



EIGHTH EDITION

WORLD

TREND AND TRANSFORMATION

POLITICS

HARLES W. KEGLEY, JR. ♦ EUGENE R. WITTKOPF

E I G H T H E D I T I O N



WORLD POLITICS

Trend and Transformation

CHARLES W. KEGLEY, JR.

University of South Carolina

EUGENE R. WITTKOPF

Louisiana State University

THOMSON
—★—
WADSWORTH

Australia • Canada • Mexico • Singapore • Spain • United Kingdom • United States

For Debbie—CWK

For Debra and Jonathan—ERW

For Bedford/St. Martin's

Executive Editor for History and Political Science: Katherine E. Kurzman

Developmental Editor: Gretchen Boger

Senior Editor, Publishing Services: Douglas Bell

Production Supervisor: Dennis Conroy

Project Management: Publisher's Studio

Cover and Text Design: Wanda Kossak

Maps: Mapping Specialists Limited

Graphics: Stratford Publishing Services, Inc.

Photo Research: Publisher's Studio

Cover Photos: (Top left) Copyright © Christopher Morris/Black Star/Time, Inc. (Top center)

Copyright © Maxim Marmur/Stringer/Associated Press, AP. (Top right) Copyright © Pavel Rahman/

Stringer/Associated Press, AP. (Bottom) Copyright © Wally McNamee/CORBIS

Composition: Stratford Publishing Services, Inc.

Printing and Binding: R.R. Donnelley & Sons Company

President: Charles H. Christensen

Editorial Director: Joan E. Feinberg

Director of Marketing: Karen R. Melton

Director of Editing, Design, and Production: Marcia Cohen

Manager, Publishing Services: Emily Berleth

Library of Congress Control Number: 00-104286

ISBN: 0-312-24735-4

COPYRIGHT © 2001 Wadsworth, a division of Thomson Learning, Inc.
Thomson Learning [™] is a trademark used herein under license.

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. No part of this work covered by the copyright hereon may be reproduced or used in any form or by any means — graphic, electronic, or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, taping, Web distribution, or information storage or retrieval systems — without the written permission of the publisher.

Wadsworth Group/Thomson Learning

10 Davis Drive

Belmont CA 94002-3098

USA

For information about our products, contact us:

Thomson Learning Academic Resource Center

1-800-423-0563

<http://www.wadsworth.com>

For permission to use material from this text, contact us by

Web: <http://www.thomsonrights.com>

Fax: 1-800-730-2215

Phone: 1-800-730-2214

Printed in the United States of America

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2

Acknowledgments

Acknowledgments and copyrights appear at the back of the book on pages A-1 and A-2, which constitute an extension of the copyright page.

PREFACE



New, new, new: “new century,” “new millennium,” “new world order.” At the turn of the year 2000, talk about possible global transformations reached frenzied proportions. Many people stopped to contemplate the promise and peril of the global future. Yet it was unclear whether a new date on the calendar would actually signal a new epoch in world history.

Our age does not have, as yet, a name. True, we are in a “post–Cold War,” “post–twentieth century” phase. But those phrases don’t completely describe this period of transition. We have left something behind but do not yet possess sufficient confidence about the future to predict where global affairs are headed. Rapid changes sweeping world politics pose an enormous challenge to policymakers, scholars, and especially students. Without a single, overriding issue like the Cold War to structure thinking about global affairs, there exists little agreement about which dimensions of world politics will come to the fore in the new century.

It is the purpose of the eighth edition of *World Politics: Trend and Transformation* to establish the framework students need to put changes and continuities into perspective. The book combines the latest available data with contemporary debates in international relations to prepare students to assess the possibilities for the global future and its impact on their lives. *World Politics* aims to help them with such critical thinking by presenting the evolving relations among global actors, the historical developments that have affected those actors’ relationships, and today’s trends in global interactions. The major theories political scientists use to discuss international relations—realism and liberalism and their variants—frame our study. At the same time, this book incorporates the reconstructed theories newly advanced to interpret contemporary events, and resists the temptation to overly simplify world politics with a treatment that masks complexities and distorts realities.

OVERVIEW OF THE BOOK

To help students make sense of those complexities, *World Politics* is organized into five parts. Part I introduces them to the field and to the major theories of international relations. Part II presents the major actors in the global arena and discusses the processes by which those actors make decisions. Part III looks at issues of global welfare, including trade and monetary relations, the forces of globalization, human demographics, and the interplay between humans and the natural environment. Global conflict is the subject of Part IV, including national security, arms, warfare, and different theoretical approaches to peace. The text concludes with Part V, in which ten questions provoked by unfolding trends in world politics are posed to stimulate thinking about the global future.

CHANGES IN THE EIGHTH EDITION

Content and Organization

Many global changes have taken place in the twenty-four months since the publication of the seventh edition. They required us to revisit every passage and integrate the latest developments with the most current information available as the book went to press. This edition includes the most recent indices on issues ranging from human development and the empowerment of women, to the number of wars and military interventions in progress, and the rise of foreign direct investments and the economic clout of multinational corporations.

In addition, we have expanded coverage to take account of new departures in theory that attempt to interpret recent developments. Without identifying every modification in the new edition, we draw attention to the most important changes in each chapter. Those familiar with previous editions will note the following:

- Chapter 1, “Exploring Twenty-First-Century World Politics,” has been rewritten to even more sharply define the multilevel, multi-issue approach of the book. The concluding five questions, which anticipate future trends in global politics, have been updated to account for recent changes in a global system rife with controversy. Some of these questions are revisited at length in the final chapter.
- Chapter 2, “Theories of World Politics,” highlights the two major theoretical interpretations of world politics—the realist and liberal traditions. At the same time, we have expanded and revised coverage of alternative theories, relating them more explicitly to concrete global issues to allow students to understand the contribution of political theory to understanding international relations.
- Chapter 3, “Foreign Policy Decision Making,” more instructively uses the “levels-of-analysis” framework to explain the major influences on how both states and nonstate actors, such as international organizations and multinational corporations, make policy choices to cope with changing international circumstances.
- Chapter 4, “Great-Power Rivalries and Relations,” has been updated to cover recent trends in the relationships of the great powers, as the ratio of power and resources among them continues to undergo destabilizing transitions. Long-term projections summarize contending forecasts about the potential for friction as a new balance of power emerges.
- Chapter 5, “The Plight and Policy Posture of the Global South,” takes a fresh, critical look at the widening gap between an impoverished and youthful southern hemisphere and a wealthy and aging northern hemisphere. We have expanded coverage of both the impact of globalization on the Global South and of the Global South countries’ foreign policy responses to globalization. The chapter pays increased attention to issues of human security and human rights, such as gender equality, as these issues assume increasing significance in comparison to national security.
- Chapter 6, “Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs),” monitors the profound changes that have accompanied the recent growth of the globe’s major intergovernmental organizations. New coverage focuses on the reorganized

United Nations, the expanding European Union with its common currency and a new “Eurocorps” military force independent of NATO, and the enlarged World Trade Organization, which finds itself under increasing attack as a symbol of the problems associated with globalization and free trade.

- Chapter 7, “The Promise and Peril of Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs),” more explicitly examines the role that ethnopolitical groups, indigenous peoples, religious groups, terrorists, and multinational corporations pose to the dominant sovereign state, as globalization elevates the importance of nonstate actors. We evaluate the potential decline in states’ sovereign power as a global trend, not only in the liberal democracies of the Global North but also in the “failed states” of the Global South.
- Chapter 8, “Trade and Monetary Issues in a Globalized Political Economy,” discusses how the liberalization of the marketplace has fostered extreme currency volatility, and assesses whether sustained prosperity, free trade, and the management of currency and banking crises will continue, taking into account newly evolving perspectives in commercial liberalism, mercantilism, and hegemonic stability theory. For students new to economic policy, we have added a basic explanation of monetary terms and concepts to give them a solid grounding.
- Chapter 9, “Globalization and the Disappearance of National Borders,” has been revised to highlight the growing controversies between winners and losers in the process of globalization. The chapter also addresses the intensifying popular backlash against globalization and reviews divided opinions about whether it is a process that states have the power to control.
- Chapter 10, retitled “Population Politics and the Demographic Dimensions of Globalization,” and Chapter 11, “Ecopolitics and the Preservation of the Global Commons,” have both been revised to more closely link the discussion of changes in the rate of population growth to the question of sustaining the global ecology. We explore the opportunities and problems associated with the “birth dearth” in the aging Global North, and the continuing population explosion in many Global South countries, as they relate to new legal regimes being negotiated to control such common environmental problems as global warming, biotechnology, and genetic engineering.
- We have revised both Chapter 12, “Armed Conflict between and within States,” and Chapter 13, “Military Power and National Security in the Age of Globalization,” to cover recent changes in the incidence of different types of warfare, specifically expanding discussion of the wave of internal rebellions in failing states. We also discuss new military technologies that many believe have reduced international security by making new methods of warfare available, and introduce the latest available information on arms sales. Finally, the new edition features a revised comparison of the great powers’ national security strategies, including the United States’ refusal to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in 1999, to take account of their new doctrines and policies at the beginning of the twenty-first century.
- Chapter 14, retitled “Coercive Diplomacy and Intervention in a World of Vanishing Borders,” brings up to date the discussion of how states exercise military influence by methods short of war. The use of military intervention for humanitarian and peace-keeping purposes and the controversies sur-

rounding such interventionism are given the prominence they deserve at the start of the twenty-first century.

- Chapter 15, “The Realist Road to Security through Alliances, the Balance of Power, and Arms Control,” and Chapter 16, “The Liberal Institutional Paths to Peace,” have been refocused to sharpen awareness of the similarities and differences in the realist and liberal approaches to world order. We have incorporated discussions of new developments and issues, such as START III, the changing laws regarding humanitarian military intervention, and the controversies surrounding the possibility of preserving peace by promoting the enlargement of the community of liberal democratic states, which have seldom if ever waged war against one another.
- Chapter 17, retitled “Ten Questions about Twenty-First-Century Global Prospects,” presents by way of conclusion a series of questions designed to generate students’ critical thoughts about the trends and issues identified in the preceding chapters and the dilemmas they pose for the global future. We have thoroughly revised these ten questions and our discussion of them to present the most recent assessments of the global prospect, while relating them to enduring issues in international relations.

Design and Pedagogy

The eighth edition of *World Politics* features an attractive new interior design and a variety of pedagogic improvements to make the intellectual journey through world politics easier than ever for students.

- **Part openers provide a road map to each section’s content.** The five parts in *World Politics* now each begin with a pedagogically useful, visually attractive, two-page part opener, in which we overview the topics to be covered in the chapters that follow, to give students a better understanding of the connections between the many different aspects of global politics.
- **Chapter Topics and Themes revised to match chapter headings.** Each chapter now begins with an outline of major topics that corresponds to the chapter headings and the titles of the featured essays, for students’ ease in navigating the chapter.
- **Controversy boxes present essential debates.** Each chapter features one or two essays on major controversies in international relations. As a sense of change grips much of the world, discourse about international relations gives rise to questions that inspire intense debate. Each Controversy identifies a major issue on which there are opposing positions. The essay encourages students to consider rival viewpoints and develop their own opinions. Addressing both classic dilemmas in international affairs and the most heated current debates, Controversy boxes offer excellent starting points for class debates or research papers.
- **Comprehensive marginal glosses for all key terms.** Responding to the popularity of the marginal glosses introduced in the seventh edition, we now provide marginal glosses for *all* key terms in the text. For complex terms with multiple meanings, the marginal glosses provide the explanation that is most relevant in each place and cross-reference a key definition,

enabling students to compare different uses of the term to broaden their understanding of its meaning.

- **Expanded map and illustration program brings the book up to date.** Over a hundred new maps, tables, photographs, and figures and twenty-eight specially-updated maps and figures from previous editions broaden the book's coverage, provoke interest, and enable students to visualize the ideas that command attention. We have selected photographs and illustrations with an eye toward introducing the most timely topics, including a detailed caption that identifies the image and explains its relevance to the larger issues discussed in the text.
- **Updated “Where on the World Wide Web?” listings.** Responding to the new and rapidly changing information available on the Internet, the “Where on the World Wide Web?” section at the end of each chapter has been updated and expanded to list major Web sites that students can explore for further information on the topics discussed in the chapter. Researched thoroughly by Lynn Kuzma of the University of Southern Maine, each Web listing is accompanied by a lively annotation describing the site's contents and suggesting activities and research that students can pursue on the site.
- **Revised list of suggested reading.** To bring the most recent scholarship and commentary to the attention of students for further study, we provide a thoroughly revised list of authoritative books and articles, incorporating the groundbreaking research of the past two years into a list of key publications.
- **Full-color re-design.** A bright, new interior design retains the vivid look of previous editions while making greater use of photographic images in part and chapter openers, reformatting running heads for greater ease in navigating the text, and enhancing maps and figures for easier comparison and readability.

SUPPLEMENTS

Instructor's Resource Manual with Test Bank

An extensive *Instructor's Resource Manual with Test Bank* supports the eighth edition of *World Politics*. The manual includes chapter outlines to guide lectures; thematic guides suggesting a variety of approaches to covering each chapter's material; learning objectives; suggested readings for instructors; creative teaching aids for each chapter, including simulations, teaching cases, and multimedia offerings; and a test bank containing over five hundred new or revised essay and multiple-choice questions. A computerized version of the test bank portion of the manual is available on CD-ROM.

Multimedia Companion

World Politics: Trend and Transformation is accompanied by an interactive Web site that can be found at <www.bedfordstmartins.com/polisci>. This on-line ancillary for instructors and students includes chapter quizzes, flashcards for

vocabulary testing, and interactive student activities for further practice with the concepts presented in the text.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people have contributed to making the eighth edition the most timely and useful version of *World Politics* since the book was first published in 1981. In addition to those whose assistance helped establish *World Politics* as the field's leading text in its previous editions, we wish to acknowledge the special assistance and advice of those who have contributed specifically to the eighth edition.

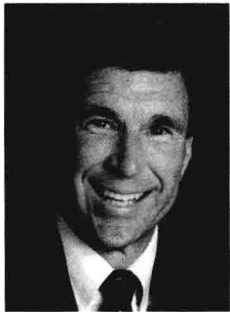
We greatly appreciate the constructive comments and suggestions offered by reviewers. In particular, we express our gratitude to professional scholars who provided blind reviews of the revised manuscript, including Kevin Archer, David Dickson, Matthias Kaelberer, and Thomas Oatley. We also wish to thank Roger Coate and Donald Puchala at the University of South Carolina, Richard Grimmett at the Congressional Research Office, Ted Robert Gurr at the University of Maryland, Margaret G. Hermann at Syracuse University, Bjørn Møller at the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute, Jeffrey Pickering at Kansas State University, Gregory A. Raymond at Boise State University, Joseph Reap at the U.S. Department of State, Daniel Rotfield at the International Peace Research Institute, and Rodney Tomlinson at the U.S. Naval Academy, for providing and sharing data which made the update of statistical information possible. Lynn Kuzma at the University of Southern Maine diligently collected sites for the "Where on the World Wide Web?" boxes and developed the revised *Instructor's Resource Manual with Testbank* and *World Politics* Web site to accompany the text.

At Bedford/St. Martin's, Executive Editor for History and Political Science Katherine E. Kurzman, President Charles H. Christensen, and Editorial Director Joan E. Feinberg are to be thanked for applying their talents and staff to professionally producing a redesigned publication with many new stylistic features. Deserving of special gratitude are our highly skilled, dedicated, and helpful editors, Developmental Editor Gretchen Boger and Senior Editor Doug Bell, who exercised extraordinary professionalism in guiding the process that brought this edition into print. In addition, Linda DeMasi and the staff at Publisher's Studio, as well as Leslie Connor, our copyeditor, contributed immeasurably to the preparation, polish, and production of the book.

Beyond the Bedford/St. Martin's staff and their associates, we are pleased to acknowledge the enormous contribution of Ruth Cooper to the preparation of a complete manuscript, and to the research and proofreading assistance provided by Edward Ballanco, Julie Hysong, Se-Woo Pyo, Tahir Sevik, Fahrettin Súmer, Zhenghuan Zhou, and Zhiqun Zhu.

Charles W. Kegley, Jr.
Eugene R. Wittkopf

ABOUT THE AUTHORS



CHARLES W. KEGLEY, JR. received his doctorate from Syracuse University. Currently, he is Pearce Professor of International Relations at the University of South Carolina. A past president of the International Studies Association (1993–1994), Kegley has held appointments at Georgetown University, the University of Texas, Rutgers University, and the People's University of China. He is the editor of *Controversies in International Relations Theory: Realism and the Neoliberal Challenge* (St. Martin's Press, 1995) and *The Long Postwar Peace* (1991), and has published extensively in scholarly journals. With Gregory A.

Raymond, Kegley is the coauthor of *How Nations Make Peace* (St. Martin's/Worth, 1999), *A Multipolar Peace? Great-Power Politics in the Twenty-First Century* (St. Martin's Press, 1994), and *When Trust Breaks Down: Alliance Norms and World Politics* (1990).



EUGENE R. WITTKOPF received his doctorate from Syracuse University. He is currently R. Downs Poindexter Distinguished Professor of Political Science at Louisiana State University. He has also held appointments at the University of Florida and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Wittkopf is author of *Faces of Internationalism: Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy* (1990), coeditor of the third edition of *The Future of American Foreign Policy* (St. Martin's/Worth, 1999) and *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence* (1999). He has also published extensively in

professional journal literature. In 1997 he received the highest award given by Louisiana State University in recognition of faculty contributions to research and scholarship when he was named the LSU Distinguished Research Master of Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences.

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*, Sixth Edition (2001).

BRIEF TABLE OF CONTENTS



| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Preface | v |
| Controversy Boxes and Maps | xxiv |
| About the Authors | xxvii |
| PART I: TREND AND TRANSFORMATION IN WORLD POLITICS | 1 |
| 1 Exploring Twenty-First-Century World Politics | 3 |
| 2 Theories of World Politics | 25 |
| PART II: THE ACTORS AND THEIR RELATIONS | 51 |
| 3 Foreign Policy Decision Making | 53 |
| 4 Great-Power Rivalries and Relations | 85 |
| 5 The Plight and Policy Posture of the Global South | 123 |
| 6 Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs) | 171 |
| 7 The Promise and Peril of Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs) | 201 |
| PART III: THE POLITICS OF GLOBAL WELFARE | 243 |
| 8 Trade and Monetary Issues in a Globalized Political Economy | 245 |
| 9 Globalization and the Disappearance of National Borders | 291 |
| 10 Population Politics and the Demographic Dimensions of Globalization | 329 |
| 11 Ecopolitics and the Preservation of the Global Commons | 363 |
| PART IV: GLOBAL CONFLICT AND ITS MANAGEMENT | 405 |
| 12 Armed Conflict between and within States | 407 |
| 13 Military Power and National Security in the Age of Globalization | 455 |
| 14 Coercive Diplomacy and Intervention in a World of Vanishing Borders | 507 |
| 15 The Realist Road to Security through Alliances, the Balance of Power, and Arms Control | 549 |
| 16 The Liberal Institutional Paths to Peace | 595 |
| PART V: THE PROBLEMATIC TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY | 649 |
| 17 Ten Questions about Twenty-First-Century Global Prospects | 651 |
| Glossary | G-1 |
| References | R-1 |
| Acknowledgments | A-1 |
| Index | I-1 |

CONTENTS



| | |
|----------------------------|-------|
| Preface | v |
| Controversy Boxes and Maps | xxiv |
| About the Authors | xxvii |

PART I: TREND AND TRANSFORMATION IN WORLD POLITICS 1

| | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| CHAPTER 1 | |
| EXPLORING TWENTY-FIRST-CENTURY WORLD POLITICS | 3 |
| The Investigative Challenge | 5 |
| How Perceptions Influence Images of Reality | 8 |
| The Nature and Sources of Images | 9 |
| The Role of Images in World Politics | 12 |
| Different Levels of Analysis | 13 |
| The Book's Approach: Actors, Issues, and Their Interactions | 16 |
| Facing the Future: Key Questions to Confront at the Dawn of the New Millennium | 17 |
| Are States Obsolete? | 17 |
| Is Globalization a Cure or a Curse? | 18 |
| Is Technological Innovation a Blessing or a Burden? | 19 |
| Will Geo-Economics Supersede Geopolitics? | 20 |
| What Constitutes Human Well-Being on an Ecologically Fragile Planet? | 20 |
| Key Terms | 22 |
| Suggested Reading | 22 |
| Where on the World Wide Web? | 22 |



| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| CHAPTER 2 | |
| THEORIES OF WORLD POLITICS | 25 |
| Understanding World Politics | 27 |
| The Elusive Quest for Theory | 27 |
| The Evolution of Theoretical Inquiry | 27 |
| Liberalism | 28 |
| The Liberal Worldview | 28 |
| The Liberal Reform Program | 30 |
| Realism | 31 |
| The Realist Worldview | 32 |
| Realism in the Nuclear Age | 33 |
| The Limitations of Realism | 34 |
| The Neorealist or "Structural" Extension of Realism | 35 |
| The Neoclassical Extension of Realism | 38 |



| | |
|------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Neoliberalism | 38 |
| Transnational Interdependence as a Liberal Worldview | 41 |
| International Regimes | 43 |
| Alternative Theories | 44 |
| International Politics in a World of Change | 45 |
| Key Terms | 48 |
| Suggested Reading | 48 |
| Where on the World Wide Web? | 49 |

PART II: THE ACTORS AND THEIR RELATIONS

51



| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| CHAPTER 3 | |
| FOREIGN POLICY DECISION MAKING | 53 |
| The Emergence of the Modern State System | 55 |
| The Global and Domestic Determinants of States' Foreign Policy Behavior | 55 |
| Geopolitics | 57 |
| Military Capabilities | 59 |
| Economic Characteristics | 59 |
| Type of Government | 61 |
| Foreign Policy Performance in Democracies 61 / The Spread of Democracy and Its Foreign Policy Consequences 62 | |
| The Unitary Actor and Rational Decision Making | 65 |
| States as Unitary Actors | 66 |
| Policy Making as Rational Choice | 66 |
| Impediments to Rational Choice | 68 |
| The Bureaucratic Politics of Foreign Policy Decision Making | 71 |
| Bureaucratic Efficiency and Rationality | 72 |
| The Limits of Bureaucratic Organization | 73 |
| Attributes of Bureaucratic Behavior | 75 |
| The Consequences of Bureaucratic Policy Making | 76 |
| The Role of Leaders in Foreign Policy Decision Making | 77 |
| Leaders as Makers and Movers of World History | 77 |
| Factors Affecting the Capacity to Lead | 79 |
| Refinements to the History-Making Individuals Model | 82 |
| Constraints on Foreign Policy Making: Problems and Prospects | 82 |
| Key Terms | 82 |
| Suggested Reading | 83 |
| Where on the World Wide Web? | 83 |



| | |
|--------------------------------------------|-----------|
| CHAPTER 4 | |
| GREAT-POWER RIVALRIES AND RELATIONS | 85 |
| The Quest for Great-Power Hegemony | 87 |
| The First World War | 89 |

| | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| The Causes of World War I | 89 |
| Structuralism 90 / Rational Choice 91 / Other Explanations 92 | |
| The Consequences of World War I | 92 |
| The Second World War | 94 |
| The Causes of World War II | 95 |
| Proximate Causes 95 / Underlying Causes 97 | |
| The Consequences of World War II | 99 |
| The Cold War | 100 |
| The Causes of the Cold War | 101 |
| A Conflict of Interests 101 / Ideological Incompatibilities 101 / | |
| Misperceptions 102 | |
| The Characteristics of the Cold War | 104 |
| Confrontation, 1945–1962 104 / From Coexistence to Détente, | |
| 1963–1978 107 / From Renewed Confrontation to Rapprochement, | |
| 1979–1991 109 | |
| The Consequences of the Cold War | 112 |
| The Future of Great-Power Politics: A Cold Peace? | 112 |
| Scenarios for the Twenty-First Century | 112 |
| A Twenty-First-Century Multipolar World | 114 |
| The Challenge of Multipolarity 116 / Responding to Multipolarity's | |
| Challenge 118 | |
| Key Terms | 120 |
| Suggested Reading | 120 |
| Where on the World Wide Web? | 121 |

CHAPTER 5

THE PLIGHT AND POLICY POSTURE OF THE GLOBAL SOUTH 123

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| The Colonial History of the Global South | 127 |
| The First Wave of European Imperialism | 128 |
| The Second Wave of European Imperialism | 131 |
| Economic Explanations for the New Imperialism 132 / Political | |
| Explanations for the New Imperialism 134 | |
| Colonialism and Self-Determination in the Interwar Period | 134 |
| The End of Empire | 135 |
| North and South Today: Worlds Apart | 136 |
| The Global South's Prospects | 140 |
| Theoretical Explanations of Underdevelopment | 144 |
| Classical Economic Development Theory | 145 |
| Structural Theories | 145 |
| Dependency Theory and Dualism 145 / World-System Theory 147 | |
| Neoclassical Development Theory | 148 |
| Development Redefined | 149 |
| Assessing Human Development | 150 |
| Human Development and Economic Growth | 151 |
| Human Development in the Age of Globalization | 151 |
| Inequalities 153 / Human Development or Human Despair? 154 | |



| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| The Global South's Foreign Policy Response | 155 |
| In Search of Power | 156 |
| Nonalignment 156 / Zones of Turmoil 157 / Arms Acquisitions 157 | |
| The Search for Wealth in a Globalized World | 159 |
| A New International Economic Order 160 / Regional Trade Regimes 161 | |
| Trade, Aid, Investment—or Nothing? | 162 |
| The Global South in the New Millennium | 166 |
| Key Terms | 166 |
| Suggested Reading | 167 |
| Where on the World Wide Web? | 167 |



| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| CHAPTER 6 | |
| INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (IGOs) | 171 |
| International Organizations: An Introduction | 173 |
| The United Nations | 175 |
| False Start: The United Nations during the Cold War | 176 |
| Fresh Start? The United Nations after the Cold War | 179 |
| The Organization of the United Nations: System and Structure | 180 |
| The United Nations' Shifting Purposes and Priorities | 184 |
| The European Union as a Model Regional IGO: A Rite of Passage for "Euroland"? | 186 |
| Organizational Components and Decision-Making Procedures | 187 |
| Supranationalism or Pooled Sovereignty? | 190 |
| Europe: An Economic Giant | 191 |
| Europe: Military Midget or Superpower? | 194 |
| Other Regional Organizations | 196 |
| Key Terms | 198 |
| Suggested Reading | 199 |
| Where on the World Wide Web? | 199 |



| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| CHAPTER 7 | |
| THE PROMISE AND PERIL OF NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (NGOs) | 201 |
| Nationalism, Nationality, and Ethnicity | 204 |
| The Fourth World | 206 |
| Ethnopolitical Challengers to the State | 209 |
| National Disintegration and Global Instability | 211 |
| Religious Movements | 217 |
| International Terrorists | 222 |
| Multinational Corporations | 226 |
| The Size and Scope of MNCs | 226 |
| MNCs' Global Reach and Economic Power | 229 |
| The Effects of MNCs on Home and Host Nations | 233 |

| | |
|------------------------------------------|-----|
| Politics and Multinational Corporations | 233 |
| MNCs' Influence | 234 |
| NGOs: Saviors or Strangers of the State? | 237 |
| Key Terms | 239 |
| Suggested Reading | 239 |
| Where on the World Wide Web? | 240 |

PART III: THE POLITICS OF GLOBAL WELFARE

243

CHAPTER 8 TRADE AND MONETARY ISSUES IN A GLOBALIZED POLITICAL ECONOMY

245

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| The Global Context for Interpreting Contemporary World Economic Change | 247 |
| The Shadow of Past Commercial Policy Philosophy | 248 |
| The Clash between Liberal and Mercantile Values | 250 |
| Commercial Liberalism 250 / Mercantilism 253 | |
| Hegemony: A Precondition for Economic Order and Free Trade? | 255 |
| The Hegemonic Pillars of Free Markets and Free Trade 257 / The Causes of Hegemonic Decline 258 / The Uncertain Consequences of Hegemonic Decline 260 | |
| The Changing Free-Trade Regime | 261 |
| Monetary Matters: Can Regimes Promote Trade and Growth? | 266 |
| The Nuts and Bolts of Monetary Policy | 266 |
| The Bretton Woods Monetary System | 269 |
| The Decline of U.S. Financial Hegemony and the End of Bretton Woods | 270 |
| The Impact of Floating Exchange Rates | 271 |
| Current Efforts at Monetary Reform | 274 |
| From Currency Concerns to Trade Troubles in the Twenty-First Century | 275 |
| Emerging Unilateral Trade Policies | 275 |
| Emerging Regional Trade Policies | 278 |
| The Fate of Free Trade: Triumph or Trouble? | 282 |
| Premises for a Future Global Economy | 285 |
| Global Economic Destiny? | 285 |
| Key Terms | 288 |
| Suggested Reading | 289 |
| Where on the World Wide Web? | 289 |



CHAPTER 9 GLOBALIZATION AND THE DISAPPEARANCE OF NATIONAL BORDERS

291

| | |
|---------------------------------|-----|
| What Is Globalization? | 294 |
| The Global Information Age | 294 |
| The Media: Markets or Monopoly? | 298 |

| | |
|-------------------------------------------|-----|
| Global Health or Global Infection? | 302 |
| Global Migration | 303 |
| The Globalization of Finance | 304 |
| The Globalization of Trade | 308 |
| The Globalization of Production | 315 |
| The Globalization of Labor | 320 |
| Globalization and the State: What Future? | 323 |
| Key Terms | 326 |
| Suggested Reading | 326 |
| Where on the World Wide Web? | 327 |



CHAPTER 10 **POPULATION POLITICS AND THE DEMOGRAPHIC** **DIMENSIONS OF GLOBALIZATION**

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Population Growth as a Global Political Problem: | |
| The Tragedy of the Commons | 331 |
| Assessing Global Demographic Trends | 332 |
| Understanding Growth Rates: The Persian Chessboard | 333 |
| The Demographic Divide between Global North and Global South | 335 |
| Population Momentum | 336 |
| A Demographic Transition? | 338 |
| The Changing Population Pyramid: Further Trends Affecting Population | 340 |
| The Global Spread of HIV/AIDS | 340 |
| Migration | 342 |
| How Population Policy Colors World Politics | 346 |
| The Demography of National Security Issues | 346 |
| The Demography of Global Food Security: The Clash of Optimists and Pessimists | 347 |
| The International Response to Population Issues | 353 |
| The Subordinate Status of Women and Its Consequences | 355 |
| The ICPD Program of Action | 357 |
| A Prescription for Optimism or Pessimism? | 359 |
| Key Terms | 359 |
| Suggested Reading | 359 |
| Where on the World Wide Web? | 360 |



CHAPTER 11 **ECOPOLITICS AND THE PRESERVATION OF THE** **GLOBAL COMMONS**

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Environmental Security and Sustainable Development: An Overview | 366 |
| The Ecopolitics of Energy | 370 |
| Global Patterns of Oil Consumption | 371 |