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World Politics

Trend and Transformation

Shannon L. Blanton • Charles W. Kegley

Seventeenth Edition

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Seventeenth Edition

World Politics

Trend and Transformation

Shannon Lindsey Blanton
University of Alabama at Birmingham

Charles William Kegley
Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs

CENGAGE

Australia • Brazil • Mexico • Singapore • United Kingdom • United States

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Letter to Instructors

Dear International Relations Instructor:

Understanding world politics requires up-to-date information and analysis. In a constantly changing world, it is imperative for our students to develop the intellectual skills to be better global citizens and to analyze effectively key events and issues in international affairs. By presenting the leading ideas and the latest information available, *World Politics: Trend and Transformation* provides the tools necessary for understanding world affairs, for anticipating probable developments, and for thinking critically about the potential long-term impact of those developments on institutions, countries, and individuals across the globe.

World Politics aims to put both change and continuity into perspective. **It provides a picture of the evolving relations among all transnational actors, the historical developments that affect those actors' relationships, and the salient contemporary global trends that those interactions produce**. The key theories for understanding international relations—realism, liberalism, constructivism, as well as feminist and Marxist interpretations—frame the investigation. At the same time, this book presents all the complexities of world politics, as well as the necessary analytic tools to make sense of a wide range of substantive issues, from war to global finance to human rights. To foster critical thinking skills, the text provides evidence-based assessments and intentionally presents contending views—throughout the chapters, but especially in our **A Closer Look** and **Controversy** features—so that students have a chance to critically evaluate opposed positions and construct their own judgments about key issues. Moreover, our **enhanced video resource program**, provided in partnership with the Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs (CCEIA), further highlights current international trends and transformations by applying *World Politics'* **key terms** and concepts in real-world applications.

New to this Edition

To keep you abreast of the latest developments, *World Politics: Trend and Transformation* continues to change in response to unfolding events around our world. Since publication of the 2016–2017 edition, numerous changes have taken place in international relations. To provide students with the most current information, we have revised the entire text of this seventeenth edition to incorporate the latest global events and scholarly research. Major changes include:

- Each chapter highlights Learning Objectives that serve as a guide to key concepts—at the start of the chapter, at the beginning of each corresponding section, and at the end of the chapter.
- A brand new Summary tied to the learning objectives is included at the end of each chapter to help students collect their thoughts about key concepts and issues, trend and transformation.

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- Vibrant and engaging illustrations—thirty-seven new and updated maps, fifty-four new and updated figures, and a host of photos of real-world events—to provoke student interest and enable them to visualize central global developments through the most recently available data. Brand new to this edition are critical thinking questions following each map throughout the text.
- New and revised **A Closer Look** and **Controversy** features highlight real-world events and feature essential debates.
- New key terms—such as **counterterrorism**, **biodiversity hotspots**, and **transnational advocacy networks**, with definitions that appear in the text and the glossary—help students understand key concepts in the study of world politics.
- Expanded discussions of theories for understanding world politics, including enhanced discussions of a constructivist emphasis on affective sources of behavior, feminist perspectives of international relations, and hegemonic stability theory.
- Updated discussions of conflict and cooperation around the world, including the prospect of a resurgent Russia and an increasingly powerful China, terrorist groups such as the Islamic State, and international bodies such as the United Nations, International Court of Justice, and the International Criminal Court.
- Discussion of global trends, such as the challenge of fragile states, the consequences of youth bulges and aging populations, international crime and human trafficking, increased migration and the quest for human security, advances in global communications, and technological innovation.
- Discussion of the latest advances in military technology, including developments in artificial intelligence and autonomous weapons systems, growing prevalence of drones and the threat of information warfare, as well as a look at the changing nuclear environment in Iran and North Korea, the diffusion of civil war, and the role of peacekeeping in containing conflict.
- Updated discussions of the global political economy, including new coverage of cryptocurrencies, dilemmas in the wake of the 2008 global financial crisis, implications of the globalization of labor and increase in protectionist tendencies, the vision for the BRICS New Development Bank and the Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank, illicit financial flows, and the prospect of trade wars.
- Enhanced discussion of countering the spread of global diseases such as Ebola, the challenge of protecting human rights, implications of the global trend toward urbanization and megacities, the threat of identity politics and disinformation campaigns, climate change and environmental degradation, and the record number of forcibly displaced persons.
- New suggested resources for further investigation of world politics at the close of each chapter.

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We thank you for using this book to help introduce your students to world politics. Our hope is that it helps students to critically analyze and understand global affairs—and to better assess the possibilities for the global future and its potential impact on their own lives.

Sincerely,
Shannon L. Blanton & Charles W. Kegley

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Letter to Students

Dear Student:

In a constantly changing world, it is important to be able to analyze effectively key events and issues in international affairs, and to assess critically different viewpoints concerning these issues. By providing you with the leading ideas and the latest information available, *World Politics: Trend and Transformation* offers the tools necessary for understanding world affairs, for anticipating probable developments, and for thinking critically about the potential long-term impact of those developments on institutions, countries, and individuals across the globe. In essence, *World Politics* strives to help you become an informed global citizen and establish a foundation for life-long learning about international affairs.

World Politics aims to put both change and continuity into perspective. It provides a picture of the evolving relations among all transnational actors, the historical developments that affect those actors' relationships, and the salient contemporary global trends that those interactions produce. You will learn about key theories and worldviews for understanding international relations, and examine some of the most prominent issues in global politics, including war, terrorism, world trade, global finance, demographic trends, environmental degradation, and human rights. To facilitate your understanding, *World Politics* incorporates a number of features to clarify complex ideas and arguments:

- An **Atlas** with detailed political maps of each continent opens the book.
- **Learning Objectives** open each chapter, serving as a road map to the book's key concepts and helping you assess your understanding.
- **Controversy** features examine rival viewpoints on major international relations issues and encourage you to think critically and develop your own opinions.
- **A Closer Look** features address contemporary issues, pose critical thinking questions, and feature relevant videos through the Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs (CCEIA).
- Each chapter includes **key terms**, their definitions, and pertinent videos through the Carnegie Council.
- Each chapter ends with a **Summary** of the learning objectives and a list of **Suggested Readings**, **Videos**, and **Web Resources** to help you prepare for your papers and essays.

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We trust that you will find *World Politics: Trend and Transformation* to be an invaluable resource as you seek to learn more about global affairs. Whether the study of world politics is one among many interests that you are exploring as you earn your degree or a keen passion that may lead you to play an active role in shaping our world, this book is designed to provide you a comprehensive coverage of the trends and transformations that characterize international relations. It is our hope that as you conclude reading *World Politics* you will be as fascinated as we are with the complex dynamics of global interactions, and feel compelled to continue to observe, critically analyze, and address the challenges and opportunities that we share as members of a global community.

Sincerely,
Shannon L. Blanton & Charles W. Kegley

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CHARLES WILLIAM KEGLEY is a past president of the International Studies Association and has been serving the past two decades on the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs. Dr. Kegley holds the title of Pearce Distinguished Professor of International Relations Emeritus at the University of South Carolina. A graduate of American University (BA) and Syracuse University (PhD) and a Pew Faculty Fellow at Harvard University, Kegley previously served on the faculty at Georgetown University, and has held visiting professorships at the University of Texas, Rutgers University, the People's University of China,

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Professors Blanton and Kegley have individually published extensively in leading scholarly journals, including *Alternatives, American Journal of Political Science, Armed Forces and Society, Asian Forum, The Brown Journal of International Affairs, Business and Society, Comparative Political Studies, Conflict Management and Peace Science, Conflict Quarterly, Cooperation and Conflict, Ethics and International Affairs, Feminist Economics, Politics and Gender, The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs, Foreign Policy Analysis, Futures Research Quarterly, Harvard International Review, International Interactions, International Organization, International Politics, International Studies Quarterly, Jerusalem Journal of International Relations, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Journal of Peace Research, Journal of Politics, Journal of Political and Military Sociology, Journal of Third World Studies, Korean Journal of International Studies, Leadership, Orbis, Political Research Quarterly, Social Science Journal, Sociological Forum*, and *Western Political Quarterly*.

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Dedication

To my husband Rob and our sons Austin and Cullen,
in deep appreciation of their love and support
—*Shannon Lindsey Blanton*

To my loving wife Debbie
And to the Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs,
in appreciation for its invaluable contribution to building through
education a more just and secure world
—*Charles William Kegley*

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ABBREVIATIONS

AUS.	AUSTRIA
BEL.	BELGIUM
B. H.	BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
CR.	CROATIA
CZ.	CZECHIA
DEN.	DENMARK
EQ. GUINEA	EQUATORIAL GUINEA
HUNG.	HUNGARY
K.	KOSOVO
LUX.	LUXEMBOURG
NMAC.	NORTH MACEDONIA
MO.	MONTENEGRO
NETH.	NETHERLANDS
SE.	SERBIA
SLK.	SLOVAKIA
SLN.	SLOVENIA
SWITZ.	SWITZERLAND

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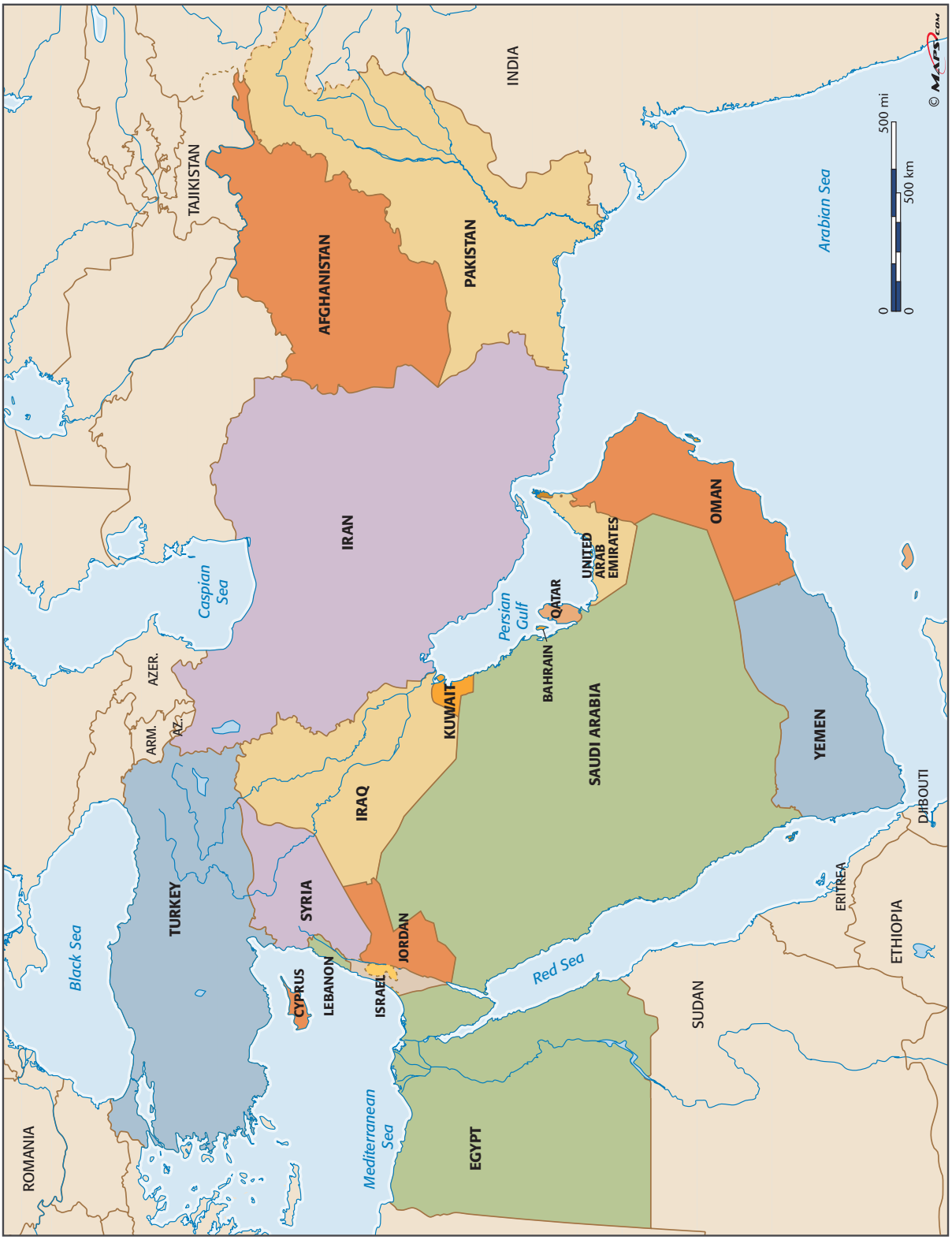
THE MIDDLE EAST



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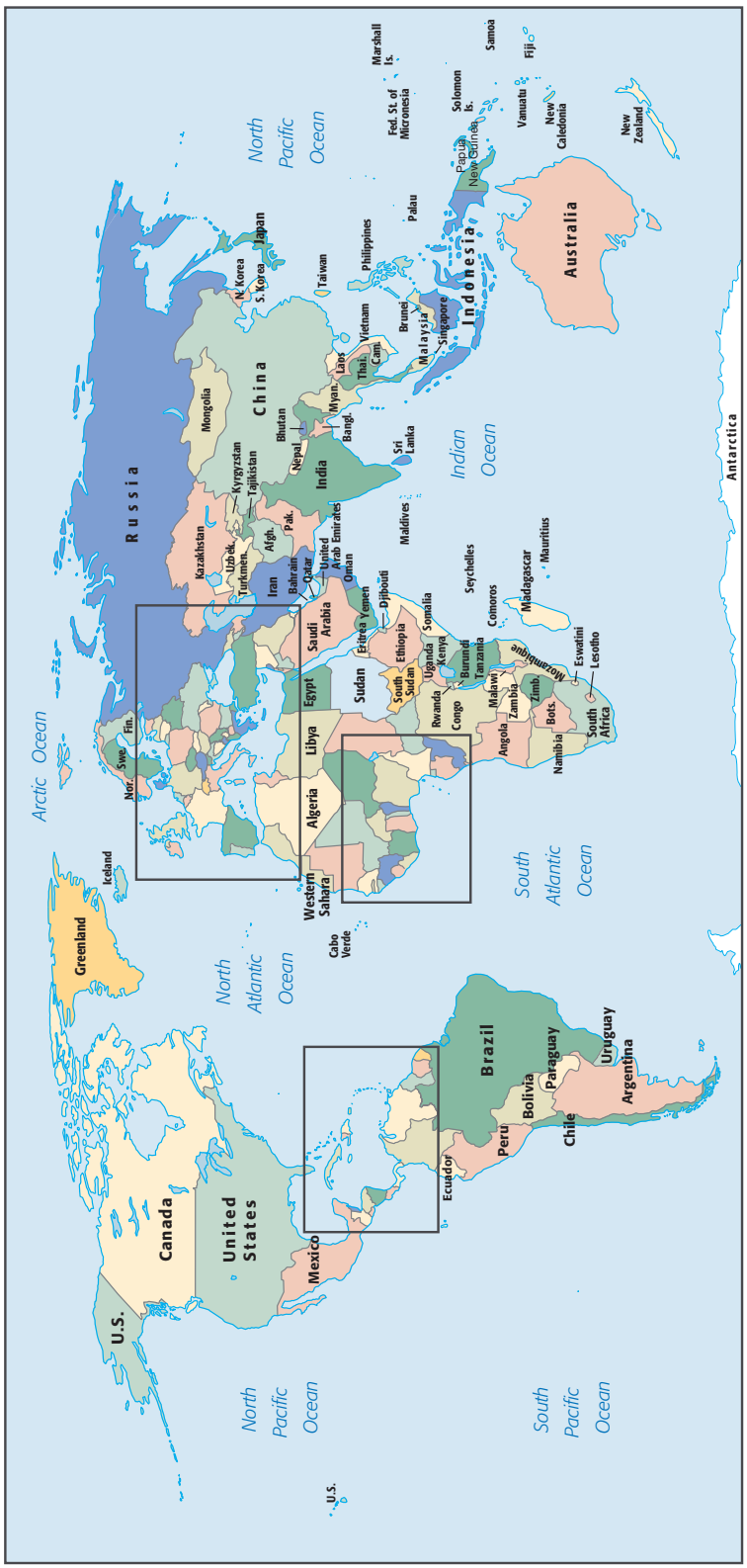
WORLD



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Part 1

Trend and Transformation in World Politics

NASA Images

These are turbulent times, inspiring both anxiety and hope. What lies ahead for the world? What are we to think about the global future? Part 1 of this book introduces you to the study of world politics in a period of rapid change. It opens a window on the many unfolding trends, some of them moving in contrary directions. Chapter 1 looks at our perceptions of global events and realities, explains how they can lead to distorted understandings, and suggests ways to move beyond the limited scope of those views. Chapter 2 continues with an overview of the realist, liberal, and constructivist theoretical traditions that scholars and policy makers use most often to interpret world politics, and also considers the feminist and Marxist critiques of these mainstream traditions. Chapter 3 further strengthens your understanding of world politics by introducing three ways of looking at international decision-making processes by transnational actors.

A World Without Borders

Reflecting on his space shuttle experience, astronaut Sultan bin Salman Al-Saud remarked that "the first day or so we all pointed to our countries. The third or fourth day we were pointing to our continents. By the fifth day, we were aware of only one Earth." As viewed from outer space, planet Earth looks as if it has continents without borders. As viewed from newspaper headlines, however, world politics looks much different.

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Chapter 1

Discovering World Politics

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IMAGE 1.1 What Future for Humankind? Many global trends are sweeping across a transforming planet. Environmental issues often transcend state boundaries and call for a global response. Shown here, thousands of youth demonstrate in Parliament Square in central London in 2019 to object to the government's lack of action regarding climate change. How might you influence the future of world politics?

Learning Objectives

LO 1-1 Describe the core difficulty of investigating human phenomena such as international relations.

LO 1-2 Explain different ways in which we perceive reality, and how these perceptions can influence international politics.

LO 1-3 Identify foundational concepts and units of analysis used to assess world politics.

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"The glorious thing about the human race is that it does change the world—constantly. It is the human being's capacity for struggling against being overwhelmed which is remarkable and exhilarating."

—LORRAINE HANSBERRY, AMERICAN AUTHOR

Imagine yourself returning home from a two-week vacation on a tropical island where you were completely "off the grid," with no access to the news. The trip gave you a well-deserved break before starting a new school term, but now you are curious about what has happened while you were away. Checking your newsfeed, the headlines catch your eye. The civil war in Syria, which has displaced almost a fourth of the entire country and created a massive refugee crisis, seems to be grinding to a halt, though a report reveals the government committed human rights atrocities in putting down its opposition. You read that elsewhere in the Middle East, an intense famine will have lasting effects in Yemen, as emphasized by a United Nations report that half of the children under the age of five will have stunted growth due to the lack of food. The deadly Ebola virus is resurfacing in the Congo, with over one thousand deaths thus far. A series of church bombings took place in Sri Lanka. These attacks, which killed almost 300 people, were apparently the responsibility of ISIS, which is still a threat despite losing its home territory.

Listening to NPR reports on your drive home, you hear coverage of several economic crises around the world. The situation in Venezuela is particularly dire; the rate of inflation over the past year was an astounding 10 million percent, which has rendered their currency essentially worthless and left many people at the brink of starvation. Despite this, it appears that their president will survive the latest round of protests against his rule. Puerto Rico, which was already facing a massive debt crisis, continues to struggle to rebuild from a hurricane that devastated the island in 2017. Across the Atlantic, the United Kingdom continues to wrestle with how to implement the "Brexit" plan that will formally separate it from the rest of the European Union. In addition to the economic uncertainties and disruptions that could result from this move, the report indicates that Brexit could potentially reignite tensions between the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland. You wonder if this will interfere with your plans to spend a month in Europe after your graduation next year. You hear about the ongoing "trade war" between the United States and China. As these conflicts will result in higher prices on a wide variety of products, you worry about how much the conflict will affect the cost of the new laptop you need to purchase for the upcoming semester. On a global scale, a recent forecast by the International Monetary Fund points out that this trade conflict, as well as trade problems between the United States and the European Union, could contribute to a further slowing of the world economy as a whole. You hope that conditions improve before you graduate and enter the job market.

Shortly after arriving home, you get a news alert that social media companies are coming under fire in the United States as well as Europe, as these platforms are connected with politically-related misinformation campaigns that influenced several elections around the world. You also hear that relations between the United States and Cuba are deteriorating, with the U.S. government seeking to strengthen existing sanctions on the neighboring country and further limit travel. You wonder if this will affect the study abroad that your roommate plans to take during the upcoming semester.

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After such a depressing series of news items, you decide to seek out some more positive stories, and find a couple of interesting podcasts to listen to while you unpack. You learn about the Event Horizon Telescope Project, whose work has resulted in the first actual pictures of a black hole, something that scientists have long known existed but never actually seen before. You are encouraged by how hundreds of scientists from twenty countries were able to cooperate in this massive project. The energy and enthusiasm of Katie Bouman, the 29-year-old computer scientist who played a lead role in the project, is particularly impressive to you. Next you hear about the various school strikes for climate that are taking place throughout the world, in which elementary through high school students are demonstrating to demand action in response to climate change. You listen to an interesting interview with one of the leaders of the group, Greta Thunberg, a 16-year-old student who has been successful in pushing for climate-friendly policies in her home country of Sweden, and recently addressed the United Nations on the topic. With all of the conflict and hardship in the world, you find it encouraging that people can work together to advance human knowledge and to confront global challenges.

The scenario just described is not hypothetical. The events identified record what actually occurred during the month of May 2019. Undoubtedly, many individuals experienced fear and confusion during this period. However, it is, uncomfortably, not so different from other eras. Putting this information about unfolding events together, you cannot help but be reminded that international affairs matter and events around the world powerfully affect your circumstances and future. The "news" you received is not truly new, because it echoes many old stories from the past about the growing sea of turmoil sweeping the contemporary world. Nevertheless, the temptation to wish that this depressing, chaotic world would just go away is overwhelming. If only the unstable world would be still long enough for a sense of predictability and order to prevail . . . . Alas, that does not appear likely. You cannot escape the world or control its turbulence, and you cannot single-handedly alter its character.

We are all a part of this world. If we are to live adaptively amid the fierce winds of global change, then we must face the challenge of discovering the dynamic properties of **world politics**. Because world events increasingly influence every person, all can benefit from investigating how the global system works, how the decisions and behavior of individuals, states, and transnational actors influence the global condition, and how changes in world politics are remaking our political and economic lives. Only by doing so, can we address what former U.S. President Bill Clinton defined as "the question of our time—whether we can make change our friend and not our enemy."

world politics
The study of how global actors' activities entail the exercise of influence to achieve and defend their goals and ideals, and how it affects the world at large.

> *The whole purpose of education is to turn mirrors into windows.*
>
> —SYDNEY J. HARRIS, AMERICAN POLITICAL JOURNALIST

The Challenge of Investigating International Relations

LO 1-1 Describe the core difficulty of investigating human phenomena such as international relations.

To understand the political convulsions that confront the world's almost 8 billion people, it is critical that we perceive our times accurately. Yet interpreting the world in which we now live

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and anticipating what lies ahead for the globe's future—and yours—presents formidable challenges. Indeed, it could be the most difficult task you will ever face. Why? In part, it is because the study of international relations requires taking into account every factor that influences human behavior. This is a task that seminal scientist Albert Einstein believed is extremely challenging. He once hinted at how big the challenge of explaining world politics was when he was asked, "Why is it that when the mind of man has stretched so far as to discover the structure of the atom we have been unable to devise the political means to keep the atom from destroying us?" He replied, "This is simple, my friend; it is because politics is more difficult than physics."

Another part of the challenge stems from our constant bombardment with a bewildering amount of new information and new developments, and the tendency of people to resist new information and ideas that undermine their habitual ways of thinking about world affairs. We know from repeated studies that people do not want to accept ideas that do not conform to their prior beliefs. A purpose of this book is to help you question your preexisting beliefs about global affairs and about the world stage's many actors. To that end, we ask you to evaluate rival perspectives on global issues, even if they differ from your current images. Indeed, we expose you to prevailing schools of thought that you may find unconvincing, and possibly offensive.

Why are they included? Many other people make these views the bedrock of their interpretations of the world around them, and these viewpoints accordingly enjoy a popular following. For this reason, the text describes some visions of world politics with which even your authors may not agree so that you may weigh the wisdom or foolishness of contending perspectives. The interpretive challenge is to observe unfolding global realities objectively in order to describe and explain them accurately.

To appreciate how our images of reality shape our expectations, we begin with a brief introduction to the role that subjective images play in understanding world politics. We then present a set of analytic tools that this book uses to help you overcome perceptual obstacles to understanding world politics and to empower you to more capably interpret the forces of change and continuity that affect our world.

How Do Perceptions Influence Images of Global Reality?

LO 1-2 Explain different ways in which we perceive reality, and how these perceptions can influence international politics.

Although you may not have attempted to define explicitly your perceptions about the world in your subconscious, we all hold mental images of world politics. Whatever our level of self-awareness, these images perform the same function: they simplify "reality" by exaggerating some features of the real world while ignoring others. Thus, we live in a world defined by our images.

Many of our images of the world's political realities are shaped by illusions and misconceptions. Our images cannot fully capture the complexity and configurations of even physical objects, such as the globe itself (see "Controversy: Should We Believe What We See?"). Even images that are currently accurate can easily become outdated if we fail to recognize changes in the world. Indeed, the world's future will be determined not only by changes in the "objective" facts of world politics but also by the meaning that people ascribe to those facts, the assumptions

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Controversy

SHOULD WE BELIEVE WHAT WE SEE?

Without questioning whether the ways they have organized their perceptions are accurate, many people simply assume seeing is believing. But is there more to seeing than meets the eye? Students of perceptual psychology think so. They maintain that seeing is not a strictly passive act: what we observe is influenced by our preexisting values and expectations (and by the visual habits reinforced by the constructions society has inculcated in us about how to view objects). Students of perception argue that what you see is what you get, and that two observers looking at the same object might easily see different realities.

This principle has great importance for the investigation of international relations, where, depending on one's perspective, people can vary greatly on how they view international events, actors, and issues. Intense disagreements often arise from competing images.

To appreciate the controversies that can result when different people (with different perspectives) see different realities, even though they are looking at the same thing, consider something as basic as objectively viewing the location and size of the world's continents. All maps of the globe are distorted because it is impossible to represent perfectly the three-dimensional globe on a two-dimensional piece of paper. The difficulty cartographers face can be appreciated by trying to flatten an orange peel. You can only flatten it by separating pieces of the peel that were joined when it was spherical.

Cartographers who try to flatten the globe on paper, without ripping it into separate pieces, face the same problem. Although there are a variety of ways to represent three-dimensional objects on paper, all of them involve some kind of distortion. Thus, cartographers must choose among the imperfect ways of representing the globe by selecting those aspects of the world's geography they consider most important to describe accurately, while adjusting other parts.

There exists a long-standing controversy among cartographers about the "right" way to map the globe; that is, how to make an accurate projection. Consider these four maps (Maps 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, and 1.4). Cartographers' ideas of what is most important in world geography have varied according to their own global perspectives. Each depicts the distribution of the Earth's land surfaces and territory but portrays a different image. In turn, the accuracy of their rival maps matters politically because they shape how people view what is important.

What Do You Think?

1. What are some of the policy implications associated with the image of the world as depicted in each of the respective projections?
2. Why are some features of the map distorted? Consider the role that politics, history, culture, and racism, among others, might play. Can you think of any ways modern cartographers might modify any of these world projections?
3. In thinking about images and the important role they play in foreign policy, should a consensus be reached as to the map that is distorted the least? Would it be better for everyone to use one map or to use many different types of projections? Why?

(*Continued*)

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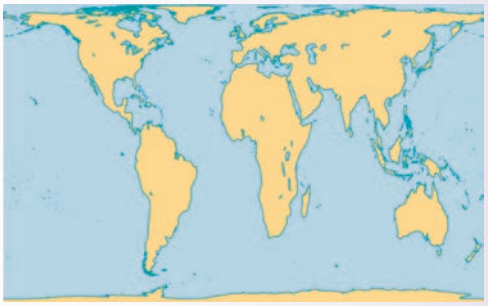
MAP 1.1 Mercator Projection Named for the Flemish cartographer Gerard Mercator, this Mercator projection was popular in sixteenth-century Europe and presents a classic Eurocentric view of the world. It mapped the Earth without distorting direction, making it useful for navigators. However, distances were deceptive, placing Europe at the center of the world and exaggerating the continent's importance relative to other landmasses.



MAP 1.2 Peter's Projection In the Peter's projection, each landmass appears in correct proportion in relation to all others, but it distorts the shape and position of the Earth's landmasses. In contrast to most geographic representations, it draws attention to the less developed countries of the Global South, where more than three-quarters of the world's population lives today.

MAP 1.3 Orthographic Projection The orthographic projection, centering on the mid-Atlantic, conveys some sense of the curvature of the Earth by using rounded edges. The sizes and shapes of continents toward the outer edges of the circle are distorted to give a sense of spherical perspective.

MAP 1.4 "Upside-Down" Projection This projection gives a different perspective on the world by depicting it upside down, with the Global South positioned above the Global North. The map challenges the modern "Eurocentric" conceptualization of the positions of the globe's countries and peoples by putting the Global South "on top."

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on which they base their interpretations, and the actions that flow from these assumptions and interpretations—however accurate or inaccurate they might be.

The Nature and Sources of Images

The effort to simplify one's view of the world is inevitable and even necessary. Just as cartographers' projections simplify complex geophysical space so that we can better understand the world, each of us inevitably creates a "mental map"—a habitual way of organizing information—to make sense of a confusing abundance of information. These mental maps are neither inherently right nor wrong, and they are important because we tend to react according to the way the world appears to us rather than to the way it is.

How we perceive the world (not what it is really like) determines our attitudes, our beliefs, and our behavior. Most of us—political leaders included—look for information that reinforces our preexisting beliefs about the world, assimilate new data into familiar images, mistakenly equate what we believe with what we know, and ignore information that contradicts our expectations. We also rely on our intuition without thinking and emotionally make snap judgments (Ariely, 2012; Walker et al., 2011).

In addition, we rely on learned habits for viewing new information and making judgments, because these "schema" guide our perceptions and help us organize information. Research in cognitive psychology shows that human beings are "categorizers" who match what they see with images in their memories of prototypical events. People attempting to understand the world also use **schematic reasoning**. The absentminded professor, the shady lawyer, and the kindly grandmother are examples of "stock" images that many of us have created about certain types of people. Although the professors, lawyers, and grandmothers that we meet may bear only a superficial resemblance to these stereotypical images, when we know little about someone, our expectations will be shaped by presumed similarities to these characters.

schematic reasoning
The process of reasoning by which new information is interpreted according to a memory structure, called a schema, which contains a network of generic scripts, metaphors, and simplified characterizations of observed objects and phenomena.

Many factors shape our images, including how we were socialized as children, traumatic events we experience that shape our personality and psychological needs, exposure to the ideas of people whose expertise we respect, and the opinions about world affairs expressed by our frequent associates such as close friends and coworkers. Once we have acquired an image, it seems self-evident. Accordingly, we try to keep that image consistent with other beliefs, and through a psychological process known as **cognitive dissonance** we reject information that contradicts that image of the world. In short, our minds select, screen, and filter information; consequently, our perceptions depend not only on what happens in daily life but also on how we interpret and internalize those events.

cognitive dissonance
The general psychological tendency to deny discrepancies between one's preexisting beliefs (cognitions) and new information.

The Impact of Perceptions on World Politics

We must be careful not to assume automatically that what applies to individuals applies to entire countries, and we should not equate the beliefs of leaders, such as heads of state, with the beliefs of the people under their authority. Still, leaders have extraordinary influence, and their images of historical circumstances often predispose them to behave in particular ways toward others, regardless of "objective" facts. For instance, the loss of 26 million Soviet lives in the "Great Patriotic War" (as the Russians refer to World War II) reinforced a longstanding fear of

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foreign invasion, which caused a generation of Soviet policy makers to perceive U.S. defensive moves with suspicion and often alarm.

Similarly, the founders of the United States viewed eighteenth-century European power politics and its repetitive wars as corrupt, contributing to two seemingly contradictory tendencies later evident in U.S. foreign policy. The first is America's impulse to isolate itself (its disposition to withdraw from world affairs), and the other is its determination to reform the world in its own image whenever global circumstances become highly threatening. The former led the country to reject membership in the League of Nations after World War I; the latter gave rise to the U.S. globalist foreign policy following World War II, which committed the country to active involvement nearly everywhere on nearly every issue. Many Americans, thinking of their country as virtuous, have difficulty understanding why others sometimes regard such far-reaching international activism as arrogant or threatening; instead, they see only good intentions in active U.S. interventionism.

Because leaders and citizens are prone to ignore or reinterpret information that runs counter to their beliefs and values, mutual misperceptions often fuel discord in world politics, especially when relations between countries are hostile. Distrust and suspicion arise as conflicting parties view each other in the same negative light—that is, as **mirror images** develop. This occurred in Moscow and Washington during the Cold War. Each side saw its own actions as constructive but its adversary's responses as hostile, and both sides erroneously assumed that their counterpart would clearly interpret the intentions of their own policy initiatives. When psychologist Urie Bronfenbrenner (1961) traveled to Moscow, for example, he was amazed to hear Russians describing the United States in terms that were strikingly similar to the way Americans described the Soviet Union: each side saw itself as virtuous and peace-loving, whereas the other was seen as untrustworthy, aggressive, and ruled by a corrupt government.

mirror images
The tendency of states and people in competitive interaction to perceive each other similarly—to see others the same hostile way others see them.

Mirror-imaging is a property of nearly all **enduring rivalries**—long-lasting contests between opposing groups. For example, in rivalries such as Christianity with Islam during the Crusades in the Middle Ages, Israel and Palestine since the birth of the sovereign state of Israel in 1948, and India and Pakistan since decolonization in 1947, both sides demonize the image of their adversary while perceiving themselves as virtuous. Self-righteousness often leads one party to view its own actions as constructive but its adversary's responses as negative and hostile.

enduring rivalries
Prolonged competition fueled by deep-seated mutual hatred that leads opposed actors to feud and fight over a long period of time without resolution of their conflict.

When this occurs, conflict resolution is extraordinarily difficult. Not only do the opposing sides have different preferences for certain outcomes over others, but they do not see the underlying issues in the same light. Further complicating matters, the mirror images held by rivals tend to be self-confirming. When one side expects the other to be hostile, it may treat its opponent in a manner that leads the opponent to take counteractions that confirm the original expectation, therein creating a vicious circle of deepening hostilities that reduce the prospects for peace (Sen, 2006). Clearing up mutual misperceptions can facilitate negotiations between the parties, but fostering peace is not simply a matter of expanding trade and other forms of transnational contact, or even of bringing political leaders together in international summits. Rather, it is a matter of changing deeply entrenched beliefs.

Although our constructed images of world politics are resistant to change, change is possible. Overcoming old thinking habits sometimes occurs when we experience punishment or discomfort as a result of clinging to false assumptions. As Benjamin Franklin once observed,

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"The things that hurt, instruct." Dramatic events in particular can alter international images, sometimes drastically. The Vietnam War caused many Americans to reject their previous images about using military force in world politics. The defeat of the Third Reich and revelations of Nazi atrocities committed before and during World War II caused the German people to confront their past as they prepared for a democratic future imposed by the victorious Allies. More recently, the human and financial costs of the prolonged U.S. wars in Iraq and Afghanistan led many policy makers and political commentators to reexamine their assumptions about the meaning of "victory" and the potential implications as U.S. engagement moved beyond initial combat to address issues of governance and stability.

Often, such jolting experiences encourage us to construct new mental maps, perceptual filters, and criteria through which we interpret later events and define situations. As we shape and reshape our images of world politics and its future, we need to think critically about the foundations on which our perceptions rest (see "A Closer Look: A Clash of Civilizations? Freedom, Security, and Values"). Are they accurate? Are they informed? Do they inhibit our ability to gain greater understanding of others? Questioning our images is one of the major challenges we all face in confronting contemporary world politics.

Key Concepts and Terms for Understanding World Politics

LO 1-3 Identify foundational concepts and units of analysis used to assess world politics.

If we exaggerate the accuracy of our perceptions and seek information that confirms what we believe, how can we escape the biases created by our preconceptions? How can we avoid overlooking or dismissing evidence that runs counter to our intuition?

There are no sure-fire solutions to ensure accurate observations, no ways to guarantee that we have constructed an impartial view of international relations. However, a number of tools can improve our ability to interpret world politics. As you undertake an intellectual journey of discovery, a set of intellectual roadmaps provides guidance for your interpretation and understanding of past, present, and future world politics. To arm you for your quest, *World Politics: Trend and Transformation* advances four keys to aid you in your inquiry.

> ***The belief that one's own view of reality is the only reality is the most dangerous of all delusions.***
>
> **—PAUL WATZLAWICK, AUSTRIAN PSYCHOLOGIST**

Introducing Terminology

A primary goal of this text is to introduce you to the vocabulary used by scholars, policy makers, and the "attentive public" who routinely observe international affairs. You need to be literate and informed about the shared meaning of common words used worldwide to discuss and debate world politics and foreign policy. Some of this language has been in use

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A Closer Look

A CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS? FREEDOM, SECURITY, AND VALUES

Islamic head coverings that obscure the face, such as the niqab and burqa, have become a contentious political issue in many societies around the world. In 2018, Denmark became the fifth European country to enact a national ban on full-facial veils in public places, and others including Muslim-majority Turkey have some limitations on where they may be worn. Widespread demand for such legislation began in France in 2011, with French President Nicolas Sarkozy declaring, "the burqa is not welcome in France. In our country, we can't accept women prisoners behind a screen, cut off from all social life, deprived of all identity. That's not our idea of freedom." The European Court of Human Rights supported arguments that such laws do not prevent the free exercise of religion in a place of worship, the face plays an important role in social interaction within secular society, and hidden identity creates a potential security risk. In 2017, it further ruled that Belgium's ban on veils does not violate the European Convention on Human Rights.

Europe is not alone in its resistance to full-face veils. The African countries of Chad, Cameroon, and Niger have also restricted head-coverings, citing terrorism concerns. However in Canada, a federal court took a different approach in February 2015 when it ruled in favor of a native Pakistani woman who challenged the Canadian prohibition against wearing clothing that obscures the face during citizenship ceremonies. Touching off a firestorm of debate within that country, the finding supported her argument that wearing a veil is an expression of her Muslim faith and cultural values.

Perceptions clearly vary on whether such coverings are repressive or liberating, and whether legislation banning the clothing is a victory for democracy or a blow for individual freedom. Some women say they choose to wear the concealing garments to protect their femininity and express their devotion to God. Some argue that such coverings enable them to move about in public anonymously, shielded from sexual pressure, and so actually allow considerable personal freedom. Others decry the practice and point to cases where women are forced to wear such garments or face violent repercussions such as disfigurement, beatings, or death. In this context, the practice induces fearful obedience, denies individual choice, and silences the voices of women. Such was evident in February 2015 when Al Khansa, an all-female policing unit of the Islamic State, poured acid on the faces of fifteen Iraqi women because they were not properly covered. As explained by Saed Mamuzini, an official from the Kurdistan Democratic Party in Mosul, "they have implemented this punishment so that other women in the city will never consider removing or not wearing the niqab" (Constante, 2015).

Watch the Carnegie Council Video:

"Who Cares What You Wear on Your Head?"

You Decide:

1. How do our perceptions shape how we view the burqa or niqab? How is clothing an expression of a society's collective awareness?
2. Does wearing the burqa inhibit or promote women's freedom and dignity?
3. Would you support a similar ban in your country? Why?

since antiquity, and some of it has only recently become part of the terminology employed in diplomatic circles, scholarly research, and the media. These words are the kind of vocabulary you are likely to encounter long after your formal collegiate education (and the course in which you are reading *World Politics*) has ended, and your future employers and educated neighbors will expect you to know. Some of these words are already likely to be part of your working

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vocabulary, but others may look new, esoteric, pedantic, and overly sophisticated. Nonetheless, you need to know their meaning to engage in effective analysis and well-informed debate with other scholars, practitioners, and attentive observers of world politics. So take advantage of this "high definition" feature of *World Politics*. Learn these words and use them for the rest of your life—not to impress others, but to understand and communicate intelligently.

To guide you in identifying these terms, as you may already have noticed, we present certain words in **boldface** in the text and provide a broad definition in the margin. When we use a key term again in a different chapter, we will highlight it at least once in *italics*, although the marginal definition will not be repeated. In all cases, the definition will appear in the Glossary at the end of the book with a notation of the chapter in which it first appeared.

Distinguishing the Primary Transnational Actors

actor
An individual, group, state, or organization that plays a major role in world politics.

power
The factors that enable one actor to change another actor's behavior against its preferences.

state sovereignty
A state's supreme authority to manage internal affairs and foreign relations.

state
An independent legal entity with a government exercising exclusive control over the territory and population it governs.

nation
A collectivity whose people see themselves as members of the same group because they share the same ethnicity, culture, or language.

ethnic groups
People whose identity is primarily defined by their sense of sharing a common ancestral nationality, language, cultural heritage, and kinship.

The world is a stage and in the drama there are many players. It is important to identify and classify the major categories of actors (sometimes called agents) who take part in international engagements. The actions of each transnational **actor**—individually, collectively, and with various degrees of influence—shape the trends that are transforming world politics. So how do scholars conventionally categorize the types of actors and structure analysis of them as players in international affairs?

The essential building-block units, of course, are individual people—almost 8 billion of us. Every day, whether each of us chooses to litter, purchase something made abroad, or parent a child, we affect some small measure of how trends in the world will unfold. People, however, also join and participate in various groups. All of these groups combine people and their choices in various collectivities and thereby aggregate the **power** of each group. Such groups often compete with one another because they frequently have divergent interests and goals.

For most periods of world history, the prime actors were groupings of religions, tribes whose members shared ethnic origins, and empires or expansionist centers of power. When they came into contact, they sometimes collaborated with each other for mutual benefit; more often, they competed for and fought over valued resources. The more than 8000 years of recorded international relations history between and among these groups provided the precedent for the formation of today's system of interactions.

As a network of relationships among independent territorial units, the modern state system was not born until the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, which ended the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) in Europe. Thereafter, rulers refused to recognize the secular authority of the Roman Catholic Church, replacing the system of papal governance in the Middle Ages with geographically and politically separate states that recognized no superior authority. The newly independent states all gave to rulers the same legal rights: territory under their sole control, unrestricted control of their domestic affairs, and the freedom to conduct foreign relations and negotiate treaties with other states. The concept of **state sovereignty**—that no other actor is above the state—still captures these legal rights and identifies the state as the primary actor today.

The Westphalian system continues to color every dimension of world politics and provides the terminology used to describe the primary units in international affairs. Although the term nation-state is often used interchangeably with state and nation, technically the three are different. A **state** is a legal entity that enjoys a permanent population, a well-defined territory, and a government capable of exercising sovereignty. A **nation** is a collection of people who, on the basis of ethnic,

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linguistic, or cultural commonality, construct their reality to primarily perceive themselves to be members of the same group, which defines their identity. Thus, the term *nation-state* implies a convergence between territorial states and the psychological identification of people within them (Stewart, Gvosdev, and Andelman, 2008).

However, in employing this familiar terminology, we should exercise caution because this condition is relatively rare; there are few independent states comprising a single nationality. Most states today encompass many nations, and some nations are not states. "Nonstate nations" are **ethnic groups**—such as Native Americans in the United States, Sikhs in India, Basques in Spain, or Kurds in Iraq, Turkey, Iran, and Syria—composed of people without sovereign power over the territory in which they live.

The history of world politics since 1648 has largely been a chronicle of interactions among states, which remain the dominant political organizations in the world. However, in recent years nonstate actors have significantly challenged the supremacy of the state. Increasingly, intergovernmental organizations and nongovernmental organizations influence global affairs (see Figure 1.1).

Intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), which transcend national boundaries and whose members are states, carry out independent foreign policies and therefore can be considered global actors in their own right. Purposively created by states to solve shared problems, IGOs include global organizations such as the United Nations (UN) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and derive their authority from the will of their membership. IGOs are characterized by permanence and institutional organization, and they vary widely in their size and purpose.

Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), whose members are private individuals and groups, are another principal type of nonstate actor. NGOs are diverse in scope and purpose

intergovernmental organizations (IGOs)
Institutions created and joined by states' governments, which give them authority to make collective decisions to manage particular problems on the global agenda.

nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)
Transnational organizations of private citizens maintaining consultative status with the UN; they include professional associations, foundations, multinational corporations, or simply internationally active groups in different states joined together to work toward common interests.

States	Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs)	Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs)
• Afghanistan	• African Union	• Amnesty International
• Bangladesh	• Association of Southeast Asian Nations	• BRAC
• Brazil	• Community of Latin American and Caribbean States	• CARE International
• Canada	• Economic Community of West African States	• Catholic Relief Services
• Ethiopia	• European Union	• Cure Violence
• France	• International Chamber of Commerce	• Danish Refugee Council
• Haiti	• International Monetary Fund	• Doctors without Borders
• Iraq	• Interpol	• Freedom House
• Japan	• Organization of American States	• Greenpeace
• Kuwait	• Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries	• Heifer International
• Mexico	• United Nations	• Human Rights Watch
• Peru	• World Bank	• Mercy Corp
• Poland	• World Health Organization	• National Endowment for Democracy
• Saudi Arabia	• World Trade Organization	• Oxfam International
• Turkey		• The Wikimedia Foundation
• United States		• World Vision International

FIGURE 1.1 Three Categories of Transnational Actors Shown here in three prominent categories of transnational actors are specific examples of states, intergovernmental organizations, and nongovernmental organizations. As you embark upon your discovery of world politics, it is useful to distinguish between various types of actors and begin to think about how they influence issues and outcomes around the world.

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levels of analysis The different aspects of and agents in international affairs that may be stressed in interpreting and explaining global phenomena, depending on whether the analyst chooses to focus on "wholes" (the complete global system and large collectivities) or on "parts" (individual states or people).

and seek to push their own agendas and exert global influence on an array of issues, such as environmental protection, disarmament, and human rights. For example, Amnesty International and Doctors Without Borders are NGOs that work to bring about change in the world and influence international decision making. Yet although many NGOs are seen in a positive light, others, such as terrorist groups and international drug cartels, are seen as ominous nonstate actors.

In thinking about world politics and its future, we will probe all of these "units" or categories of actors. The emphasis and coverage will vary, depending on the topics under examination in each chapter. But you should keep in mind that all actors (individuals, states, and nonstate organizations) are simultaneously active today, and their importance and power depend on the trend or issue under consideration. So continuously ask yourself the question, now and in the future: which actors are most active, most influential, on which issues, and under what conditions? Doing this will help you think like an international relations scholar.

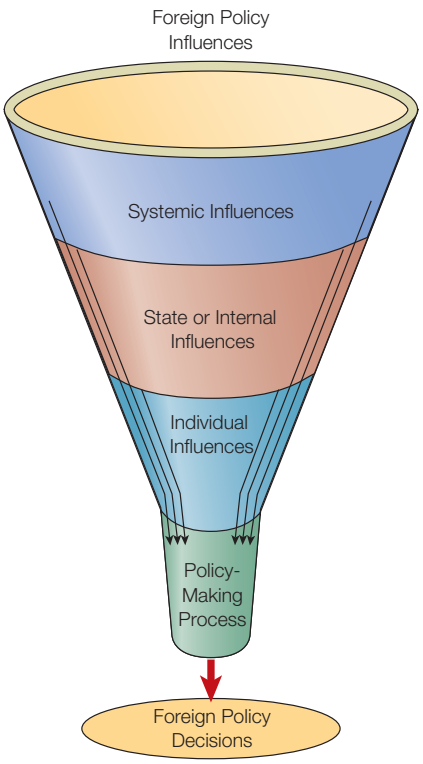

FIGURE 1.2 Three Levels of Influence: Analyzing Factors That Shape International Relations We can group the factors that affect states' foreign policies and the decisions of all other global actors into three basic categories. At the systemic level are structural features of the international system, at the state level are internal or domestic influences, and at the individual level are the characteristics of leaders. All three levels simultaneously influence decisions, but their relative weight usually depends on the issues and circumstances at the time of decision.

Distinguishing Levels of Analysis

When we describe international phenomena, we answer a "what" question—What is happening? What is changing? When we move from description to explanation, we face the more difficult task of answering a "why" question—Why did a particular event occur? Why is global warming happening? Why is the gap between rich and poor widening?

One useful key for addressing such puzzles is to visualize an event or trend as the result of some unknown process. This encourages us to think about the causes that might have produced the phenomenon we are trying to explain. Most events and developments in world politics are influenced simultaneously by many determinants, each connected to the rest in a complex web of causal linkages.

World Politics provides an analytic set of categories to help make interpretive sense of the multiple causes that explain why international events and circumstances occur. This analytic distinction conforms to a widespread scholarly consensus that international events or developments can best be analyzed and understood by first separating the multiple pieces of the puzzle into different categories or levels. Following the influential work of Kenneth Waltz (1959) that examined the causes of war according to three "images," investigators conventionally focus on one (or more) of three levels. Known as **levels of analysis**, as shown in Figure 1.2, this classification distinguishes between individual influences, state or internal influences, and structural systemic influences for understanding and explaining world politics.

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To predict which forces will dominate the future, we also must recognize that many influences are operating at the same time. No trend stands alone; all interact simultaneously. The future is influenced by many determinants, each connected to the rest in a complex web of linkages. Collectively, these may produce stability by limiting the impact of any single disruptive force. If interacting forces converge, however, their combined effects can accelerate the pace of change in world politics, moving it in directions otherwise not possible.

The **individual level of analysis** refers to the personal characteristics of human beings, including those responsible for making important decisions on behalf of state and nonstate actors, as well as ordinary citizens whose behavior has important political consequences. At this level, for example, we may properly locate the impact of individuals' perceptions on their political attitudes, beliefs, and behavior. We may also explore the questions of why each person is a crucial part of the global drama and why the study of world politics is relevant to our lives and future.

individual level of analysis
An analytical approach that emphasizes the psychological and perceptual variables motivating people, such as those who make foreign policy decisions on behalf of states and other global actors.

The **state level of analysis** consists of the authoritative decision-making units that govern states' foreign policy processes and the internal attributes of those states (e.g., type of government, level of economic development, public opinion of its citizens, and strength of military power), which both shape and constrain leaders' foreign policy choices. The processes by which states make decisions regarding war and peace and their capabilities for carrying out those decisions, for instance, fall within the state level of analysis.

state level of analysis
An analytical approach that emphasizes how the internal attributes of states influence their foreign policy behaviors.

The **systemic level of analysis** refers to the interactions of states and nonstate actors on the global stage whose behaviors ultimately shape the international political system and the levels of conflict and cooperation that characterize world politics. The capacity of rich states to dictate the choices of poor states falls properly within the systemic level of analysis. So does the capacity (or incapacity) of the UN to maintain peace.

systemic level of analysis
An analytical approach that emphasizes the impact of worldwide conditions on foreign policy behavior and human welfare.

Examples abound of the diverse ways in which global trends and issues are the product of influences at each level of analysis. Protectionist trade policies by an importing country increase the costs to consumers of clothing and cars and reduce the standard of living of citizens in the manufacturing states. Such policies are initiated by a state government (state level), but they diminish the quality of life of people living both within the protectionist country and those living abroad (individual level) and reduce the level of global trade while threatening to precipitate retaliatory trade wars (systemic level).

Of course, for some developments and issues, factors and forces emanating primarily from one or two particular levels provide more analytical leverage than do those from the other level(s). Accordingly, as we confront specific global issues in subsequent chapters, we emphasize those levels of analysis that provide the most informative lens for viewing them.

Distinguishing Change, Continuities, and Cycles

After having identified factors from different levels of analysis that may combine to produce some outcome, it is useful to place them in a chronological sequence. Anyone who owns a combination lock knows that the correct numbers must be entered in their proper order to open the lock. Similarly, to explain why something happened in world politics, we must determine how various factors at the individual, state, and global systemic levels fit together in a configuration that unfolds over time.

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One key to anticipating probable human destiny is to look beyond the confines of our immediate time. It is important to appreciate the impact of previous ideas and events on current realities. As philosopher George Santayana cautioned, "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it." Similarly, former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill advised, "The farther backward you look, the farther forward you are likely to see." Thus, to understand the dramatic changes in world politics today and to predict how they will shape the future, it is important to view them in the context of a long-term perspective that examines how transnational patterns of interaction have changed and how some of their fundamental characteristics have resisted change.

What do evolving diplomatic practices suggest about the current state of world politics? Are the episodic shock waves throughout the world clearing the way for a truly new twenty-first-century world order? Or will many of today's dramatic disruptions ultimately prove temporary, mere spikes on the seismograph of history? We invite you to explore these questions with us. To begin our search, we discuss how the differences between continuities, changes, and cycles in world history can help you orient your interpretation.

Every historical period is marked to some extent by change. Now, however, the pace of change seems more rapid and its consequences more profound than ever. To many observers, the cascade of events today implies a revolutionary restructuring of world politics. Numerous integrative trends point to that possibility. The countries of the world are drawing closer together in communications and trade, producing a globalized market. Yet at the same time, disintegrative trends paint a less promising picture. Weapons proliferation, global environmental deterioration, and the resurgence of ethnic conflict all portend a restructuring fraught with disorder.

To predict which forces will dominate the future, we must recognize that no trend stands alone, and that different trends may produce stability by limiting the impact of any one disruptive force. It is also possible for converging trends to accelerate the pace of change, moving world politics in directions not possible otherwise. The opposing forces of integration and disintegration point toward the probable advent on the horizon of a **transformation**, but distinguishing true historical watersheds from temporary change is difficult. The moment of transformation from one system to another is not immediately obvious. Nevertheless, another useful key for students of world politics is to recognize that certain times are especially likely candidates.

transformation
A change in the characteristic pattern of interaction among the most active participants in world politics of such magnitude that it appears that one "global system" has replaced another.

In the past, major turning points in world politics usually have occurred at the conclusion of wars with many participants, which typically disrupt or destroy preexisting international arrangements. In the twentieth century, World Wars I and II and the Cold War caused fundamental breaks with the past and set in motion major transformations, providing countries with incentives to rethink the premises underlying their interests, purposes, and priorities. Similarly, many people concluded that the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, (9/11) produced a fundamental transformation in world affairs. Indeed, 9/11 seemed to change everything: in former U.S. President George W. Bush's words, "Night fell on a different world."

Yet it is equally important to look for the possibility of continuity amidst apparent transformation. Consider how, despite all that may appear radically different since the 9/11 terrorist attacks, much also may remain the same. As journalist William Dobson (2006) wrote on the eve of the fifth anniversary of 9/11, "What is remarkable is how little the world has changed." Similarly, historian Juan Cole notes that "[t]he massive forces of international trade and globalization

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were largely unaffected by the attacks" (2006, p. 26). Decades-old flash points also persist, including the conflicts between India and Pakistan, North Korea and the United States, and Israel and militants in southern Lebanon and the Palestinian territories. "For all their visibility and drama," concludes Cole (2006, p. 26), "the 9/11 attacks left untouched many of the underlying forces and persistent tensions that shape international politics."

We often expect the future to bring changes automatically, and later are surprised to discover that certain patterns from the past have reappeared. Headlines are not trend lines, and a trend does not necessarily signal transformation. Given the enduring continuities that persist even alongside rapid changes, it is dangerous to assume that a major transformation in world politics is under way.

So, what criteria can help determine when an existing pattern of relationships gives way to a completely new global system? Stanley Hoffmann (1961) argues that we can identify a new **global system** when we have a new answer to one of the following three questions. Following this line of argument, there is some evidence that a new system has now emerged.

AP Images/Carmen Taylor

IMAGE 1.2 Was 9/11 A Global Transforming Event? The terrorist attack on the World Trade Center's Twin Towers on 9/11 is widely regarded as a revolutionary date in world history, producing a sea of change in world politics. Time will tell whether this event will rank alongside the birth of the nuclear age on August 6, 1945, when the United States bombed Hiroshima, or the November 1989 dismantling of the Berlin Wall, which signaled the end of the Cold War, as events that truly changed the world. Alternatively, a rising China may pose a new challenge that will displace 9/11 as a transformative phenomenon in world politics.

global system
The predominant patterns of behaviors and beliefs that prevail internationally to define the major worldwide conditions that heavily influence human and national activities.

- **What are the system's basic units for global governance?** Although states remain a fixture of the international system, supranational institutions and nongovernmental actors are prominent. In the realm of international trade, the World Trade Organization (WTO) has been adjudicating trade disputes since 1995 and wields substantial influence over the policies of many individual states. The United Nations (UN) plays a prominent role in conflict resolution throughout the world, with peacekeepers engaged in sixteen ongoing operations as of July 2015. Transnational terrorist movements, such as the Islamic extremist group Boko Haram, commit widespread human rights atrocities. At the same time, in its role as the first permanent treaty-based global court, the International Criminal Court (ICC) has successfully prosecuted political leaders for human rights violations.
- **What are the predominant foreign policy goals that these units seek with respect to one another?** Although geopolitical struggles remain in many areas, territorial conquest is no longer a states' predominant foreign policy goal. Rather, many key issues on the global agenda, including environmental, health, and financial

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crises, are transnational threats that require a collective response from countries and other global actors. As the 2008 Global Financial Crisis spread (see Chapter 10), the G-20—a grouping of the world's twenty largest economies—called for international dialogue and common efforts to promote financial stability. Epidemics, such as Ebola, underscore the critical need for timely and well-coordinated international responses to major threats to global health on the part of international organizations, nongovernmental organizations, and states.

- **What can these units do to one another with their military and economic capabilities?** The proliferation of weapons technology has profoundly altered the damage enemies can inflict on one another. **Great powers** alone no longer control the world's most lethal weapons. Increasingly, however, the great powers' prosperity depends on economic circumstances throughout the globe, reducing their ability to engineer growth.

great powers
The most powerful countries, militarily and economically, in the global system.

The profound changes in recent years of the types of actors (units), goals, and capabilities have dramatically altered the hierarchical power ranking of states, but the hierarchies themselves endure. The economic hierarchy that divides the rich from the poor, the political hierarchy that separates the rulers from the ruled, the resource hierarchy that makes some suppliers and others dependents, and the military asymmetries that pit the strong against the weak—all still shape the relations among states, as they have in the past. Similarly, the perpetuation of international **anarchy**, in the absence of institutions to govern the globe, and continuing national insecurity still encourage preparations for war and the use of force without international mandate. Thus, change and continuity coexist, with both forces simultaneously shaping contemporary world politics.

anarchy
A condition in which the units in the global system are subjected to few, if any, overarching institutions to regulate their conduct.

The interaction of constancy and change will determine future relations among global actors. This perhaps explains why **cycles**, periodic sequences of events that resemble patterns in earlier periods, so often appear to characterize world politics: because the emergent global system shares many characteristics with earlier periods, historically minded observers may experience déjà vu—the illusion of having already experienced something actually being experienced for the first time.

cycles
The periodic reemergence of conditions similar to those that existed previously.

Preparing for Your Intellectual Journey

Because world politics is complex and our images of it are often dissimilar, scholars differ in their approach to understanding world politics. Some view the world through a macro political lens, meaning they look at international affairs from a "bird's eye view" and explain the behavior of world actors based on their relative position within the global system. Other scholars adopt a micro political perspective that looks at world politics from the "ground up," meaning the individual is the unit of analysis from which aggregate behavior is extrapolated.

Both approaches make important contributions to understanding world politics: the former reveals how the global environment sets limits on political choice, the latter draws attention to how every transnational actor's preferences, capabilities, and strategic calculations influence global conditions. By looking at world politics from a macro political perspective, we can see why actors that are similarly situated within the system may behave alike, despite their internal differences. By taking a micro political perspective, we can appreciate why some actors are very different or behave differently, despite their similar placement within the global system (see Waltz, 2000).

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From this analytic point of departure, *World Politics* will inspect:

- The values, interests, and capabilities of the individual actors affected by these global trends;
- The ways these actors interact in their individual and collective efforts to modify existing global circumstances, and how these interactions shape the ultimate trajectories of global trends;
- The major macro trends in world politics that set the boundaries for action.

This analytic approach looks at the dynamic interplay of actors and their environment as well as how the actors respond and seek to influence each other's behavior. It can open a window for you not only to understand contemporary world politics but also to predict the likely global future. This approach has the advantage of taking into account the interplay of proximate and remote explanatory factors at the individual, state, and global levels of analysis while avoiding dwelling on particular countries, individuals, or transitory events whose long-term significance is likely to decrease. Instead, *World Politics* attempts to identify behaviors that cohere into general patterns that measurably affect global living conditions. Thus, we explore the nature of world politics from a perspective that places historical and contemporary events into a larger, lasting theoretical context to provide you with the conceptual tools that will enable you to interpret subsequent developments later in your lifetime.

> ***The world is at a critical juncture, and so are you . . . Go ahead and make your plans . . . and don't stop learning. But be open to the detours that lead to new discoveries.***
>
> **—KOFI ANNAN, FORMER UN SECRETARY-GENERAL**

Courtesy of Shannon Lindsey Blanton

IMAGE 1.3 It's a Small World As you begin your journey of discovery to extend your knowledge of world politics, it is important to be aware of the images that you hold and be open to new experiences and interpretations of the world around you. Take full advantage of all of your opportunities to study and learn about the global community. Shown here in May 2017 are U.S. students from the University of Alabama at Birmingham learning about different perspectives and issues during their study abroad program in Cuba.

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Study. Apply. Analyze.

Chapter Summary

1-1 Describe the core difficulty of investigating human phenomena such as international relations. The study of international relations is challenging because of the complexity of taking into account all the factors that shape human behavior and the tendency of people to resist change in how they think about world politics.

1-2 Explain different ways in which we perceive reality, and how these perceptions can influence international politics. We all hold images and perceptions of the world around us that simplify reality by emphasizing some aspects and ignoring others. Research in cognitive psychology shows that we are "categorizers" who use "schema" to help organize information. Our perceptions, which are resistant to change, influence the way we understand and react to world politics and predispose us to act in particular ways regardless of the objective facts.

1-3 Identify foundational concepts and units of analysis used to assess world politics. Throughout the book, you will learn terminology to help you identify core concepts important for understanding world politics. One useful analytical tool is to distinguish between different types of actors – from individuals to states to nonstate actors – that influence international relations. Another is to consider factors at different levels of analysis that may combine to produce a particular outcome. It will also be important to determine how various actors and factors at the individual, state, and systemic level reflect continuity or change in how they influence global affairs. By doing so, you enhance your ability to investigate systematically the various determinants of world politics.

Key Terms

actor
anarchy
cognitive dissonance
cycles
enduring rivalries
ethnic groups
global system
great powers
individual level of analysis
intergovernmental organizations (IGOs)
levels of analysis
mirror images
nation
nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)
power
schematic reasoning
state
state level of analysis
state sovereignty
systemic level of analysis
transformation
world politics

Suggested Readings and Resources

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Carnegie Council Videos

Key Term Videos

- World Politics
- Enduring Rivalries
- Actor
- Power
- State
- Nongovernmental Organizations
- Global System
- Great Powers
- Anarchy

Additional Videos

- Kupchan, Charles, "How Enemies Become Friends: The Sources of Stable Peace."

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