PART I
Perspectives on World Politics 1

CHAPTER 1
Understanding World Politics 3

Defining World Politics 3
Terminology: From International to World Politics 5
National and International Politics: Different yet Alike 6

The Subfields of World Politics 6
Foreign Policy 7
Security Studies 7
Political Economy 7
International Organization 7

Three Levels of Analysis 8
Explaining World War II: The Individual 8
Explaining World War II: The State 9
Explaining World War II: The World Political System 10

Contending Theories 14
Two Perspectives on World Politics 14
Political Realism 14
Political Idealism 16

Contemporary Paradigms and Approaches 18
Realism and Power Politics 18
Neorealism 19
Globalism 20
Pluralism or Neoliberalism 21
Feminism 21

How Perspectives Affect Understanding 22
Analysis and Practice: Policy for Whom? 23
Conclusion 24

CHAPTER 2
Westphalia and the Nation-state System 25

The Legacy of Rome 26
The Foundations of the Nation-state System 30
The Idea of the Sovereign Equality of States 33
The Utility of the Concept of Equality 34
TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Reality of Unequal State Power 36
The Evolution of Nation-states 37
European Imperialism and the Double Standard 38
Small Powers and Great Powers 39
The Twilight of a European International System 41
The Explosion of Sovereign Statehood 45
The Problem of Nationalism 45
Conclusion 47

CHAPTER 3
Contemporary Challenges to the Nation-State System 48
Nationalism versus Imperialism in the Twentieth Century 48
Westphalia Becomes a Global System 50
The Troubled Triumph of the Nation-state 56
The Problem of Tiny States 59
The Problem of Disintegrating States 61
The Growth of Nonstate Actors in World Politics 63
Intergovernmental Organizations 63
Nongovernmental Organizations 66
Multinational Corporations 67
The Shrinking Planet 70
The Interdependence of Security 70
The Communications Revolution 73
Economic Dependence and Interdependence 74
The Assault on the Biosphere 76
Conclusion 79

PART II
Explaining Foreign Policy 81

CHAPTER 4
Objectives, Beliefs, and Foreign Policy 83
Changing Westphalian Objectives 83
National Interests and Foreign Policy 84
Normative Values in Foreign Policy 86
The Foreign Policy Role of Beliefs 86
Competing Belief Systems 90
Marxist-Leninist Beliefs 90
Soviet Marxism 90
Gorbachev and the Collapse of Communism 92
China and Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Thought 93
Liberal-Democratic Belief Systems 95
America's Isolationism and Interventionism 95
America's Moralism 96
Religious Belief Systems 98
Islamic Beliefs 98
The Positive Functions of Religion 101
The Impact of Belief Systems 102
TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Future of National Belief Systems 104
   Nationalism and Multiculturalism 105
   Morality and Foreign Policy 106
   Idealism, Realism, and Moral Foreign Policy 106
Conclusion 109

CHAPTER 5
Foreign Policy Decision Making 111
   The Rational Actor Model 111
   The Individual and Foreign Policy Choice 112
      Personality Traits and Foreign Policy 113
         Aberrant Personalities 115
         Compatibility of Personalities 116
   Motivation of Decision Makers 116
   Perception and Foreign Policy Choice 119
      Historical Experiences 119
      Personal Expectations 121
      Cognitive Consistency 121
      The Problem of Misperception 123
   Domestic Structures and Foreign Policy Choice 124
      Democratic versus Authoritarian Regimes 124
      Bureaucracies and Foreign Policies 127
         Bureaucratic Trends 128
         Lack of Creativity and Decisiveness 129
         Bureaucratic Fragmentation of Policy 129
         How Important Are Bureaucracies in Decision Making? 131
   The Role of Public Opinion 133
      Decisional Latitude 134
      Manipulation of Public Opinion 134
   Decision Making in a World of Complex Interdependence 136
Conclusion 137

PART III
Conflict and the Search for Security 139

CHAPTER 6
Capabilities and Power 141
   Defining Power 141
      The Meaning of Power 141
      The Elusiveness of Power 143
   Tangible Sources of Power 145
      Geopolitical Sources of Power 145
         Geopolitical Theories 146
      Population 148
      Economic Wealth 149
         Measuring Wealth 150
      Military Capabilities 151
## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Delivery Systems</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficulties in Comparing Military Strength</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intangible Sources of Power</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership and Decision-Making Capability</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diplomatic and Strategic Skills</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intelligence Capabilities</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication Capabilities</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Morale</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Intangibles</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measuring Power</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER 7

The Role of Military Force 161

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subsection</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balance of Power</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balance of Power Prerequisites</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military Deterrence</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communicating Credible Threats</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deterrent Strategies</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does Military Deterrence Provide Security?</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destabilizing Factors in Deterrence</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stabilizing Deterrence</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuing Threats to National Security</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear Proliferation</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conventional Arms Spread</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Terrorism</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of Terrorism</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misconceptions about Terrorism</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dealing with Terrorists</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arms Control and Disarmament</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Relationship between Arms Control and Deterrence</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The History of Arms Control</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arms Control after the Cold War</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER 8

Explaining Violence 187

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subsection</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>History of Global Violence</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical Trends</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Violence</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of Violent Conflict</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Systemic Explanations</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polarity and War</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bipolarity and War</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multipolarity and War</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arms Races</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National and Societal Explanations</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationalism</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENTS</td>
<td>xv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive and Negative Aspects of Nationalism</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democracy and War</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why Are Democracies More Peaceful?</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Instability</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Military-Industrial Complex</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual Explanations</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Aggression</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence as an Innate Response</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence as Learned Behavior</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misperception and Miscalculation</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reasons for Misperception</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER 9**

Diplomacy and Negotiation | 212

History of Diplomacy | 212
- Pre-Westphalian Diplomacy | 212
- Early Westphalian and Modern Diplomacy | 213
  - Strains in Modern Diplomacy | 214
  - Diplomatic Representation | 215
  - Functions of Diplomats | 216

The Negotiating Structure | 217
- Summit Negotiations | 218
  - Dangers of Summitry | 220
- Open and Closed Diplomacy | 221
  - Problems of Open Diplomacy | 222
- Bilateral and Multilateral Negotiation | 223
  - Negative Aspects of Large-Group Negotiations | 224
  - Positive Aspects of Large-Group Negotiations | 224

Challenges to the Westphalian Negotiating Structure | 225

The Negotiating Process | 226
- Nonagreement Objectives of Negotiation | 227
- Setting the Agenda | 227
- The Role of Concessions | 228
- National Negotiating Styles | 232
- The Negotiating Style of Women | 234
- Negotiating an End to Violence | 236

Conclusion | 236

**PART IV**

The World Political Economy | 239

**CHAPTER 10**

The Development of a World Economy | 241

Perspectives on International Political Economy | 241
- Mercantilism | 242
| Economic Liberalism                     | 243 |
| Hegemonic Stability Theory             | 243 |
| Marxism                                | 244 |
| The Rise of the Trading State          | 244 |
| The Debate over Free Trade             | 245 |
| Arguments for Free Trade               | 246 |
| The Case for Protectionism             | 248 |
| Restraints upon Trade                  | 249 |
| Creating a Liberal Trading Environment | 251 |
| GATT and the World Trade Organization  | 251 |
| Enhancing Regional Trade               | 253 |
| The European Common Market             | 253 |
| The European Free Trade Association    | 255 |
| The North American Free Trade Agreement| 255 |
| The Future of Regional Trade Agreements| 256 |
| Conflict over Bilateral Trade          | 257 |
| The International Monetary System      | 259 |
| Currency Valuation                     | 260 |
| The Balance of Payments Problem        | 261 |
| Currency Values and the Flow of Trade and Investment | 262 |
| Consolidating Capitalism               | 263 |
| Conclusion                             | 264 |

**CHAPTER 11**

Economic Statecraft and Private Economic Activity 266

| Economic Statecraft                  | 266 |
| Economic Imperialism                 | 267 |
| Capitalism and Imperialism           | 267 |
| Foreign Aid as an Instrument of Policy| 268 |
| Economic Sanctions                   | 270 |
| Types of Economic Sanctions          | 270 |
| Effectiveness of Sanctions           | 272 |
| The Role of the Private Sector       | 275 |
| Market Forces versus the State       | 275 |
| The Multinational Corporation        | 276 |
| The Impact of Economic Interdependence| 278 |
| Conclusion                           | 281 |

**CHAPTER 12**

North-South Economic Relations 282

| The North-South Gap                  | 283 |
| Modernization Theory                 | 284 |
| Dependency Theory                    | 285 |
| The Dominance of the Liberal Economic Order | 287 |
| Financing Development: The World Bank Group | 287 |
| The World Bank                        | 288 |
| The International Finance Corporation| 288 |
The International Development Association 288
The International Monetary Fund 288
Official Development Assistance 289
The Changing Picture of Development Aid 290
Foreign Direct Investment 291
IGOs in the North-South Debate 293
United Nations Development Program 293
UNCTAD and the NIEO 295
The Failure of the NIEO 296
Newly Industrialized Countries 297
Communism's Collapse and Economic Development 300
Economic Development under Communism 300
"Reform" of Communist Systems in the 1980s 300
The Failure of Authoritarian Economic Planning 301
Economic Liberalism Uncontested? 302
A 1990s Assessment 303
Conclusion 305

CHAPTER 13
Resource and Environmental Challenges 307
Scarcity versus Development Demands 308
Oil Consumption and Oil Depletion 308
Economic Growth versus Nature's Limits 309
The Pressure of Population Growth 311
Development's Threat to the Planet Earth 315
Global Warming 315
Burning Fossil Fuels 315
Deforestation 316
Global Action 317
Destruction of the Ozone Layer 319
Ending CFC Production 320
The Challenge to the Global Commons 322
Laissez-Faire and Freedom of the Seas 322
1982 Law of the Sea Treaty 323
Antarctica as a Global Commons 324
How to Manage the Environment? 325
Conclusion 326

PART V
The Construction of a Global Society 329

CHAPTER 14
Interdependence, Transnational Integration, and Separatism 331
Interdependence, Integration, and Amalgamation 332
The European Union 333
Proposed Amalgamation after World War I 333
# Table of Contents

The Functional Approach after World War II 334  
The European Coal and Steel Community 334  
The European Economic Community 335  
The Institutions of the European Union 335  
The Treaty of Maastricht 337  
The EU: Assessment and Projections 338  
Other Trends in Economic Cooperation 340  
MNCs in the Global Village 341  
The Disintegration of Multinational States 345  
Separatism within the Former Soviet Empire 346  
Imposed Unity and Its Aftermath 346  
The Emergence of Pluralism 346  
The Example of Western Economic Progress 347  
The Result of Separatism 348  
Constraints against Intervention in Separatist Conflicts 348  
The Lessons of Bosnia 349  
Who’s in Charge of the World? 350  
From Geopolitics to Infopolitics? 351  
Europe’s New Economic Motors 351  
Leading the Infopolitical Way 353  
Conclusion 353  

## Chapter 15
International Law and Global Order 355  
Domestic versus International Law 356  
The Hierarchy of Domestic Law 356  
The Lack of Hierarchy in International Law 356  
The Absence of World Government 357  
Three Purposes of International Law 357  
The Rights and Duties of States 358  
The Ground Rules for States 358  
Codified and Customary Law 359  
Reciprocity 359  
The Impact of State Power on Global Order 360  
The Special Roles of Great Powers 361  
Great Power Intervention 362  
Why Freedom of the Seas? 363  
International Law and Foreign Policy 363  
International Law’s Utility in Foreign Policy 364  
When the State’s Interest and the Law Coincide 365  
Law as an Instrument of Communication 365  
Law’s Use in Conflict Management 365  
Law’s Use in Mobilizing Opinion 366  
The Conflict between Foreign Policy and International Law 367  
When Governments Ignore Legal Rules 367  
When Governments Violate Legal Rules 367  
Retaliation and Reprisal 368
## Table of Contents

### Judicial Institutions 369
- Arbitration 369
- The World Court 370
- Conclusion 372

### Chapter 16
#### Human Rights 374
- Bringing Justice to Human Beings 374
- Creating International Standards for Human Rights 375
  - The Universal Declaration of Human Rights 375
  - International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 376
  - Other U.N. Treaties on Human Rights 376
- The U.N. Framework for Enforcing Human Rights 377
- Regional Efforts to Advance Human Rights 380
- A Human Rights Consensus? 382
  - The Human Rights Challenge to States 385
  - Political Conflict and the Challenge to Human Rights 386
- International Criminal Law 389
  - Nuremberg and Tokyo Trials 389
  - Crimes against the Peace 389
  - War Crimes 390
  - Crimes against Humanity 391
  - War Crimes Tribunals in the 1990s 392
- An International Criminal Court? 393
- Conclusion 394

### Chapter 17
#### The World’s Structural Framework for Peace 396
- International Institutions for a Shrinking Planet 396
  - IGOs: Supporting Sovereignty 397
  - IGOs: Challenging Sovereignty 397
- Collective Security and the League of Nations 398
  - The Requirements for Collective Security 399
  - The Failure of Collective Security under the League 400
    - The Ethiopia Case 400
    - Successes of the League of Nations 401
- The U.N. Framework for Peace 401
  - Alternative Approaches to Peace 402
  - Collective Enforcement under the Security Council 403
  - Bipolarity in the Cold War 405
    - The Korean Conflict 405
    - The Uniqueness of the Korean Operation 406
- The Evolution of U.N. Peacekeeping 406
  - The Purposes of Peacekeeping 408
    - No Act of Aggression is Determined 408
    - Use of Interpositionary Force 408
TABLE OF CONTENTS

No Settlement Is Enforced 408
Operations Are Voluntary 408
Administration by the Secretary-General 409

Peacekeeping during the Cold War 409
Peacekeeping after the Cold War 410

The United Nations, Collective Security, and the Gulf War 413
The Imposition of Sanctions 413
The Armed Attack against Iraq 413
Lessons about Collective Security 413

Improving the United Nations’ Ability to Keep the Peace 414

Securing Peace through Regional Frameworks 415
Europe: The Cold War and After 415
The North Atlantic Treaty Organization 416
The Warsaw Pact 417
The Cold War Peace Structure 417
European Security Structures after the Cold War 418

Other Regional Structures for Peace 419
The Organization of American States 419
The Middle East, Africa, and Asia 420

The Construction of International Regimes 421

Conclusion 422

Glossary 425

Author Index 437

Subject Index 441