

World Politics

Trend and Transformation

Shannon L. Blanton • Charles W. Kegley



Seventeenth Edition

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Seventeenth Edition

World Politics

Trend and Transformation

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University of Alabama at Birmingham

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Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs



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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.

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- 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.
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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.
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- 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.
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Sincerely,

Shannon L. Blanton & Charles W. Kegley

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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:

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Many people—in fact, too many to identify and thank individually—have contributed to the development of this leading textbook in international relations. We are thankful for the constructive comments, advice, and data provided by an array of scholars and colleagues.

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Courtesy of Shannon L. Blanton and Charles W. Kegley.

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Together Blanton and Kegley have coauthored publications appearing in the *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, *Futures Research Quarterly*, *Mediterranean Quarterly*, and *Rethinking the Cold War*, as well as multiple editions of *World Politics* (since the twelfth edition's 2009-2010 update).

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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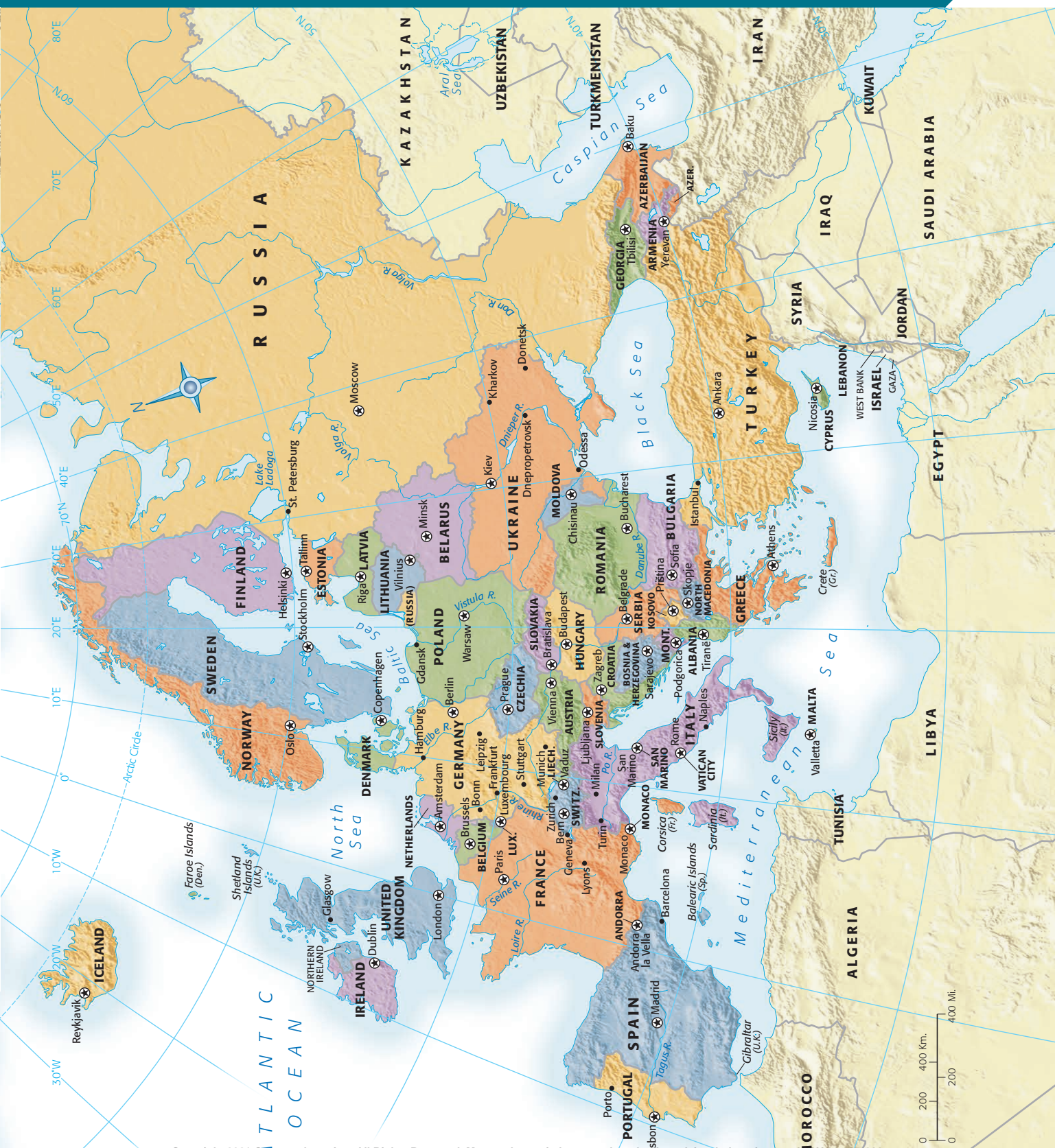
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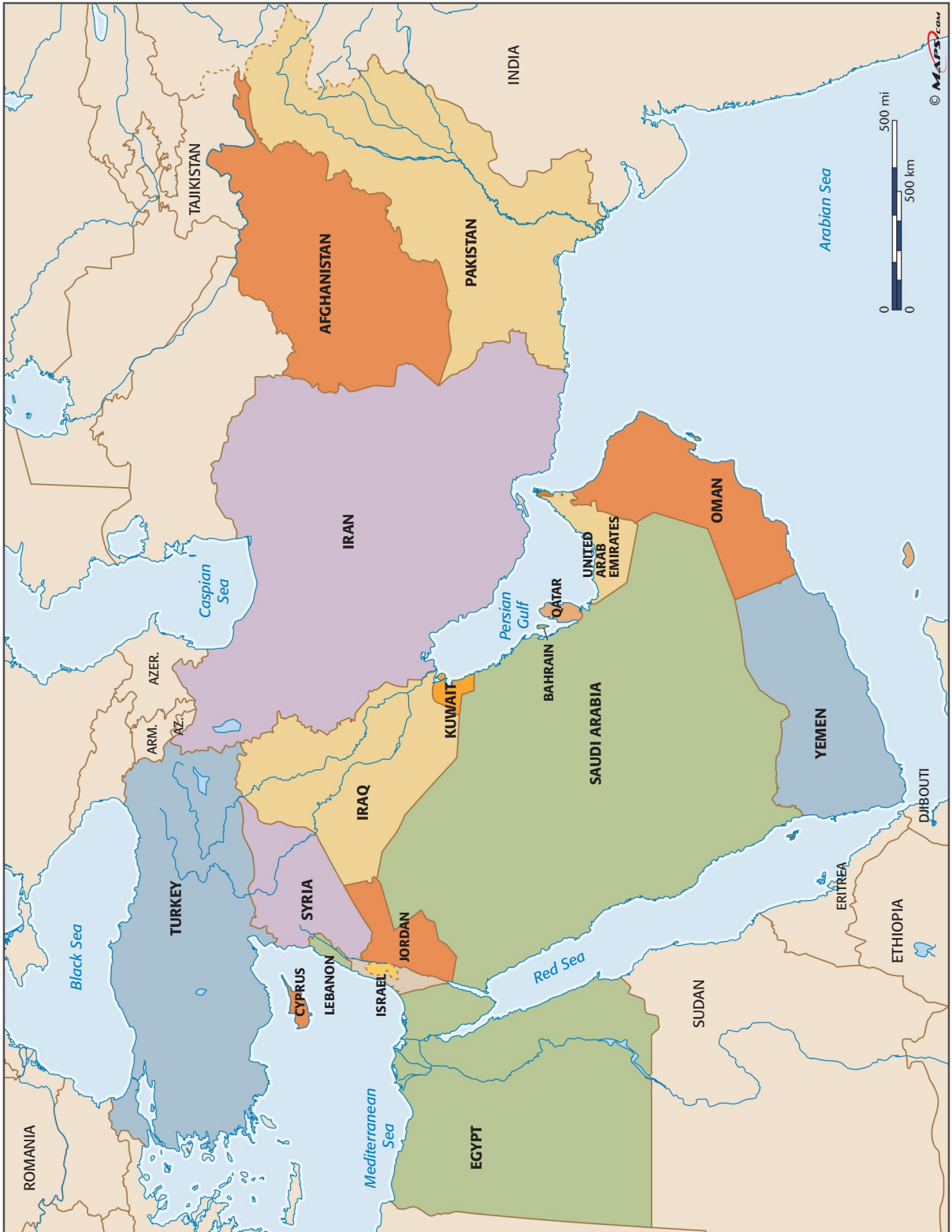
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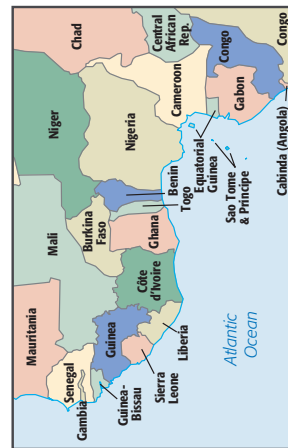
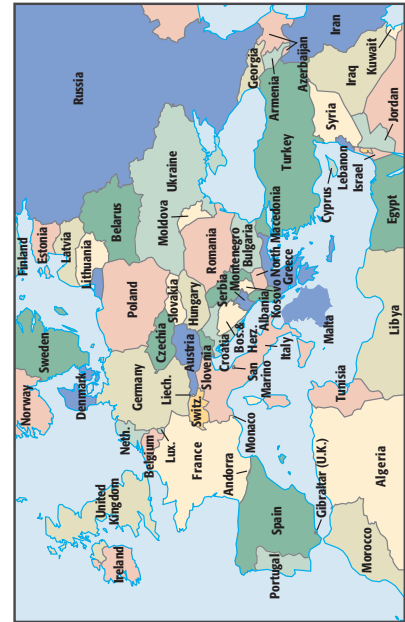
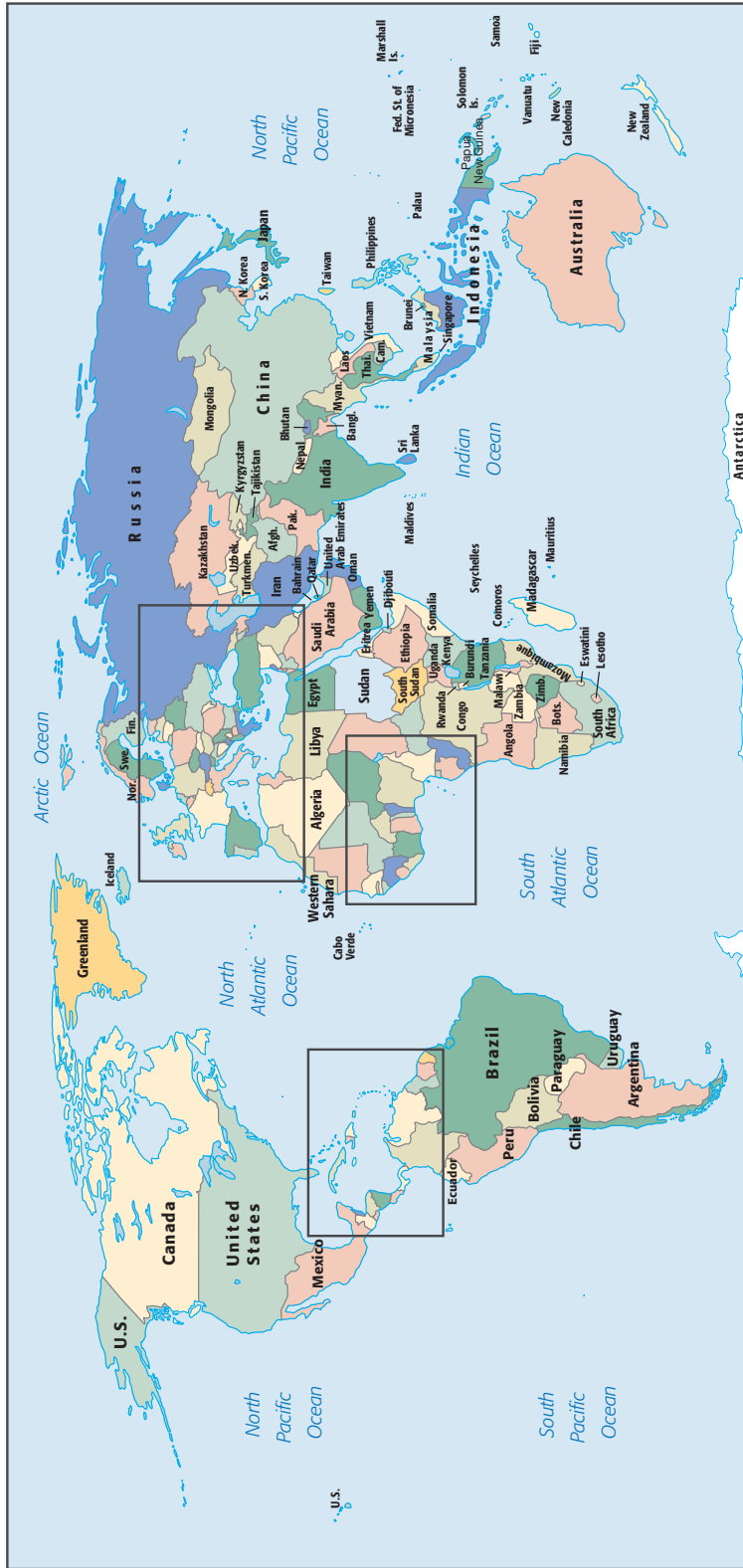
THE MIDDLE EAST



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Part 1

Trend and Transformation in World Politics

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.



NASA Images

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.

Chapter 1

Discovering World Politics



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.

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.

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

L0 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

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

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?

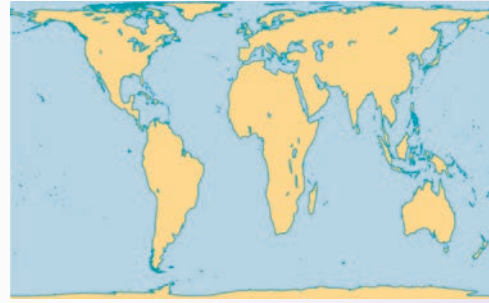
(Continued)



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 1.3 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 1.2 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 1.4 "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."

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.

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.

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

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.

cognitive dissonance

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

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-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.

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,

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.

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.