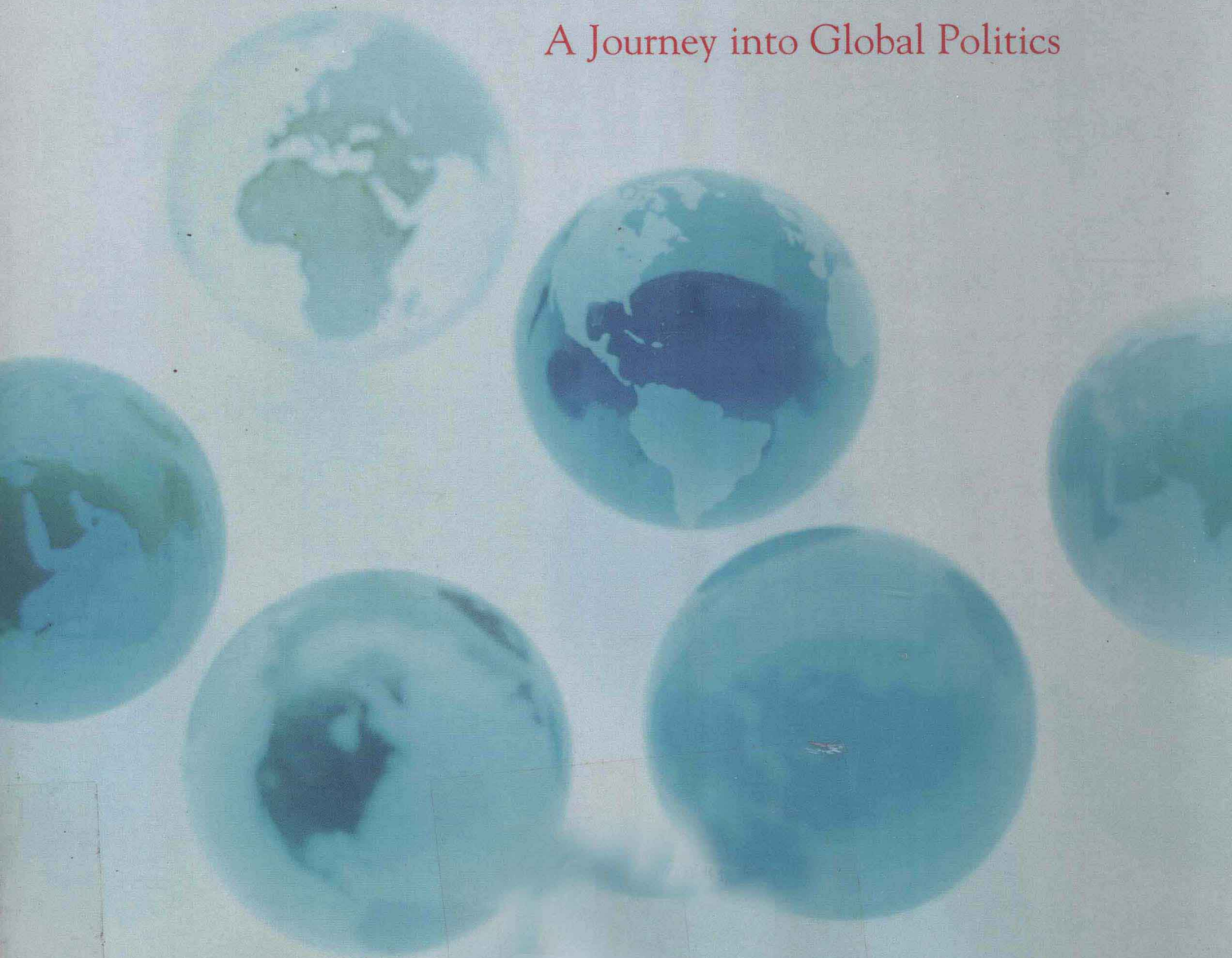


# From Yesterday to Tomorrow

A Journey into Global Politics



by Richard W. Mansbach and Kirsten L. Rafferty

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Taken from:

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## *Preface*

Richard W. Mansbach and Kirsten L. Rafferty

In recent years, we have all witnessed a variety of remarkable events. Consider what the following headlines have in common and what they tell us about our changing world:

- September 12, 2001, "*U.S. Attacked; Hijacked Jets Destroy Twin Towers and Hit Pentagon in Day of Terror*" and
- April 11, 2003, "*U.S. Pilots Hitting Iraqi Positions Near Syria Border.*"

These two events demonstrate that distance no longer limits how or with whom wars are fought, that sovereign frontiers may no longer pose barriers to an attack, and that conflict does not occur just between states.

- February 24, 2005, "*Drug Companies Cut Costs With Foreign Clinical Trials*"
- March 23, 2005 "*In India's Outsourcing Boom, GE Played a Starring Role*"

Giant transnational corporations like Microsoft, Royal Dutch/Shell Group, Toshiba, and their subsidiaries invest vast amounts around the globe and shift operations to countries with low labor and other costs of production, relations around the globe, limiting the amount of control states exercise over activities like trade and providing corporations with the resources to compete with states for power and influence in global politics.

- January 23, 1998, "*Asia Market Turmoil Continues to Worsen; Stocks, Currencies Fall; Panic Selling Hits Rupiah [Indonesian Currency]*"
- April 20, 2002, "*Argentina Orders Banks to Close: Government Fears Economic Collapse as Cash Outflow Rises*"

The combined power of global financial networks and new technologies allow investors to withdraw funds instantaneously from any market in the world and convert currency on a large scale. These developments make states increasingly vulnerable to economic collapse and increasingly ineffectual in preventing it.

- May 3, 2005, "*Polio Virus Crosses Ocean, Spreads to Populous Indonesia*"
- June 7, 2005, "*An Avian Flu Pandemic Could Kill Millions*"

Global diseases, like AIDS, SARS, avian flu, and polio, may spread quickly to distant parts of the world, aided by cheap and convenient methods of travel. These diseases pose significant security, political, economic, and social challenges, particularly for the lesser developed countries that lack resources to provide additional health care and social services, such as vaccinations and medications or care for orphans.

Each story reflects a major event or trend in world affairs, but how do they "fit" into the larger scheme of global politics? How are they related to one another, and what do they tell us about the world since the Cold War ended? What's new about these events? What's old? What are their implications, and why should we care about them? These are the questions we address in this book because we believe the key theme in contemporary global politics is:

- The importance of recognizing *both* continuity and change and, consequently, the value of history to understanding the present and the future.



The most important changes in the field are:

- The declining role of territory as new technologies, international economic markets, and cultural identities take prominence.
- The declining capacity of states to protect or meet the needs of citizens.

*From Yesterday to Tomorrow: A Journey into Global Politics* introduces students to key changes in current global politics in order to help them make sense of major trends that are shaping our world. Some current transformations portend new dangers, even as others promise a brighter, more peaceful, and more prosperous future. *And all these changes, both dangerous and promising, are related to one another*, thereby producing a world that in some respects could only have been imagined by science fiction writers—one in which territory and borders no longer matter, and corporations compete with states to achieve their objectives.

As noted, however, a study of global politics is a study of continuity as well as change. Thus, many events that initially appear new or unexpected actually have roots deep in history, such as the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington in 2001. Even the economic collapse of Asian economies in the late 1990s cannot be properly understood without consideration of the economic experiences and the long-term economic policies of the countries involved.

Second, the study of contemporary global politics reveals the diminished importance of controlling territory. Countries can fight wars thousands of miles away from their own territory, but they cannot necessarily defend their own territory against contemporary military threats, like missile strikes. Territory remains important, of course, but every day, new events challenge the historical preoccupation with extending and defending every square inch.

Third, studying global politics today reveals how porous the borders of nation-states have become and how easily persons, ideas, and things can be moved across them. Firms can trade goods and services with the click of a computer mouse, without ever leaving home. Currencies, like the U.S. dollar or European euro, are no longer valuable only within one country's political boundaries, but are used all over the world. People are more mobile than ever before. As a consequence, states have less and less control over much of what goes on within their borders, and institutions and groups other than sovereign states are becoming more influential in the conduct of global politics. In sum, we are living in a period that challenges our preconception of states as the dominant actors in global politics.

## **Approach**

*From Yesterday to Tomorrow: A Journey into Global Politics* grows out of the following assumptions.

### **A historical approach best allows students to understand continuity as well as change.**

The best way to recognize patterns of change and continuity is by looking back—in other words, by looking at history. Often, policymakers in the field of global politics are unfamiliar with earlier ideas and events—to the detriment of the policies they make. They may see contemporary global politics as completely new, and different from, the international politics practiced by states in the past. Practitioners and students also have

an unfortunate propensity to react to events like the brutal destruction of New York's World Trade Towers without recognizing the event's historical roots and its relations to more general and long-term processes like Western-Islamic relations.

In addition to helping us see the roots of events in today's world, acquaintance with past events *introduces us to consequences of change in the past*. We are currently in the midst of great change, but so were people in 1648, 1789, 1918, 1945, and 1990. The Peace of Westphalia in 1648, for example, marked the onset of an era of territorial states. The French Revolution in 1789 ushered in modern nationalism and the marriage of nation and state. In 1918, with the end of World War I, America emerged as a superpower; communism triumphed in Russia; and colonial empires eroded at an accelerating pace. In 1945, the end of World War II coincided with the use of weapons of mass destruction and the first indications of a coming confrontation with the Soviet Union. Finally, the world that emerged in 1990, with the end of the Cold War, signaled the disappearance of the Soviet Union and communism and revealed the new significance of many issues that we shall treat in subsequent chapters, such as ethnic and nationalist conflict, the strengthening of non-state actors including global terrorist networks, and international human-rights law.

**An emphasis on change in global politics helps students recognize that genuinely new developments require citizens to change their beliefs and that new problems may appear even as old ones disappear.**

This text views change as constant and, on that assumption, aims to sharpen and revise the ways students look at the world and the policies that global actors pursue. The earliest political thinkers, such as the Greek historian Thucydides (c. 460 B.C.–400 B.C.) and the Italian political philosopher Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), tell us much about the politics of the eras in which they lived, and some of their ideas remain germane today. For example, Thucydides' depiction of how Athenian democracy eroded in the course of war finds echoes in today's concern that we should be careful lest we surrender our democratic freedoms in our effort to combat global terrorism. And, Machiavelli's self-interested prince seems uncomfortably similar to many of today's leaders, especially in authoritarian countries. Some of their other ideas, however, are less and less relevant to the issues we confront at present. For instance, many recent global institutions like the World Trade Organization (WTO) would disappear if each state acted according to Machiavelli's advice that leaders should only keep their word when it is in their interest to do so.

Because the world around us continually changes, students must always be prepared to understand and deal with new issues and new actors and to set aside old ways of viewing the world. When we fail to do this and assume that the present and future will be just like the past, policy failures will likely result. Much of what politicians believe they understand about global politics is based upon how states, especially the United States and Soviet Union, acted during the Cold War. In many instances, these understandings drive them to expect that the great powers are and will continue to be the dominant actors in global politics. They articulate policies like deterrence or preemption that great powers have historically used in pursuit of their national interests. Indeed, this single-minded focus on states as the only actors appears to have been a key reason why President George W. Bush and his national security adviser, Condoleezza Rice, later to

become Secretary of State, were taken by surprise by the September 11th terrorist attacks. By overlooking new actors or issues, such as *al Qaeda* and the threat of global terrorism, politicians are likely to adopt poor policies that are ineffective or even destabilizing.

*From Yesterday to Tomorrow: A Journey into Global Politics* is designed to force students to think ahead in new, open-minded ways, even as they come to understand the historical roots of the present.

**An organization that weaves theoretical and substantive issues together helps students understand abstract ideas by showing them how these ideas work in real life.**

Many introductory texts separate abstract theory from substantive global politics. By contrast, we link the two as closely as possible. Each topical chapter—whether dealing with war, human rights, or globalization—includes historical background, theoretical lenses through which to view the history, and commentary about how this history links with today's events. In this way, each chapter combines the historical material with the contemporary and the abstract with the concrete.

**An in-depth historical section consisting of several narrative chapters illustrates how specific issues evolve and how existing policies and ideas about them must be constantly revisited.**

Since one must understand both history and change in order to understand the abstract issues of global politics, Part I of the text contains a series of historical chapters arranged chronologically that describe the evolution of global politics from Europe's Middle Ages and from the founding of Islam to the present day. These chapters permit readers to see how history and change play out in real life. The historical narratives are comprehensive—telling their stories from beginning to end, while examining how they continue to affect global politics years, even centuries, later. Taken together, they tell the story of how the contemporary global system evolved. The first chapter focuses on the birth of the modern state and an alternative, non-state system that emerged in the Islamic world. This chapter compares the evolution of these two systems and examines historical clashes between the West and Islam that erupted as each attempted to strengthen and expand. The consequences of these collisions loom large today. The second narrative chapter examines World War I or the Great War, arguably the most important event in the twentieth century, starting by looking at the sources of the war and moving on to its consequences. The case begins in the mid-nineteenth century and extends into the twentieth century, planting the seeds for the Second World War and the Cold War. The third narrative chapter tells the stories of World War II and the Cold War, including their causes and consequences. It examines the political, military, and economic origins of World War II and then considers the evolution of the epic collision between East and West that followed and that set the stage for the current era. The final narrative chapter focuses on four great issues in contemporary global politics: the challenge from China, the conflict between Israel and Palestine, the War on Terrorism, and the Iraq imbroglio. Each issue is placed in its historic context to highlight continuity and change within the issue as well as across global politics.

## Organization of the Text

The text opens with a short introductory chapter that presents the theme of change and continuity and the importance of history in global politics. It also introduces students to the use of levels of analysis, an important conceptual tool that reappears throughout the text as an aid to understanding and explaining change and continuity. The second chapter covers the basic theoretical materials students will need as they begin their study. It explains the role of theory in understanding global politics, examines several types of theory, and assesses the role of theory and method so that students become aware of what theory is and why it is necessary for understanding global politics. In doing so, the chapter describes a range of assumptions and approaches to understanding global politics.

The body of the text consists of five parts, each reflecting a distinctive group of issues and ideas in contemporary global politics. Part 1, *The Past as Prologue to the Present*, includes the historical narratives described above. This section provides students with the historical knowledge necessary to appreciate and apply the theories and ideas that appear later in the text. Part II, *Living Dangerously in a Dangerous World*, includes chapters on the role of power in global politics and war, warfare, and violence. Part 3, *Beyond the Nation-State*, considers how the fates of people all over the world are increasingly linked in complex ways related to technology, new forms of political organization, the decline of traditional boundaries and borders, the declining role of geography and territory, and the distribution and re-distribution of authority in international and nongovernmental organizations. The section considers the galaxy of emerging actors in international politics—for example, transnational corporations and private humanitarian and advocacy groups. Part 4, *Peoples and Cultures in Global Politics*, focuses on peoples rather than states alone and on how questions of identity shape behavior. The chapters in this section treat issues of religion, ethnicity, nationality, civilizations, and changing rules and norms of behavior. Part 5, *The Interdependent Side of Global Politics*, examines the development and consequences of the global economic order, with a focus on trade, money, and economic development, and of the dramatic implications of globalization more generally.

The final chapter in the text reviews thirteen critical trends identified in the book and then looks ahead and examines three plausible future scenarios—a globalized world, a world of liberal institutions, and a world in chaos. As the text suggests, elements of each scenario can already be “dimly seen.”

## Pedagogical Features

*From Yesterday to Tomorrow: A Journey into Global Politics* offers the following features to facilitate the instructor’s task, and to engage students and help them understand key ideas and events in the world.

- **Student activities.** Each chapter concludes with a list of activities that you can undertake individually or in groups, inside or outside the classroom. These include suggested discussion and essay questions dealing with main themes and events in the chapter, as well as map exercises that encourage you to apply key concepts and theories to reality, to make connections among events, and to analyze the sources and consequences of events.
- **Maps, photographs, and visual materials.** The text uses a rich mix of visual materials, including maps, photographs, graphs, and reproductions of paintings



and political cartoons. Such resources bring history and concepts to life, making it easier to understand and apply concepts and trends in global politics.

- **Cultural Materials.** Each chapter ends with a list of films and/or novels, as well as other materials in the humanities, including poetry, that are relevant to the chapter content. For example, the film *Dr. Strangelove* is introduced in order to show how nuclear deterrence was satirized during the Cold War and it discusses how the song *Marching Through Georgia* commemorates General Sherman's march through that state during the U.S. Civil War. Each list also includes a thought question or activity for students, based on one of the listed works. Instructors may also use these resources for specialized short courses in topics like war and film or literature and global politics.
- **Definitions of key terms and names.** The text will provide definitions of key terms and names in the margin of pages where they first appear. This format reinforces your knowledge and understanding of key elements of the field.
- **Boxed Features.** The text incorporates four types of boxed features, as described below.
  - **"Did you know?"** boxes offer snapshots of information to enliven events, cases, individuals, and issues discussed in the text. Their purpose is to deepen understanding of relevant points. For instance, a box on U.S. foreign aid compares how much assistance the U.S. *actually* gives to how much the American people *think* it gives.
  - **"Theory in the Real World"** boxes are intended to illustrate the ways that theoretical approaches underlie and bring about the real policy choices leaders make. For example, one box illustrates how both liberal and realist arguments can be seen in President Bush's justification for war in Iraq in 2003.
  - **"Controversies"** boxes describe events, ideas and norms that have generated disagreement among political leaders, scholars, or publics. These boxes portray the debates on global warming and preemptive war, for example. They alert you to the absence of consensus about the meaning of events, ideas, and ethics in global politics.
  - **"Key Documents"** boxes present excerpts from documents central to the material in the text. Having access to these documents will enable you to immerse yourselves in the events being described or expand their understanding of brief citations or allusions in the text. Such documents include historical speeches, agreements, and statements, such as the Treaties of Westphalia and Versailles, Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, the Monroe Doctrine, the United Nations Charter, and the Kyoto Protocol.
- **For Further Reading.** Each chapter concludes with a list of key scholarly books and articles that will provide additional treatment of the theories and histories covered therein. Students will find this list particularly helpful for developing and researching papers and other assignments.
- **Web site addresses.** These references, situated in the margin near related concepts and issues, will direct you to reputable web sites where they can find the most up-to-date information on various topics.

## Supplements

- **Instructors' guide and test bank.** This supplement contains brief summaries of each chapter and tips about key themes instructors may wish to pursue. It will also provide multiple choice questions and answers, as well as essay topics, chapter by chapter.
- **Interactive web site.** This site offers faculty and students numerous supplements to the textbook. For instance, students may access audio introductions to the chapters by the authors. Moreover, the website will allow faculty and students to correspond with the authors via e-mail and will be updated regularly to reflect questions or suggestions from faculty and students. Also available on the web site will be suggested activities, sample questions and topics for self-testing, and interactive maps that reflect the key theme of change and continuity by illustrating changes in, for example, distribution of population and energy resources.
- **Longman Atlas of World Peace**
- ***Writing in Political Science, Third Edition*, by Diane E. Schmidt**

We hope that this text excites your students and tempts them to learn more about global politics.

Richard W. Mansbach

Kirsten L. Rafferty

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Richard W. Mansbach and Kirsten L. Rafferty

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