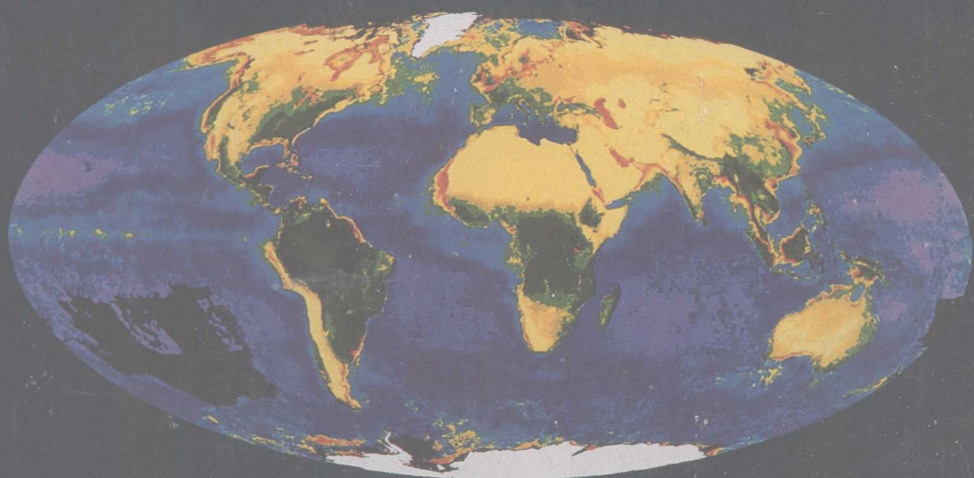


F I F T H E D I T I O N

# GLOBAL POLITICS

*James Lee Ray*



# GLOBAL POLITICS

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FIFTH EDITION

*James Lee Ray*

Florida State University

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## Preface

The Fourth Edition of *Global Politics* appeared just about the time that the Berlin Wall fell and anti-Communist revolutions occurred throughout Eastern Europe. As the Fifth Edition neared its final stages of production, a coup was attempted in the Soviet Union, the aftermath of which seemed to indicate that Communism in that country (and possibly the country itself) has collapsed. In the intervening months, Iraq invaded Kuwait, resulting in an international war in the Persian Gulf; apartheid was "officially" outlawed in South Africa; and the European Community moved closer to its 1992 consolidation.

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### CHASING HEADLINES AND REVISING TEXTBOOKS

In the midst of such events, an international relations textbook is as vulnerable as the fate of a photograph of a horse race. Even an excellent photograph can provide an incomplete and misleading impression of the race in progress, especially if one of the horses in the lead should fall down and throw its rider moments after the picture is taken.

Ideally, a textbook will be more like a movie—providing insight into the dynamics and direction of a race even if unusual events occur after the camera has been turned off. While few authors can claim the ability to predict specific events such as the transformation of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union or the Persian Gulf War, I do feel that the approach taken in *Global Politics* successfully integrates themes and concepts that can enhance its readers' ability to understand such events, and even to anticipate them in a general way.

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## HISTORY, POLICY, AND THEORY OF GLOBAL POLITICS

The Fifth Edition of *Global Politics* 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 subnational 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 history and recent events than they actually do. Texts that stress contemporary topics, however, become quickly outdated and create the impression that the past is irrelevant to an understanding of the future.

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## FEATURES OF THIS EDITION

In contrast to those approaches, many of the analyses of recent events given in the Fifth Edition of *Global Politics* build on trends and patterns identified in the Fourth Edition. For example:

- Chapter 5 of the Fourth Edition provided a conceptual framework with which to analyze international conflict outcomes, specifically, the outcome of the Vietnam War. The Fifth Edition applies that framework to a contemporary event—the Persian Gulf War—to explain the reasons for its radically different outcome. Additional coverage of the Gulf War is given in Chapter 2, which discusses recent important developments in the global political system; and in the revised Chapter 11 on the United Nations, which analyzes the role

of that organization in the war and its relationship to the possible construction of a new world order.

- Chapters 9 and 13 in the Fourth Edition reviewed arguments in favor of nuclear proliferation and the alleged peace-producing effect of the bipolar international system and the nuclear weapons on which it was built. Those arguments provide a starting point in the Fifth Edition for a discussion of current speculation that the demise of bipolarity and the Cold War will so destabilize Europe that soon we will yearn for the relatively peaceful Cold War era, and that nuclear proliferation in Europe may be a partial solution to the problems that will ensue following the demise of bipolarity.
- Chapter 3 of the Fourth Edition discussed the importance of ethnic groups in the Soviet Union (and elsewhere), and Chapter 9 focused on the problems they posed for Mikhail Gorbachev. Both of these discussions are updated and extended in light of recent events in the former Soviet republics.
- "Convergence theory," or the idea that the United States and the Soviet Union are likely to evolve politically and economically into increasingly similar states, was an important topic in the Fourth Edition. Though the coup in the Soviet Union cast serious doubt on the validity of that idea for a few days, the failure of the coup may strengthen its credibility substantially. In any case, Chapter 9 of the Fifth Edition presents an extended discussion of what surely will be a crucial question for global politics for years to come: What is the likely fate of efforts to reform the Soviet Union?
- The Fourth Edition portrayed Mikhail Gorbachev's reform efforts, and their impact on Eastern Europe, as both an important contribution to as well as a result of a global trend toward democracy. The Fifth Edition focuses again on that trend, not only in its analysis of recent events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe but in Chapter 6, for example, where implications of the trend are discussed in light of the evidence and recent theoretical developments regarding the absence of international war between democratic states.
- In Chapter 8, the dimensions of the trend toward democracy in the Third World are assessed, as well as the vulnerability of that trend to reversal if the many new democracies there (as well as in the Soviet Union, the newly independent republics, and Eastern Europe) cannot solve some of their difficult economic problems.

The Fifth Edition benefits from the input of almost 200 new sources, and deals in what I hope is an integrated and effective fashion with the more dramatic events and fundamental transformations in the global political system that have occurred since mid-1989.

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Students from all my courses have made the largest contributions to this book. J. David Singer's influence on my thinking is reflected on almost every page. Bruce Bueno de Mesquita provided me with copies of some of his recent work in manuscript form and answered a lot of questions about it. Noh-Soon Chang, a graduate student in political science, as well as Wendy Gilbert and Christopher Higgins, both graduate students in the International Affairs program at Florida State, made significant contributions to this edition. The following people accepted the notion, however implausible it may have seemed to them, that even after four previous attempts I might finally get it right and provided me with extensive, helpful comments on a first draft of this edition:

Robert L. Pritchard, *Los Angeles Valley College*  
Randolph Siverson, *University of California-Davis*  
Kenneth Rodman, *Colby College*  
Robert E. Breckinridge, *Lycoming College*

The critical advice they provided me is necessary for the successful completion of this kind of project, but they could not be expected to save me from all errors and shortcomings, for which I take full responsibility. Less critical, more unconditional support is also necessary, and generous portions of that were provided by my wife, Cam.

*James Lee Ray*  
*Tallahassee, Florida*

# **GLOBAL POLITICS**

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FIFTH EDITION







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