



The Global Agenda *Sixth Edition*
Issues and Perspectives

Charles W. Kegley, Jr.
Eugene R. Wittkopf



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THE GLOBAL AGENDA: ISSUES AND PERSPECTIVES





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SIXTH EDITION

EDITED BY
Charles W. Kegley, Jr.
Eugene R. Wittkopf

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my grandson, Scott**

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For Barbara, Debra, and Jonathan

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ABOUT THE EDITORS

CHARLES W. KEGLEY, JR. earned his Ph.D. in international relations from Syracuse University in 1971. He holds the position of Pearce Professor of International Relations at the University of South Carolina, where he served as chairman of the Department of Government and International Studies from 1981 to 1985 and as director of the James F. Byrnes International Center from 1985 to 1988. President of the International Studies Association (1993–1994), Kegley also has taught at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, at the University of Texas, and at Rutgers University as the Moses and Annuta Back Peace Scholar. He has coauthored or coedited, with Eugene R. Wittkopf, *American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process* (5th ed., 1995); *World Politics: Trend and Transformation* (8th ed., 2001); *The Nuclear Reader: Strategy, Weapons, War* (2nd ed., 1989); and coauthored, with Gregory A. Raymond, *How Nations Make Peace* (1999), *A Multipolar Peace? Great-Power Relations in the Twenty-First Century* (1994), and *When Trust Breaks Down: Alliance Norms and World Politics* (1990); also, he has edited *The Long Postwar Peace: Contending Explanations and Projections* (1991), and *Controversies in International Relations Theory: Realism and Neoliberalism* (1995) and coedited, with Kenneth L. Schwab, *After the Cold War: Questioning the Morality of Nuclear Deterrence* (1991). He has published articles in *International Studies Quarterly*, *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *The Journal of Peace Research*, *International Organization*, *Ethics & International Affairs*, *Alternatives*, *The Journal of Politics*, *The Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, *USA Today*, the *Harvard International Review*, among others.

EUGENE R. WITTKOPF received his doctorate from Syracuse University. He is currently R. Downs Poindexter Distinguished Professor of Political Science at Louisiana State University. He has also held appointments at the University of Florida and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Wittkopf is author of *Faces of Internationalism: Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy* (1990)

and coeditor, with James M. McCormick, of *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence* (3rd ed., 1999); and coeditor, with Christopher M. Jones, of *The Future of American Foreign Policy* (3rd ed., 1999). With Charles W. Kegley, Jr., he is coauthor of *American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process* (5th ed., 1996) and *World Politics: Trend and Transformation* (8th ed., 2001); and co-editor of *The Nuclear Reader: Strategy, Weapons, War* (2nd ed., 1989). He has contributed chapters to several books and published articles in the *American Political Science Review*, *International Journal*, *International Organization*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Journal of Politics*, *Orbis*, *Polity*, *Social Science Quarterly*, and the *Washington Quarterly*, among others. In 1997 Professor Wittkopf was named the LSU Distinguished Research Master of Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences. This is the highest award given by LSU in recognition of contributions to research and scholarship.

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PREFACE

There is no scientific antidote [to the atomic bomb], only education. You've got to change the way people think. I am not interested in disarmament talks between nations. . . . What I want to do is to disarm the mind. After that, everything else will automatically follow. The ultimate weapon for such mental disarmament is international education.

—Albert Einstein

Much uncertainty and anxiety characterize the global agenda as we launch a new millennium. Many rapidly unfolding trends, some of recent origin, others long standing, have generated new issues, new cleavages, and a new global landscape. The prospect of revolutionary transformation alongside change and continuity in contemporary world politics obscures our vision of the precise nature of the world in which we live. Perhaps this is why, even as we enter a new century, a consensus has not yet emerged about the defining character of world politics more than a decade after the end of the cold war. Ours is the era of transition from a past epoch that was easily defined and well understood to an era that remains ill defined and not easily characterized. So we find ourselves on the threshold of a new historical era without a concise way to describe it.

Whatever the global system's ultimate nature, the potential for great changes has opened up a Pandora's box of new controversies and unfamiliar developments. Simultaneously, traditional controversies continue to color global political relations. This condition presents an intellectual challenge because the study of contemporary world politics must consider the factors that produce change as well as those that promote continuities in relations among political actors on the global stage.

Because change is endemic to international politics, it is not surprising that many new issues on the global agenda and fresh perspectives on their analysis have emerged since the fifth edition of this book was published in 1998. Our purpose in preparing a sixth edition is to provide a basis for making an informed assessment of world politics by bringing information up to date and by presenting current commentary on the dominant issues in contemporary international politics and the rival analytical perspectives constructed to understand them. But the

overarching goals that motivated the first five editions remain: to make available to students what we, as editors, believe to be the best introductions to the issues that underlie contemporary world politics and to introduce the major analytical perspectives and organizing concepts that scholars have fashioned to make these issues comprehensible. It seems to us that, to a greater or lesser degree, coverage of both these elements is missing in standard texts (by design and necessity) and that a supplementary anthology is the logical place for them.

The Global Agenda: Issues and Perspectives categorizes essays into four “baskets” that emphasize the politics on peace and security (Parts One and Two) and the politics of non-military issues that tend to emphasize material and nonmaterial well-being (Parts Three and Four). The criteria that guided the selection of particular articles within each part and the rationale that underlies the organization of the book are made explicit in our introductions to each part. These introductions are further designed to help students connect individual essays to common themes.

The organization of the book is intended to capture the diversity of global issues and patterns of interaction that presently dominate the attention of world political actors and precipitate policy responses. This thematic organization allows treatment of the breadth of global issues and of the analytical perspectives that give them meaning, ranging from classical theoretical formulations to the newer analytical foci and concepts that have arisen to account for recent developments in world affairs. In preparing the volume in this manner, we have proceeded from the assumption that there is a need for educational materials that treat description and theoretical exposition in a balanced manner and expose a variety of normative interpretations without advocating any particular one.

Several people have contributed to the development of this book. We wish especially to acknowledge the contributions of David P. Forsythe, Ted Robert Gurr, Ole R. Holsti, Christopher C. Joyner, Jack S. Levy, Bjørn Møller, Donald J. Puchala, Bruce Russett, Marvin Soroos, Linda Y. C. Lim, Greg Mastel, Tim Lang, and Harvey Starr, who provided us with original essays written especially for publication in this book. The helpful suggestions of a number of anonymous reviewers are also gratefully acknowledged, and the commissioned blind reviews by Lev Gonick, California Polytechnic Institute; Vincent Wei-cheng Wang, University of Richmond; Jeanne Jensen, Augusta State University; Tun-Jen Cheng, College of William and Mary; Laura MacDonald, Carlton University; Albert Yee, Georgia State College and University; Gerald Bridgeman, Moorpark College; and John Queen, Arizona State University. We additionally thank Ruth Cooper for her professional assistance in the preparation of this manuscript, and Jamie Pasley, Tahir Cevik, Fahrettin Sümer, Julie Hysong, Se-Woo Pyo, and Jiayin Zhang for their help with proofreading of final copy. At McGraw-Hill we are indebted to Monica Eckman, Hannah Glover, Mary Lee Harmss, and Janise Fry for their support and professional assistance.

Charles W. Kegley, Jr.
Eugene R. Wittkopf

ARMS AND INFLUENCE

The contemporary international political system began to acquire its present shape and definition more than three hundred fifty years ago with the emergence of a state system in Europe after the highly destructive Thirty Years War. As the Westphalian treaties in 1648 brought that war to an end and as political, economic, and social intercourse grew among the states of Europe, new legal norms were embraced in an effort to regulate interstate behavior. The doctrine of state sovereignty, according to which no legal authority is higher than the state, emerged supreme. Thus the nascent international system was based on the right of states to control their internal affairs without interference from others and to manage their foreign relations with other states with whom they collaborated or competed as they saw fit. Foremost in this system was the belief, reinforced by the international law created by the Westphalian peace settlement, that the state should possess the right—indeed, the obligation—to take whatever measures it deemed necessary to ensure its preservation.

The international system and the patterns of interaction among its political actors have changed profoundly since the birth of the state system, and rulers' capacity to authoritatively manage their country's domestic and foreign policies has receded as new international norms and institutions, and the pressures of globalization, have curtailed leaders' former sovereign freedom. Nonetheless, contemporary world politics remains significantly colored by its Westphalian legacy: it continues to be conducted in an atmosphere that bears a strong resemblance to anarchy. As in the past, the system remains fragmented and decentralized, with

no higher authority of true global governance above nation-states, which, as the principal actors in world politics, can behave toward one another largely as they choose.

This is not meant to imply either that states exercise their freedom with abandon or that they are unconstrained in the choices they make. The political, legal, moral, and circumstantial constraints on states' freedom of choice are today formidable. Moreover, states' national interests are served best when states act in a manner that does not threaten the stability of their relations with others or of the global system that protects their autonomy. Hence, the international system, as the British political scientist Hedley Bull reminds us, may be an anarchical society, but now it is clearly one of "ordered anarchy."

The world has grown increasingly complex, interdependent, and "globalized" as contact, communication, and exchange have increased among the actors in the state system and as the number of nation-states and other nonstate global actors has grown. Expanded interaction enlarges the range of potential mutually beneficial exchanges between and among transnational actors. But just as opportunities for cooperation have expanded, so have the possible sources of disagreement. That we live in an age of conflict is a cliché that contains elements of truth, as differences of opinion and efforts to resolve disputes to one's advantage, often at the expense of others, are part of any long-term relationship. Thus, as distance has disappeared as a factor and the barriers once provided by borders between states have eroded, the mutual dependence of transnational political actors on one another has grown and the number of potential rivalries, antagonisms, and disagreements has increased correspondingly. Friction and tension therefore appear to be endemic to international relations; the image of world politics conveyed in newspaper headlines does not suggest that a shrinking world in the twenty-first century's era of globalization will necessarily become a more peaceful one. Instead, even as memory of the twentieth century's three general wars (World War I, World War II, and the Cold War) fades, competition and conflict persist, as demonstrated by the ubiquitous eruption of ethnic conflicts, civil wars, and religious disputes throughout the world and the inability to prevent their outbreak in many flash points across the globe.

Given the pervasiveness of conflict in contemporary world politics, the number of *issues* that are at any one time in dispute among nation-states and other global actors appears to have increased greatly. The multitude of disagreements and controversies renders the *global agenda*—the list of issues that force their way into consideration and command that they be addressed—more crowded and complex. Because the responses that are made to address the issues on the global agenda shape our lives both today and into the future, it is appropriate that we direct attention to those controversies and major concerns that command the primary attention of decision-makers. At the same time, as different state and nonstate actors view global political issues from widely varying vantage points, it is fitting that we remain sensitive to the various perceptual lenses through which

the items on the global agenda are viewed. Accordingly, *The Global Agenda: Issues and Perspectives* seeks to focus on the range of issues that dominates world politics as well as on the multitude of analytical and interpretive perspectives from which those issues are viewed.

The issues and perspectives discussed in *The Global Agenda* are grouped into four broad, somewhat overlapping, but analytically distinct issue areas: (1) arms and influence, (2) discord and collaboration, (3) politics and markets, and (4) ecology and politics. The first two issue areas deal with states' security interests; the latter two deal with the non-military issues on which world political actors also concentrate their attention. In all four issue areas, we seek to convey not only the range of issues now facing those responsible for political choices, but also the many vantage points from which they are typically viewed.

We begin in Part One with consideration of a series of issues appropriately subsumed under the collective rubric *Arms and Influence*. As the term "high politics" suggests, the issues and perspectives treated here focus on the prospects for peace and security in a world of competitive nation-states armed with increasingly diverse arsenals of lethal and "non-lethal" weapons with which to coerce and/or destroy adversaries.

ARMS AND INFLUENCE

It is often argued that states strive for power, security, and domination in a global environment punctuated by the threat of violence and death. This viewpoint flows naturally from the characteristics of the international political system, which continues to be marked by the absence of central institutions empowered to authoritatively manage and resolve conflict. Hence, preoccupation with preparations for defense becomes understandable, for the fear persists that one adversary might use force against another to realize its goals or to vent its frustrations, and the threat of separatist revolts and civil rebellions to sever minority populations from existing sovereign states has become a major trend. In such a threatening environment, arms are widely perceived as useful not only to enhance security at home but also as a means to realize and extend a state's influence abroad. Hence, countries frequently see their interests best served by a search for power, by whatever means necessary. Understandably, therefore, *power* and *influence* remain the core concepts in the study of world politics.

Appropriately, the first essay, "Power, Capability, and Influence in International Politics," by K. J. Holsti, provides a thoughtful discussion of the changing meaning of power, capability, and influence in the foreign policy behavior of states in contemporary world politics. The essay provides important insights not only for evaluating the subsequent essays in this book but also for evaluating the use to which these necessary but ambiguous terms are often incorporated into other interpretations of global issues, because, almost invariably, such discussions

An anthology prepared by top scholars in International Relations, *The Global Agenda, 6e*, offers students introductions to themes and topics often not included in introductory texts, providing analytical and incisive coverage of key concepts. The editors provide concise introductions, along with a clear and logical thematic organization that divides essays into four "baskets" or parts. *The Global Agenda, 6e*, bridges theory with evidence while underscoring issues driving modern international relations, represented by both classic and original, theoretical and prescriptive interpretations of world politics and written by premier scholars.

New to the 6th edition:

Completely new essays and heavily revised essays by: Ole Holsti, Christopher Joyner, Jack Levy, Bruce Russett, Donald Puchala, Harvey Starr, Ted Robert Gurr, David P. Forsythe, and Bjørn Møller reflect new topics and issues not previously covered in earlier editions.

Coverage of globalization in chapter 2

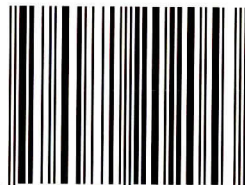
Changes in warfare in chapters 2-4 and 6-9

Coverage of human rights in chapter 18

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