



# WORLD POLITICS INTO THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Unique  
Contexts,  
Enduring  
Patterns



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# WORLD POLITICS INTO THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Unique Contexts, Enduring Patterns

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## Preface

**H**elping introductory students make sense of world politics matters. It matters because the issues that dominate world politics—the level of people’s physical security, their place in the international political economy, the extent to which their human rights are respected, and the quality of the environment within which they lead their lives—are important politically, practically, and morally. It matters because world politics affects the life chances of each and every student in our classrooms, and they all deserve the opportunity to use a better understanding of the world around them to make more informed and effective choices about how to lead their lives. It matters because over the course of our careers we teach generations of students with the hope that informed and thoughtful citizens will produce a better world. Finally, how well our students learn also matters for narrow and personal reasons: It’s a lot more fun to come out of a class on a high because your students “got it”; and looking forward to course evaluations sure beats dreading them.

While the incentives to invest in making our courses work well are clear, so too are the challenges. Perhaps the biggest challenge is that world politics is complex. Understanding the quest for security, the politics of international economics, the growing controversies over human rights, and the distinctive ways in which nature and politics collide to produce environmental issues involves making sense of a host of challenging concepts. It also involves learning an often overwhelming number of facts about the issues and the historical, cultural, and political contexts within which those issues play out. To overcome these challenges, students need to be willing to invest themselves in learning. That willingness, however, depends in turn on us: We need to show them how world politics affects their lives, to overcome the hurdles created by the wide variation in the quality of their preparation in such areas as history and economics, and to find a way to encourage an increasingly visual, “hunt-and-click” generation to read a sustained exploration of world politics.

All these challenges are complicated still further by the distinctive political culture of the discipline. The field of international relations is defined no less by *what* we study—world politics—than by deep and often passionately held differences about *how* we should study it. That creates a dilemma for faculty. If we teach just our own personal view of world politics, we do a disservice both to colleagues with whom we share legitimate differences and to our students, who will get a one-sided presentation. If, in an effort to avoid this problem, we use the field’s differences as an essential organizing focus, we run the risk that we will inadvertently turn an introduction to world politics into an introduction to the field. When that happens we not only can lose sight of why we come together—to make better sense of the world around us—we can also produce a perverse unintended consequence: By stressing the differences in our intellectual tools and approaches, we can leave students with few tools they have any confidence in using.

We have tried to steer a course through these challenges that will make it easier for you and your students to focus on what really matters in an introductory course on world politics. The principles we used to steer that course are explained in the next sections of this preface. Along the way we relied both on our own sense of dead reckoning and on the immensely valuable reactions of many reviewers over a series of significant revisions and reorganizations. The reactions of the reviewers to the last drafts and the comments of students who used the preliminary edition are gratifying, but whether we have steered a course that works for you is not for us to decide.

## The Conceptual Framework

We believe an introductory text should give students a set of tools they can use to make sense of world politics across a wide variety of issues, actors, and historical eras. We also believe that these tools should be designed to cultivate the largest piece of common intellectual and substantive ground available while simultaneously promoting an understanding and respect for intellectual and normative differences.

After decades of teaching and studying world politics, we are drawn to the conclusion that the largest piece of common ground available involves choice under conditions of strategic interdependence. All the major worldviews and virtually all of the principal intellectual traditions and research programs in the field sooner or later bump up against questions about the choices people make under conditions of strategic interdependence. Emphasizing this dimension of political life as an organizing theme gives students tools they can use without prejudging what worldviews and research traditions they will ultimately find most persuasive and interesting.

The second organizing theme is linkage politics. While there is a growing consensus that separating international and domestic politics is artificial and misleading, few texts reflect this emerging consensus and none does so in a systematic way. This failure not only makes it harder for students to make sense of world politics, it also makes it harder for them to see how world politics affects their lives. Unless they can see those connections, it is often hard for them to recognize why they should care enough to learn.

*World Politics into the Twenty-First Century: Unique Contexts, Enduring Patterns* has, therefore, two foundational features: It introduces students to world politics by focusing on enduring patterns in the politics of strategic choice; it integrates international and domestic politics throughout all the substantive topics in the text. By focusing on the process of strategic interaction in international and domestic politics—and on how they are connected—students can make sense of world politics even as the issues, actors, and contexts change. By focusing both on what political actors share in common and on how the reality of diversity creates meaningful differences, students can begin to learn how to walk in other people's shoes without feeling that they are being asked to give up their own values and perspectives.

This approach has another important advantage: It stresses patterns that are intuitive and makes complex concepts more accessible. Students make choices under conditions of strategic interdependence every day. The contexts in which they lead their daily lives may be far different from the contexts that characterize world politics, but many of the key underlying dimensions that drive the politics of choice are intuitive and resonate in ways that they can recognize. In addition to

emphasizing what is similar about the politics of choice in world politics and in students' daily lives, we have tried to increase the accessibility of the material by using the theme of "unique contexts, enduring patterns" to connect factual and historical material with concepts and theoretical patterns. Students find it easier to make sense of world politics when they learn how to differentiate between what is unique to different contexts and what is common to the politics of strategic choice across those different contexts.

To promote these objectives, the four central issues in world politics—security, international political economy, human rights, and the environment—and their key concepts are all introduced in historical context. Doing that gives history a theoretically informed story line that not only makes it more interesting, it also leads students to consider the many ways in which ideas and worldviews have been shaped by historical and cultural roots. Whether it is free trade or balance of power, containment or preventive war, globalization or global warming, the ideas that dominate and inform contemporary debates in world politics reflect the efforts of real people to understand issues they cared about in distinctive historical, strategic, and cultural settings.

When one looks at world politics from the perspective of how unique contexts and enduring patterns combine, it appears that many competing intellectual traditions actually agree about how the *process* of political choice works. What they disagree about is the nature, frequency, and importance of different types of issues, actors, and strategic situations. Students will have a far easier time understanding and evaluating competing schools of thought when they can see a common set of assumptions about the process of politics buried underneath the debates about the relative value of the different approaches.

Finally, using the theme of "unique contexts, enduring patterns" to increase accessibility squares with the findings of a large body of recent educational research. It turns out that even the best students remember only 20 to 30 percent of the facts they learn for as long as two months. What they do retain is higher order learning skills—the capacity to think systematically and communicate effectively. None of this is to deny the central role of factual material in undergraduate education. But the purpose of "facts" is to convey essential background, to give students enough substance to hold their interest, and to illustrate and apply generalizations. A text that teaches students a way to think about world politics—while simultaneously giving them tools that can be used to evaluate both that perspective and competing ones—will help professors teach what students are capable of learning and retaining. It will also help students become more systematic and independent thinkers who can communicate their views more effectively.

## **The Organization of the Book**

We discuss the plan of the book in detail at the end of Chapter 1 because we want students to know where we are going and why. In brief, the text is organized so that students are confronted immediately with the fact that world politics affects *whether* and *how* people live—that people's security, prosperity, health, and dignity are all shaped by the linkages between international and domestic politics. Given that world politics is worth understanding, the obvious next question is how? Chapters 2 and 3 introduce students to two quite different ways to make sense of world politics.

One approach is to examine the different intellectual traditions that have evolved and to choose the worldview the student finds most persuasive. Another is to look for common ground.

Having opted for an emphasis on common ground and the politics of strategic choice, we give students a detailed review of the key actors in world politics and the international institutions, norms, and laws that affect the origins and consequences of their choices. Because contemporary world politics is built around a state system, we begin with the state in Chapter 4 and then turn to interstate law, institutions, and non-state actors in Chapter 5.

After introducing the actors and the role of international law, institutions, and norms in Part I, we then integrate the treatment of law, institutions, norms, and the politics of choice throughout the substantive and theoretical chapters that follow. The eight chapters in Parts II–IV cover the key substantive issues in world politics: military conflict and the quest for security, international political economy, human rights, and the environment. Part V concludes the book with a discussion of how students might combine their growing understanding of the substance of world politics with a more self-conscious awareness of patterns in the politics of strategic choice to think more effectively about what the future might hold.

## Pedagogical Features

In an effort to help students understand, evaluate, and use the book's conceptual framework most effectively, we have worked with the editors at Prentice Hall to develop a series of pedagogical features designed to reinforce the text's narrative, encourage active learning, and stimulate critical thinking.

**Enduring Patterns Boxes** Placed throughout Chapters 6 to 13 of the text, these boxes show students how the enduring patterns in the politics of strategic choice explained in Chapter 3 can be used to help make sense of world politics across a wide variety of issues, actors, and historical eras. Each box illustrates one or more of the following five enduring patterns: (1) the connection between preferences and power, (2) the impact of varying beliefs about just relationships, (3) the effect of the shadow of the future, (4) the impact of discounting and risk taking, and (5) the impact of linkage politics. The specific topics of these Enduring Patterns boxes feature often counter-intuitive combinations of cases and issues. They include “Medieval Burghers, Modern Trans-State Business Enterprises, and Terrorists,” “The Clash of Civilizations: Protestants and Catholics 400 Years Ago; the West and Islam Today,” “NATO, Bismarck, and Global Terrorism,” “Imagining Just Systems: India Today and the United States after World War II,” “Taking Risks for Human Rights: NGOs, States, and IGOs,” “The Montreal Ozone Protocol and the Kyoto Protocol on Climate Change,” and “Spaceship Earth, Scientific Proof, and Politics.”

**World Politics and the Individual Boxes** These short boxed features provide a glimpse into how world politics has influenced individuals—both notable political actors and everyday people—throughout history and how individuals have in turn influenced world politics. The goal of the series is to help students think about the role of the individual in world politics and consider how the choices and actions of one can have a significant impact on many. Each box contains a brief introduction to the topic at hand along with suggestions for a critical reading of the full essay,

which the students are directed to find at this book's Companion Website™, [www.prenhall.com/lamborn](http://www.prenhall.com/lamborn). Individuals featured include Nikita Khrushchev, Kwame Nkrumah, Rosa Luxemburg, Matsuo Taseko, John Maynard Keynes, Jody Williams and the Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation, and workers and business people in Mexico during the 1980s debt crisis.

**A Closer Look Boxes** As the title of the series suggests, these boxes take a more in-depth look at a topic mentioned in the chapter. Topics include “What Is Bureaucratic Politics?” “United Nations Specialized Agencies,” “The Evolution of the European Union,” “The Evolution of a Trans-State Business Enterprise: The History of the Nestlé Company,” “Bismarck’s Alliances,” “The Ottoman Empire,” and “Lenin’s Predictions.”

**Case Studies** The text includes a series of extended case studies that focus on current issues in world politics. An introduction to the case study and several questions for analysis and discussion are provided in the relevant chapter; the complete case study is located on the Companion Website™. Examples include “India’s Nuclear Weapons Choice,” “Human Rights and Trade in the U.S. Policy toward China,” “The Pinochet Case,” “The United States, Global Warming, and the Kyoto Protocol,” “Indonesia’s and South Korea’s Responses to the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis,” and “A Tale of Two Environmental Protest Movements.”

**Full-Color Maps, Photos, and Charts** Today’s students are often very visual learners. Consequently, we have worked with the editors and designers at Prentice Hall to enhance the visual scope of the text in ways that draw attention to the substance of the material while also reinforcing conceptual and theoretical points. Over 24 maps provide students with the visual background they need to understand the evolution of the key issue areas, the implications of historical events, and even such abstract concepts as reference points and loss aversion in prospect theory. More than 90 photos have been carefully selected to enhance and illustrate important concepts in the text. Several charts, graphs, and other line illustrations help students analyze important statistical information.

**Key Terms** Most students learn better when the definitions of central concepts are not only clear and concise but also placed in highly visible locations throughout the text. Consequently, key terms and concepts are defined in detail in the margin of the page on which they are introduced, and they are listed again at the end of the chapter to help students review. A complete glossary also appears at the back of the book.

**Chapter Summaries and Questions for Review** We have drafted chapter summaries and questions for review that can be found on the Companion Website™ for this text. Students can download them to build their own study guides, organize their notes, and use them in group study sessions.

## Teaching Aids for Instructors

**Instructor’s Resource Manual** The Instructor’s Resource Manual provides detailed chapter summaries, lecture outlines, questions for discussion, the case



studies in their entirety, the World Politics and the Individual essays in their entirety, and other teaching tools that we believe will help you make use of the book as effectively and easily as possible.

**Test Item File** This helpful aid provides numerous multiple-choice, short-answer, and essay questions organized by chapter.

**Prentice Hall Test Manager** A computerized version of the Test Item File, this program allows full editing of the questions and the addition of instructor-generated items. Other special features include random generation, scrambling question order, and test preview before printing. It is available for use with Windows or Macintosh operating systems.

## Study and Research Aids for Students

**Companion Website™** The Companion Website™ includes a wide variety of active learning materials, including detailed chapter summaries and review questions, the complete case studies and the complete World Politics and the Individual essays referenced in the text, and interactive assignments. It will also provide an effective way to create links to material that will help faculty and students track current events as they unfold.

**September 11<sup>th</sup> and Beyond** This supplement features a collection of essays by Prentice Hall authors. Perspectives span global economy, psychology, domestic politics, religion, and sociology.

**Other Online Resources** The Prentice Hall Guide to Evaluating Online Resources includes a free access code for Research Navigator™, which features EBSCO's ContentSelect™ academic journal database, *The New York Times* 12-month Search-by-Subject Archive, and a complete guide to finding, citing, and writing research.

## Acknowledgments

Many people have contributed to this project over the years. Beth Gillett Mejia signed us and has remained an enthusiastic supporter throughout. More recently we have benefited from the suggestions and professional insights of Heather Shelstad. At Georgetown, Joe had an extraordinarily supportive set of colleagues. For lending an ear (and often more) on this project in particular, we thank Tony Arend, Andy Bennett, Victor Cha, George Shambaugh, and Steve Wayne. Our thanks, too, to Lillian deValcourt, Mark Patton, and Geoff Taubman for their work preparing initial drafts of several of the cases we have placed on the website and to Renae Dittner, who showed exceptional tenacity and poise in responding to our many requests for alterations in the charts and tables she prepared. At Colorado State, I benefited from the insights of Dimitris Stevis and Kathryn Hochstetler, colleagues who read substantial pieces of an early draft, and the general sideline support of Wayne Peak, Sue Ellen Charlton, John Straayer, and Bob Hoffert. I would also like to thank Bob DeLapp for his close reading of a draft of the manuscript, Lisa Dale for her collaboration when a late version of the text was used in a course we taught together, and Marni Berg for

responding to a very last-minute request for help in researching some cases. Finally, there's Don McNamara, free-lance development editor extraordinaire, and Barbara Reilly, production editor at Prentice Hall. Without Don's superb grasp of the English language, exceptional ability to read a manuscript outside his field with intelligence and insight, and unfailing (well, almost unfailing) good humor, we never could have polished the writing and organization to the level it ultimately achieved. Without Barbara's coolly tenacious and gracious professionalism, we could never have brought the final project home sane and shipshape.

In addition, we would like to thank the many reviewers and students who contributed to the shaping of this text over the years. Their feedback was invaluable and we are truly grateful. Our thanks to Ross Burkhart, Boise State University; Jeffrey Pickering, Kansas State University; Vincent Auger, Western Illinois University; Bruce Cronin, University of Wisconsin, Madison; Alan Kessler, University of Texas, Austin; Richard Siegel, University of Nevada, Reno; B. David Meyers, University of North Carolina, Greensboro; Paul Sondrol, University of Colorado, Colorado Springs; Cameron Thies, Louisiana State University; Paul S. Vicary, Florida International University; Burcu Akan, American University; Karen Adams, Louisiana State University; Stephen Wright, Northern Arizona University; Robert DeLapp, Colorado State University; Miroslav Nincic, University of California, Davis; Mir Zohair Husain, University of South Alabama; Salvatore Prisco, Stevens Institute of Technology; John W. Outland, University of Richmond; Thomas E. Sowers, Florida State University; Timothy J. White, Xavier University; the students at the University of Wisconsin and Colorado State University who used the preliminary edition of this text in their courses.

The acknowledgments offered in the last paragraphs are the normal and long-anticipated thank-you's that come after a long project. What follows is anything but normal or anticipated. In the fall of 2001, Joe Lepgold traveled to Paris over his Thanksgiving break with his wife Nicki and son Jordan to give a series of invited lectures on European security. They were all overcome in a hotel fire the night before they were scheduled to fly home. How does one thank a co-author, close friend, and intellectual kindred spirit in the preface of a book he never lived to see?

Joe and I met in the spring of 1992 at the suggestion of a mutual friend who thought we were interested in similar ideas and might want to work together. He could not have been more right. Within an hour of sitting down to coffee late one afternoon at a convention hotel in Atlanta, we were finishing each other's sentences. For the first couple of years we simply read each other's manuscripts as we finished up already ongoing projects. Then we began what was to be a career-long series of projects together. This text was the first major one. The second project was designed to link theories of strategic choice with theories of the individual and social origins of cognition. The first article in this project came out in December 2001; two other manuscripts will soon be sent out for review. This second project was to lay the foundations for a third, which was designed to explore the ways in which an understanding of the interconnections between strategic incentives and the individual and social sources of cognition could help explain ethnic violence, terrorism, and enduring rivalries. After that we hoped to explore the value of using these theoretical connections to improve our understanding of other issue areas in world politics.

It was an extraordinary collaboration. We both shared a passionate—and often stubborn—commitment to the logical integrity of the ideas we used to make sense

of world politics, an enthusiasm for theory, and a belief that research, teaching, and scholarly outreach ought to form a seamless web running throughout academic life. But while we discovered we shared these things, we also discovered that we were different in ways that mattered. I was more instinctively interested in looking for general theoretical patterns, and Joe was more interested in explaining the specific puzzles that preoccupied policy makers and dominated much of the scholarly literature. There were other differences as well. I was more interested in historical sweep and story line; Joe was more interested in tracking contemporary cases and the nitty-gritty details of examples that could bring general points to life. Finally, when we first began working together, Joe was more interested in the sources of cognition, and I was more interested in the politics of strategic choice. Over the years, in a series of long and often effervescent discussions about ideas, their meaning and significance, and how best to explain our conclusions and suggestions to students and colleagues, we each convinced the other. The result was an emerging synthesis of all these things.

Joe was an impassioned scholar and teacher who insisted that the theoretical and practical value of ideas must trump every other academic and career consideration. He loved classical music, baseball, Chicago-style deep-dish pizza, and Indian food. Above all he loved Jordan and Nicki.

Alan Lamborn

## About the Authors

### Alan Lamborn

Alan Lamborn is professor of political science at Colorado State University and, since 1999, also associate dean of the College of Liberal Arts. He has been a visiting professor at the University of Colorado, Boulder, and at the Graduate School of International Studies at the University of Denver. Before coming to Colorado State University, he taught at Smith College, where a nomination by his students led to his selection as a Danforth Associate by the Danforth Foundation. The Danforth Foundation describes the Associate Program as one designed to honor college faculty who are "interested and active in research, and concerned with the development of undergraduate students in terms of their values and social responsibility." In 1994 he was selected for a Pew Faculty Fellowship in International Affairs, a program based at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard, which promoted case-method teaching and active learning techniques. He received a Ph.D. and M.A. in political science at the University of Michigan and a B.A. in government from Oberlin College.

Professor Lamborn's scholarly work focuses on the politics of strategic choice, bargaining and conflict resolution, the linkages between domestic and international politics, the nature of power, and theories of world politics. He is the author of *The Price of Power: Risk and Foreign Policy in Britain, France, and Germany* (1991) and coauthor, with Stephen Mumme, of *Statecraft, Domestic Politics, and Foreign Policy Making* (1988). His principal articles have appeared in the *International Studies Quarterly* and the *International Studies Review*.

### Joseph Lepgold

The late Joseph Lepgold was associate professor of international affairs and government in the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service and the Department of Government at Georgetown University, where he won the School of Foreign Service Award for the Best Teacher in Government in 1997 and the School of Foreign Service Teaching Award in 1993 and 1996. He was field chair of the international relations sub-field in the Department of Government and chair of the Faculty Field Committee for International Politics in the School of Foreign Service. He received a Ph.D. and M.A. in political science from Stanford University and a B.A. in international relations from the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee.

Professor Lepgold's scholarly interests included multilateral security, theories of strategic interaction and of cognitive processes, and the link between theories of international relations and policy practice. He was the author, coauthor, or co-editor of five books dealing with alliance politics, regional conflict management, the uses of international relations theory in policy making, and burden-sharing: *Beyond the Ivory Tower: International Relations Theory and the Problem of Policy Relevance* with Miroslav Nincic (2001), *Being Useful: Policy Relevance and International Relations Theory*, edited with Miroslav Nincic (2000), *Collective Conflict Management*, edited with Thomas Weiss (1998), *Friends in Need: Burden Sharing in the Persian Gulf*, edited with Andrew Bennett and Danny Unger (1997), and *The Declining Hegemon: The United States and European Defense, 1960–1990* (1990). His articles appeared in *International Security*, *International Organization*, *Security Studies*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *Review of International Studies*, and *International Interactions*. He also contributed chapters to a variety of scholarly collections on security studies and international relations theory.

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