# **World Politics**

**Trend & Transformation** 



Shannon L. Blanton | Charles W. Kegley

# 2016–2017 edition WORD POITICS

## **Trend and Transformation**

Shannon Lindsey Blanton

University of Alabama at Birmingham

Charles William Kegley

Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs







World Politics: Trend and Transformation, 2016–2017 Edition Shannon Lindsey Blanton and Charles William Kegley

Product Director: Paul Banks

Product Team Manager: Carolyn Merrill

Content Developer: Rebecca Green

Managing Content Developer:

Megan Garvey

Product Assistant: Michelle Forbes Marketing Manager: Valerie Hartman Content Project Manager: Cathy Brooks

Art Director: Sarah Cole

Manufacturing Planner: Fola Orekoya

IP Analyst: Alexandra Ricciardi

IP Project Manager: Farah Fard

Production Service and Compositor:

Cenveo® Publisher Services

Text and Cover Designer: Rokusek Design

Cover Images: Top, center: Monkey Business Images/Shutterstock.com; Top, right: Andresr/Shutterstock.com; Center, right: Avatar\_023/Shutterstock.com; Bottom, right: XiXinXing/Shutterstock.com; Bottom, left: Zagrean Viorel/Shutterstock.com; Center, left: zefei/Shutterstock.com; Top, left: Mariday/Shutterstock.com

© 2017, 2015, 2014, Cengage Learning

WCN: 02-200-203

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. No part of this work covered by the copyright herein may be reproduced, transmitted, stored, or used in any form or by any means graphic, electronic, or mechanical, including but not limited to photocopying, recording, scanning, digitizing, taping, web distribution, information networks, or information storage and retrieval systems, except as permitted under Section 107 or 108 of the 1976 United States Copyright Act, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

For product information and technology assistance, contact us at Cengage Learning Customer & Sales Support, 1-800-354-9706

For permission to use material from this text or product, submit all requests online at **www.cengage.com/permissions.** 

Further permissions questions can be emailed to **permissionrequest@cengage.com.** 

Library of Congress Control Number: 2015953037

ISBN: 978-1-305-50487-5

#### **Cengage Learning**

20 Channel Center Street Boston, MA 02210 USA

Cengage Learning is a leading provider of customized learning solutions with employees residing in nearly 40 different countries and sales in more than 125 countries around the world. Find your local representative at www.cengage.com.

Cengage Learning products are represented in Canada by Nelson Education, Ltd.

To learn more about Cengage Learning Solutions, visit **www.cengage.com**.

Purchase any of our products at your local college store or at our preferred online store **www.cengagebrain.com**.

Printed in Canada Print Number: 01

Print Year: 2015

## **Brief Contents**

Letter to Instructors ix
Letter to Students xi
Resources for Students and Instructors xii
Acknowledgments xiv
About the Authors xvii

PART I	Trend and Transformation in World Politics	1
Chapter 1	Discovering World Politics	2
Chapter 2	Interpreting World Politics Through the Lens of Theory	21
Chapter 3	Theories of International Decision Making	52
PART II	The Globe's Actors and Their Relationships	83
Chapter 4	Great Power Relations and Rivalries	84
Chapter 5	World Politics and the Global South	116
Chapter 6	Nonstate Actors and the Quest for Global Community	147
PART III	Confronting Armed Conflict	193
Chapter 7	The Threat of Armed Conflict to the World	194
Chapter 8	The Pursuit of Power Through Arms and Alliances	233
Chapter 9	The Quest for Peace Through International Law and	
	Collective Security	275
PART IV	Human Security, Prosperity, and Responsibility	319
Chapter 10	The Globalization of International Finance	320
Chapter 11	International Trade in the Global Marketplace	353
Chapter 12	The Demographic and Cultural Dimensions of Globalization	391
Chapter 13	The Promotion of Human Development and Human Rights	422
Chapter 14	Global Responsibility for the Preservation of the Environment	455
PART V	Thinking About the Future of World Politics	491
Chapter 15	Looking Ahead at Global Trends and Transformations	492
-	-	

## Contents

Letter to Instructors ix
Letter to Students xi
Resources for Students and Instructors xii
Acknowledgments xiv
About the Authors xvii

PART I Trend and Transformation in World Politics

## CHAPTER 1 Discovering World Politics 2

### 1-1 The Challenge of Investigating International Relations 4

## 1-2 How do Perceptions Influence Images of Global Reality? 5

The Nature and Sources of Images 5
The Impact of Perceptions on World Politics 8

## 1-3 Key Concepts and Terms for Understanding World Politics 11

Introducing Terminology 11

Distinguishing the Primary Transnational Actors 12

Distinguishing Levels of Analysis 13

Distinguishing Change, Continuities, and Cycles 15

Preparing for Your Intellectual Journey 18

## CHAPTER 2 Interpreting World Politics Through the Lens of Theory 21

#### 2-1 Theories and Change in World Politics 22

#### 2-2 Realism 24

What Is the Realist Worldview? 24
The Evolution of Realism 25
The Limitations of Realist Thought 27

#### 2-3 Liberalism 28

What Is Liberalism's Worldview? 29
The Evolution of Liberalism 30
The Limitations of Liberalism 33

#### 2-4 Constructivism 35

What Is the Constructivist Worldview? 35
The Evolution of Constructivist Thought 36
The Limitations of Constructivism 39

#### 2-5 Other Theoretical Perspectives: Feminist and Marxist Critiques 41

The Feminist Critique 41
The Marxist Critique 45

#### 2-6 International Theory and the Global Future 48

## CHAPTER 3 Theories of International Decision Making 52

### 3-1 Foreign Policy Making in International Affairs 53

Transnational Actors and Decision Processes 54
Influences on Making Foreign Policy Decisions 54

## 3-2 Models of Decision Making by Transnational Actors 57

Decision Making as Rational Choice 58 Impediments to Rational Choice 59

#### The Leverage and Impact of Leaders 64

Leaders as Movers of World History 64 Constraints on Individual Leadership 66

## The Bureaucratic Politics of Foreign Policy Decision Making 69

Bureaucratic Efficiency and Rationality 70 The Limits of Bureaucratic Organization 70

## 3-3 The Domestic Determinants of Foreign Policy Decisions 74

Military Capabilities 74
Economic Conditions 74
Type of Government 75

#### 3-4 Global Influences on Foreign Policy 76

Global Distribution of Power 78 Geopolitical Factors 78

## PART II The Globe's Actors and Their Relationships

## CHAPTER 4 Great Power Relations and Rivalries 84

#### 4-1 The Quest for World Leadership 85

#### 4-2 World War I 88

The Causes of World War I 88

Structuralism 88

Nationalism 89

Intentional Choice 89

The Consequences of World War I 90

#### 4-3 World War II 92

The Causes of World War II 92

Proximate Causes on the Road to War 93 Underlying Causes at Three Analytic Levels 94

The Consequences of World War II 96

#### 4-4 The Cold War 97

The Causes and Evolutionary Course of the Cold War 98

Confrontation, 1947-1962 99

From Coexistence to Détente, 1963–1978 100

From Renewed Confrontation to Rapprochement,

1979-1991 100

The Consequences of the Cold War 104

#### 4-5 The Post-Cold War Era 104

America's "Unipolar Moment" 104

From Unipolarity to Multipolarity: The Rise of the Rest? 105

## 4-6 Looking Ahead: What Does the Future Look Like for the Great Powers? 108

## CHAPTER 5 World Politics and the Global South 116

#### 5-1 Colonial Origins and Consequences 118

The First Wave of European Imperialism 120

The Second Wave of European Imperialism 121

Self-Determination and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century 123

#### 5-2 North and South Today: Worlds Apart 124

#### 5-3 Why Do Such Differences Persist? 127

Internal Sources of Underdevelopment 127
International Sources of Underdevelopment 128

### 5-4 Closing The Gap? The Global South's Prospects in a World of Great Powers 129

Technology and Global Communications 129

Insecurity and Weapons of War 131

Reform of the Economic Order 131

Foreign Aid and Remittances 134

Trade and Foreign Direct Investment 138

Debt Management and Governmental Corruption 141

#### 5-5 The Global South's Future 143

## CHAPTER 6 Nonstate Actors and the Quest for Global Community 147

#### 6-1 Nonstate Actors in World Politics 149

Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs) 149

Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs) 150

## 6-2 Prominent Intergovernmental Organizations 151

The United Nations 151

The UN's Agenda 152

Organizational Structure 152

Budget Controversy 154

Future Challenges 157

#### Other Prominent Global IGOs 159

The World Trade Organization 159

The World Bank 160

The International Monetary Fund 162

#### 6-3 Regional Intergovernmental Organizations 162

#### The European Union 163

EU Expansion and Political Integration 163

EU Organization and Management 166

EU Decision-Making Challenges 167

Other Regional IGOs 168

#### 6-4 Prominent Types of Nongovernmental Organizations 170

Nonstate Nations: Ethnic Groups and Indigenous Peoples 170

Transnational Religious Movements 173

Multinational Corporations 177

Issue-Advocacy Groups 182

#### 6-5 Malevolent Nonstate Actors 185

Transnational Terrorist Groups 185

Transnational Crime Organizations 187

### 6-6 Nonstate Actors and the Future of World Politics 189

#### **PART III Confronting Armed Conflict**

## CHAPTER 7 The Threat of Armed Conflict to the World 194

#### 7-1 What Causes Armed Conflict? 196

The First Level of Analysis: Individuals' Human Nature 196

The Second Level of Analysis: States' Internal

Characteristics 198

Geopolitical Factors and Length of Independence 198

Nationalism and Cultural Traditions 199

Poverty, Relative Deprivation, and Demographic

Stress 200

Militarization 202

Economic System 202

Regime Type 204

#### The Third Level of Analysis: The Global System 205

Does Violence Breed Violence? 206

Power Transitions 207

Cyclical Theories 208

#### 7-2 Frequency and Types of Armed Conflict 211

#### 7-3 Armed Conflict within States 213

Intrastate Conflict 215

The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict 220

#### 7-4 Terrorism 223

#### 7-5 Armed Conflict and Its Future 228

## CHAPTER 8 The Pursuit of Power Through Arms and Alliances 233

#### 8-1 Realist Approaches to War and Peace 234

#### 8-2 Power in World Politics 236

The Elements of State Power 236

The "Cost" of Military Spending 239

#### 8-3 Changes in Military Capabilities 243

Trends in the Weapons Trade 243

The Strategic Consequences of Arms Sales 246

Nuclear Weapons 247

The Revolution in Military Technology 250

Robotic Weaponry 252

Biological and Chemical Weapons 254

#### Military Strategies 256

Compellence 257

Deterrence 257

Preemption 260

#### 8-4 Coercive Diplomacy Through Military Intervention 261

## 8-5 Realist Interpretations of Alliances in World Politics 263

#### 8-6 Realism and the Balancing of Power 265

Rules for Rivals in the Balancing Process 266

Difficulties with the Maintenance of a Balance of Power 268

#### 8-7 What Lies Ahead? 270

#### CHAPTER 9 The Quest for Peace Through International Law and Collective Security 274

### 9-1 Liberal and Constructivist Routes to International Peace 275

#### 9-2 Beating Swords into Plowshares 277

Disarmament Versus Arms Control as Routes to Peace 278

Bilateral Arms Control and Disarmament 278

Multilateral Arms Control and Disarmament 280

The Problematic Future of Arms Control and Disarmament 284

#### 9-3 Maintaining Collective Security Through International Organizations 289

The League of Nations, United Nations, and Collective Security 291

Regional Security Organizations and Collective Defense 295

#### 9-4 Law at the International Level 298

Core Principles of International Law 298

Limitations of the International Legal System 299

The Judicial Framework of International Law 301

### 9-5 Legal and Diplomatic Responses to Armed Conflict 305

Just War Doctrine 305

New Rules for Military Intervention 309

International Crises and the Negotiated Settlement of Disputes 310

#### 9-6 Institutions, Norms, and World Order 313

## PART IV Human Security, Prosperity, and Responsibility

## CHAPTER 10 The Globalization of International Finance 320

## 10-1 Interpreting Contemporary Economic Change 321

#### 10-2 Money Matters: The Transnational Exchange of Money 323

The Globalization of Finance 323

Monetary Policy: Key Concepts and Issues 327

#### 10-3 Bretton Woods and Beyond 332

Financial and Monetary Aspects of the Bretton Woods System 333

The End of Bretton Woods 337

Floating Exchange Rates and Financial Crises 337

#### 10-4 The 2008 Global Financial Crisis 339

### 10-5 Recovery and Reform: Challenges Facing Global Finance 343

U.S. Leadership and the Future of the Dollar 343 The End of the Liberal Consensus? 345

Whither the International Financial Architecture? 348

## CHAPTER 11 International Trade in the Global Marketplace 353

#### 11-1 Globalization and Trade 354

Trade, Multinational Corporations, and the Globalization of Production 356

The Globalization of Labor 359

#### 11-2 Contending Trade Strategies 362

The Shadow of the Great Depression 363

The Clash Between Liberal and Mercantilist Values 364

Commercial Liberalism 364

Mercantilism 367

#### 11-3 Trade and Global Politics 368

#### 11-4 The Fate of Free Trade 374

Trade Tricks 375

The Uneasy Coexistence of Liberalism and Mercantilism 377

#### 11-5 Triumph or Trouble for the Global Economy 378

The Development of the WTO 378

World Trade and the Global Financial Crisis 383

Regional and Plurilateral Trade Arrangements: Supplement or Substitute for the WTO? 386

## CHAPTER 12 The Demographic and Cultural Dimensions of Globalization 391

#### 12-1 Population Change as a Global Challenge 392

World Population Growth Rates 393

Demographic Divisions: Youth Bulges and Aging Populations 395

#### 12-2 Global Migration Trends 400

A Quest for Sustenance and Freedom 400 Urbanization 405

#### 12-3 New Plagues? The Global Impact of Disease 408

#### 12-4 The Global Information Age 412

The Evolution of Global Communications 412
The Politics and Business of Global Communication 416

12-5 Globalization and the Global Future 417

## CHAPTER 13 The Promotion of Human Development and Human Rights 422

#### 13-1 Putting People into the Picture 423

## 13-2 How Does Humanity Fare? The Human Condition Today 427

Measuring Human Development and Human Security 430 Globalization, Democratization, and Economic Prosperity 432

#### 13-3 Human Rights and the Protection of People 434

Internationally Recognized Human Rights 435

The Precarious Life of Indigenous Peoples 436

Gender Inequality and Its Consequences 438

Gendercide, Slavery, and Human Trafficking 442

Children and Human Rights 445

#### 13-4 Responding to Human Rights 449

The Human Rights Legal Framework 450

The Challenge of Enforcement 451

## CHAPTER 14 Global Responsibility for the Preservation of the Environment 455

#### 14-1 Framing the Ecological Debate 456

14-2 Globalization and the Tragedy of the Global Commons 457

#### 14-3 Global Ecopolitical Challenges 461

The Ecopolitics of the Atmosphere 461

Climate Change and Global Warming 461 Ozone Depletion and Protection 466

The Ecopolitics of Biodiversity, Deforestation, and Water Shortages 467

Threats to Global Biodiversity 467 Shrinking Forests and Dust Bowls 469 A Burgeoning Water Crisis 471

The Ecopolitics of Energy Supply and Demand 473

## 14-4 Toward Sustainability and Human Security 475

The Quest for Sustainable Development 475
Feeding the Masses 477
Converting to Renewable Sources of Energy 481

14-5 Global Efforts Toward Environmental Solutions 485

PART V Thinking About the Future of World Politics

## CHAPTER 15 Looking Ahead at Global Trends and Transformations 492

15-1 Global Trends and Forecasts: Putting Yourself in the Picture 493

#### 15-2 The Global Predicament: Key Questions About a Turbulent World 494

Is Globalization a Cure or a Curse? 496
Will Technological Innovation Solve Pressing Global

Problems? 497

What Types of Armed Conflict Will Become the Major Fault Line in the Geostrategic Landscape? 499

Should the Global Community Intervene to Protect Human Rights? 500

Is the World Preparing for the Wrong War? 501
Is This the "End of History" or the End of Happy
Endings? 502

15-3 A New World Order or New World Disorder? 503

Glossary 507 References 517 Name Index 542 Subject Index 549

## 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 effectively analyze 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" boxes—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 2014-2015 edition, numerous changes have taken place in international relations. To provide students with the most current information, the entire text of this 2016-2017 edition has been revised to incorporate the latest global events and scholarly research. Major changes include:

- An atlas with detailed political maps of each continent now opens the book, and each chapter highlights Learning Objectives that serve as a guide to key concepts.
- A vibrant and engaging illustration program—ten new maps, figures, and tables plus revisions that
  update twenty-five other maps and thirty other figures and a host of photos of real-world events—
  provokes student interest and enables them to visualize central global developments and the most
  recently available data.
- New and revised "A Closer Look" and "Controversy" boxes highlight real-world events and feature
  essential debates.
- New key terms—such as fracking and turbo-urbanization—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 new discussions of a
  constructivist emphasis on affective sources of behavior, poliheuristic theory of decision making, and
  prospect theory.

- Updated discussions of conflict and cooperation around the world, including the prospect of a
  resurgent Russia and an increasingly powerful China, thawing relations between Cuba and the United
  States, terrorist groups such as Boko Haram and ISIS/ISIL, and international bodies such as the
  United Nations, International Court of Justice, and the International Criminal Court.
- Discussion of global trends, such as the pervasiveness of global corruption, the challenge of fragile states, the consequences of youth bulges and declining populations, human trafficking, child mortality, and advances in global communications and technological innovation.
- Discussion of the latest advances in military technology, including the growing prevalence of
  drones and the threat of chemical and biological weapons, as well as a look at the changing nuclear
  environment in Iran, the diffusion of civil war, and the role of peacekeeping in containing conflict.
- Updated discussions of the global political economy, including new coverage of the dilemmas in the
  wake of the 2008 global financial crisis, growth of international stock exchanges, the controversial
  strategy of corporate inversion, global supply chains, the vision for the BRICS' New Development
  Bank, and the prospects for the Trans-Pacific Partnership.
- New discussion of preparation for the spread of global diseases such as Ebola, the evolution of human rights as a concept in international relations, environmental degradation and the threat of water and food crises, and the record number of refugees.
- New suggested Internet resources for further investigation of world politics at the close of each chapter.

#### MindTap™

As an instructor, MindTap is here to simplify your workload, organize and immediately grade your students' assignments, and enable you to customize your course as you see fit. Through deep-seated integration with your Learning Management System, grades are easily exported and analytics are pulled with just the click of a button. MindTapprovides you with a platform to easily add in current events videos and RSS feeds from national or local news sources. Looking to include more currency in the course? Students can access the KnowNow International Relations Blog for weekly updated news coverage and pedagogy.

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

## Letter to Students

#### Dear Student:

In a constantly changing world, it is important to be able to effectively analyze key events and issues in international affairs, and to critically assess 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 boxes examine rival viewpoints on major international relations issues and encourage
  you to think critically and develop your own opinions.
- A Closer Look boxes 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 list of **Suggested Readings, Videos, and Web Resources** to help you prepare for your papers and essays.

As a student, the benefits of using MindTap with this book are endless. With automatically graded practice quizzes and activities, an easily navigated learning path, and an interactive eBook, you will be able to test yourself in and out of the classroom with ease. The accessibility of current events coupled with interactive media makes the content fun and engaging. On your computer, phone, or tablet, MindTap is there when you need it, giving you easy access to flashcards, quizzes, readings, and assignments.

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

Resources for

Chapter 9: The Use of Force

Students and Instructors

#### Students...

Access your World Politics, 2016–2017 Edition resources by visiting

www.cengagebrain.com/shop/isbn/9781305504875.

If you purchased MindTap access with your book, enter your access code and click "Register." You can also purchase the book's resources here separately through the "Study Tools" tab.

#### Instructors...

Access your World Politics, 2016–2017 Edition resources via www.cengage.com/login.

Log in using your Cengage Learning single sign-on user name and

password, or create a new instructor account by clicking on "New Faculty User" and following the instructions.

## MindTap

## MindTap for World Politics, 2016–2017 Edition

ISBN for Instant Access Code: 9781305504851 ISBN for Printed Access Code: 9781305504837

MindTap for World Politics, 2016–2017 Edition is a highly personalized, fully online learning experience built on Cengage



Learning content correlated to a core set of learning outcomes. MindTap guides students through the course curriculum via an innovative Learning Path Navigator where they will complete reading assignments, challenge themselves with focus activities, and engage with interactive quizzes. Through a variety of gradable activities, MindTap provides students with opportunities to check themselves for where they need extra help, as well as allowing faculty to measure and assess student progress. Integration with programs like YouTube and Google Drive enables instructors to add and remove content of their choosing with ease, keeping their course current while tracking global events through RSS feeds. The product can be used fully online with its interactive eBook for *World Politics*, 2016–2017 Edition, or in conjunction with the printed text.

## Instructor Companion Website for *World Politics*, 2016–2017 Edition—for instructors only

#### ISBN: 9781305641235

This Instructor Companion Website is an all-in-one multimedia online resource for class preparation, presentation, and testing. Accessible through Cengage.com/login with your faculty account, you will find available for download: book-specific Microsoft® PowerPoint® presentations; a Test Bank compatible with multiple learning management systems (LMSs); an Instructor's Manual; Microsoft® PowerPoint® Image Slides; and a JPEG Image Library.

The Test Bank, offered in Blackboard, Moodle, Desire2Learn, Canvas, and Angel formats, contains Learning Objective–specific multiple-choice and essay questions for each chapter. Import the Test Bank into your LMS to edit and manage questions and to create tests.

The Instructor's Manual contains chapter-specific Learning Objectives, an outline, key terms with definitions, and a chapter summary. Additionally, the Instructor's Manual features a critical thinking question, lecture-launching suggestion, and an in-class activity for each Learning Objective.

The Microsoft® PowerPoint® presentations are ready-to-use, visual outlines of each chapter. These presentations are easily customized for your lectures and offered along with chapter-specific Microsoft® PowerPoint® Image Slides and JPEG Image Libraries. Access the Instructor Companion Website at www.cengage.com/login.

#### IAC Cognero for World Politics, 2016–2017 Edition

#### ISBN: 9781305641266

Cengage Learning Testing Powered by Cognero is a flexible, online system that allows you to author, edit, and manage Test Bank content from multiple Cengage Learning solutions; create multiple test versions in an instant; and deliver tests from your LMS, your classroom, or wherever you want. The Test Bank for *World Politics*, 2016–2017 Edition, contains Learning Objective–specific multiple-choice and essay questions for each chapter.

## Acknowledgments

Many people—in fact, too many to identify and thank individually—have contributed to the development of this leading textbook in international relations, including Eugene R. Wittkopf, who served as a coauthor of the first six editions. We are thankful for the constructive comments, advice, and data provided by an array of scholars and colleagues. These include:

#### The reviewers for this edition:

Katherine Barbieri, University of South Carolina Shea Mize, Georgia Highlands College Robert Morin, Western Nevada College Jeff Ringer, Brigham Young University Thomas E. Rotnem, Southern Polytechnic State University

#### Past reviewers and other contributors to this text:

Duane Adamson, Brigham Young
University-Idaho
Daniel Allen, Anderson University
Ruchi Anand, American Graduate School of International Relations and Diplomacy in Paris
Osmo Apunen, University of Tampere
Bossman Asare, Graceland University
Chad Atkinson, University of Illinois
Andrew J. Bacevich, Boston University
Yan Bai, Grand Rapids Community College
George Belzer, Johnson County Community
College

John Boehrer, University of Washington Pamela Blackmon, Penn State Altoona Robert Blanton, University of Alabama at Birmingham

Linda P. Brady, University of North Carolina at Greensboro

Leann Brown, University of Florida
Dan Caldwell, Pepperdine University
John H. Calhoun, Palm Beach Atlantic University
John Candido, La Trobe University
Colin S. Cavell, Bluefield State College
Roger A. Coate, Georgia College & State University
Jonathan E. Colby, Carlyle Group in Washington,
D.C.

Phyllis D. Collins, Keswick Management Inc. in New York City

Christopher R. Cook, University of Pittsburgh at Johnstown

Reverend George Crow, Northeast Presbyterian Church

Rebecca Cruise, University of Oklahoma Jonathan Davidson, European Commission Philippe Dennery, J-Net Ecology Communication Company in Paris

Drew Dickson, Atlantic Council of the United States

Agber Dimah, Chicago State University
Gregory Domin, Mercer University
Thomas Donaldson, Wharton School of the
University of Pennsylvania
Nicole Detraz, University of Memphis
Zach Dorfman, Carnegie Council for Ethics in
International Affairs

Ayman I. El-Dessouki and Kemel El-Menoufi, Cairo University

Sid Ellington, University of Oklahoma Robert Fatton, University of Virginia Matthias Finger, Columbia University John Freeman, University of Minnesota–Minneapolis

Eytan Gilboa, Bar-Ilan University in Israel Giovanna Gismondi, University of Oklahoma Srajan Gligorijevic, Defense and Security Studies Centre of the G-17 Plus Institute in Belgrade, Serbia

Richard F. Grimmett, Congressional Research Office

Ted Robert Gurr, University of Maryland Aref N. Hassan, St. Cloud State University Russell Hardin, New York University James E. Harf, Maryville University in St. Louis Cristian A. Harris, North Georgia College and State University

Charles Hermann, Texas A&M University Margaret G. Hermann, Syracuse University Stephen D. Hibbard, Shearman & Sterling LLP Steven W. Hook, Kent State University Jack Hurd, Nature Conservatory Ashley Brooke Huddleston, University of Memphis

Lisa Huffstetler, University of Memphis
Patrick James, University of Southern California
Loch Johnson, University of Georgia
Christopher M. Jones, Northern Illinois University
Christopher Joyner, Georgetown University
Boris Khan, American Military University
Michael D. Kanner, University of Colorado
Mahmoud Karem, Egyptian Foreign Service
Deborah J. Kegley, Kegley International, Inc.
Mary V. Kegley, Kegley Books in Wytheville,
Virginia

Susan Kegley, University of California–Berkeley Julia Kennedy, Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs

Lidija Kos-Stanišic, University of Zagreb in Croatia

Matthias Kranke, University of Tier Barbara Kyker, University of Memphis Imtiaz T. Ladak, Projects International in Washington, D.C.

Jack Levy, Rutgers University

Carol Li, Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in New York

Urs Luterbacher, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva

Gen. Jeffrey D. McCausland, U.S. Army War College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania James McCormick, Iowa University Kelly A. McCready, Maria College, Albany,

Kelly A. McCready, Maria College, Albany New York

Karen Ann Mingst, University of Kentucky James A. Mitchell, California State University Mahmood Monshipouri, San Francisco State University

Donald Munton, University of Northern British Columbia

Todd Myers, Grossmont College Ahmad Noor, Youth Parliament Pakistan Evan O'Neil, Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs

Anthony Perry, Henry Ford Community College Jeffrey Pickering, Kansas State University Desley Sant Parker, United States Information Agency

Albert C. Pierce, U.S. Naval Academy Alex Platt, Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs Ignacio de la Rasilla, Université de Genève James Ray, Vanderbilt University Gregory A. Raymond, Boise State University Andreas Rekdal, Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs

Neil R. Richardson, University of Wisconsin Peter Riddick, Berkhamsted Collegiate James N. Rosenau, George Washington University

Joel Rosenthal, Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs

Tapani Ruokanen, Suomen Kuvalehti, Finland Alpo M. Rusi, Finnish Ambassador to Switzerland

Jan Aart Scholte, University of Warwick, UK Rebecca R. Sharitz, International Association for Ecology

Shalendra D. Sharma, University of San Francisco

Richard H. Shultz, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University

Dragan R. Simić, Centre for the Studies of the USA in Belgrade, Serbia

Michael J. Siler, University of California Christopher Sprecher, Texas A&M University Jelena Subotic, Georgia State University Bengt Sundelius, National Defense College in Stockholm

David Sylvan, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva William R. Thompson, Indiana University Clayton L. Thyne, University of Kentucky Rodney Tomlinson, U.S. Naval Academy Deborah Tompsett-Makin, Riverside Community College, Norco Campus

John Tuman, University of Nevada, Las Vegas Denise Vaughan, Bellevue Community College Rob Verhofstad, Radmoud University in Nijmegen, the Netherlands

William C. Vocke, Jr., Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs

William Wagstaff, Emory University Seth Weinberger, University of Puget Sound Robert Weiner, University of Massachusetts–Boston

Jonathan Wilkenfeld, University of Maryland Alex Woodson, Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs

Samuel A. Worthington, InterAction

Also helpful was the input provided by honors undergraduate student Alexis Lincoln at the University of Alabama at Birmingham, who provided invaluable research assistance. The always helpful and accommodating project manager Anupriya Tyagi with Cenveo and Photo Researcher Swarnadivya Chokkalingam with Lumina Datamatics made valuable contributions to this book. In addition, also deserving of special gratitude are our highly skilled, dedicated, and helpful editors at Cengage: Product Team Manager Carolyn Merrill and Senior Content Developer Rebecca Green, who exercised extraordinary professionalism in guiding the process that brought this edition into print, as well as Managing Content Developer Megan Garvey, who helped see the book through the production process, assisted by the project management of Cathy Brooks. Gratitude is also expressed to the always instructive advice of Valerie Hartman, Cengage's skilled Political Science Marketing Manager.

We would also like to thank the supplement authors for this edition. Charles Hantz of Danville Area Community College revised the test bank and Samuel Lucas McMillan of Lander University revised the Instructor's Manual and PowerPoint lectures.

## About the Authors

**SHANNON LINDSEY BLANTON** is a Professor in the Department of Government at the University of Alabama at Birmingham, where she is also the inaugural Dean of the UAB Honors College. She is a past vice provost for undergraduate programs, department chair, and undergraduate coordinator and has served nationally as a facilitator for leadership development in higher education. A graduate of Georgia College (BA), the University of Georgia (MA), and the University of South Carolina (PhD), she has received numerous research awards and professional recognitions. She has served on a number of editorial boards, including those for four of the discipline's foremost journals: *International Studies Quarterly*, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, *International Interactions*, and *International Studies Perspectives*. She has published articles on U.S. foreign policy decision making, with a particular focus on the determinants and consequences of U.S. arms transfers and foreign aid. Her work has also examined the significance of human rights concerns in global political and economic interactions.

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. 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, and the Institute Universitaire de Hautes Études Internationales Et du Développement in Geneva, Switzerland. He is also a recipient of the Distinguished Scholar Award of the Foreign Policy Analysis Section of the International Studies Association. A founding partner of Kegley International, Inc. (a publishing, research, and consulting foundation), he has authored more than fifty scholarly books and over one hundred articles in journals.

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, 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, and Western Political Quarterly.

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).

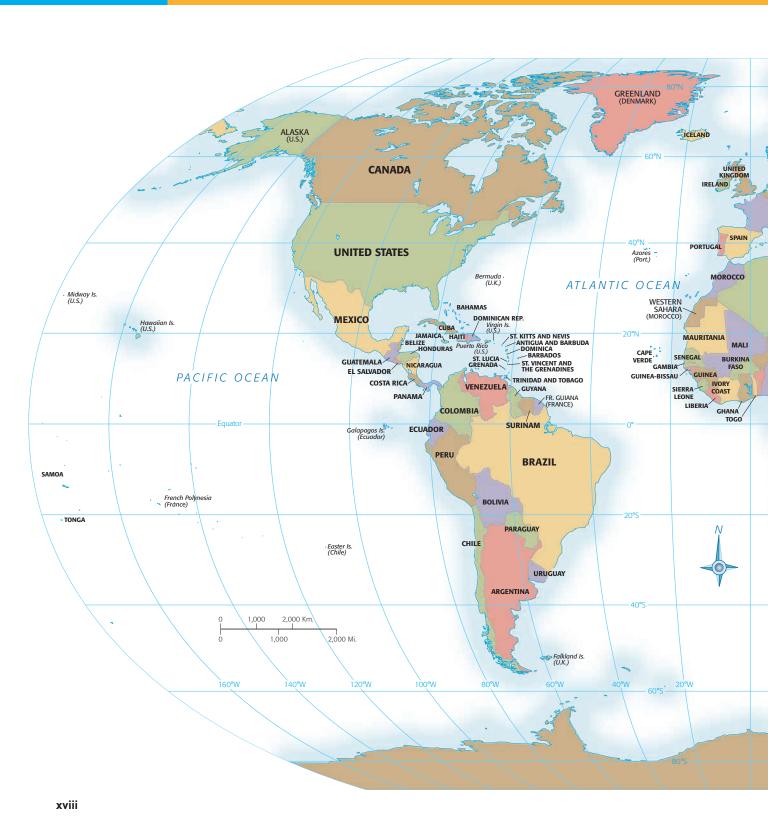
#### **DEDICATION**

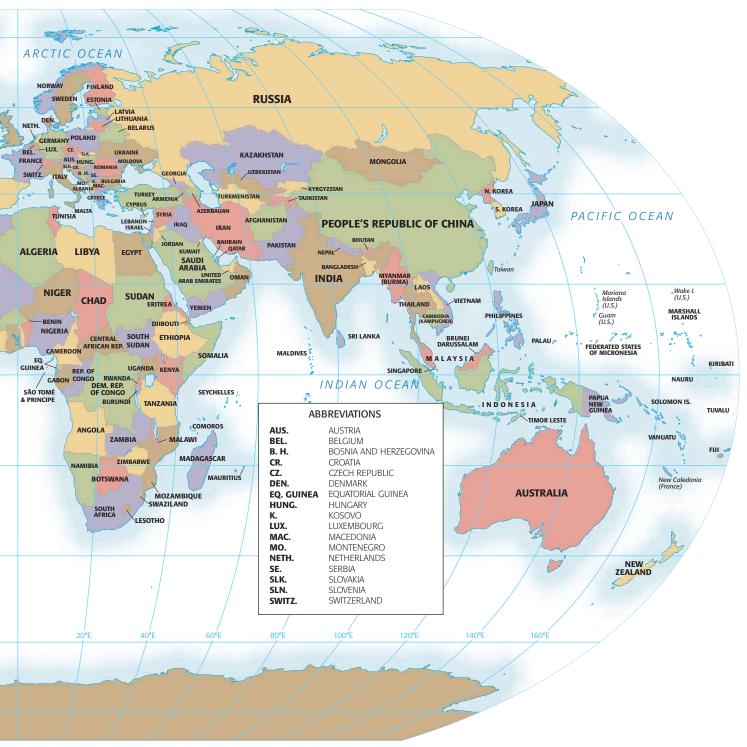
To my husband Rob and our sons Austin and Cullen, in appreciation of their love and support
—Shannon Lindsey Blanton

To my loving wife Debbie and 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

**xvii** 





## NORTH AMERICA

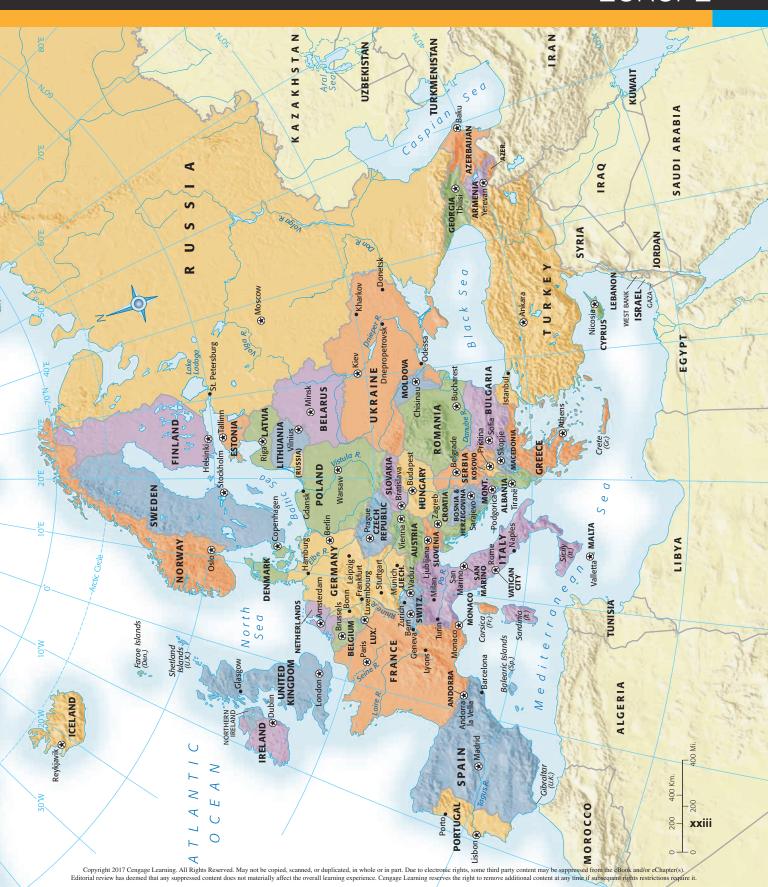


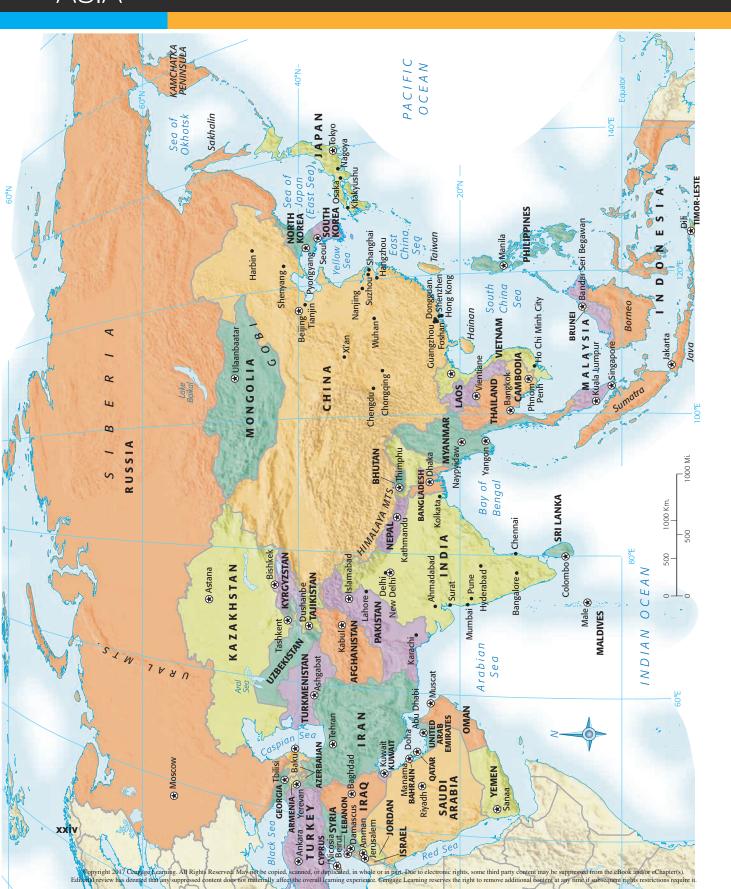
## LATIN AMERICA



## **AFRICA**







## TREND AND TRANSFORMATION IN WORLD POLITICS



© NASA Im

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.



## **Discovering World Politics**



**WHAT FUTURE FOR HUMANKIND?** Many global trends are sweeping across a transforming planet. Here Ukrainians participate in a "Dignity March" in Kiev on Sunday, February 22, 2015, to commemorate the death of protesters who took part in an uprising that toppled the country's pro-Russian leader in 2014. Hostilities between the pro-Western government and the pro-Russian rebels reflect conflict over enduring global issues of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and geopolitical power.

## Learning Objectives

- 1-1 Describe the core difficulty of investigating human phenomena such as international relations.
- 1-2 Explain different ways in which we perceive reality, and how these perceptions can influence international politics.
- 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

magine yourself returning home from a two-week vacation on a tropical island where you had 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. As you glance at a newspaper, the headlines catch your eye. Death and destruction rage across the Middle East and North Africa. Fighting and heavy casualties persist, with record numbers of people forcibly displaced and seeking refuge in neighboring countries. The civil war in Syria continues, with Al Qaeda, the militant group Islamic State (ISIS/ISIL), and other insurgent groups committing grave atrocities as they take control of territory across the country. Despite all the apparent chaos, there are pockets of hope: A historic deal was reached between Iran and other major world powers after nearly ten years of diplomacy that commits Iran to curbing its nuclear program in return for sanctions relief.

As you ride home from the airport, you hear a radio broadcast about economic conditions around the world. The situation in Greece is dire with the economic crisis having reached the scale of the U.S. Great Depression of the 1930s. It faces austerity measures to address rampant debt and poor public finance, and questions abound as to ramifications for Greece and the European Union should the country not recover and its economy collapse. The extent of the debt crisis in Puerto Rico has also come to light, to the tune of \$72 billion owed to creditors. China's economic growth is slowing, and there are concerns about the slide in total trade and the Chinese stock market. In the face of abject poverty and marginalization of so many around the world, the pope lambasts the world economic order, calling the unfettered pursuit of money the "dung of the devil." However many of the effects of the Great Recession are fading, and the IMF expects global economic growth to accelerate in the coming year. You hope that conditions improve before you graduate and enter the job market.

Shortly after arriving home, you connect to the Internet and read that popular social media companies are debating how to maintain global platforms that embrace free expression yet prevent savvy militant groups from using them to advance gruesome terrorist propaganda and recruit new members. There is also coverage of violence by drug cartels in Mexico, and the escape of a drug lord from a maximum security prison. Yet there are inspiring images too: close-up photos from the first mission to Pluto show an unexpected range of youthful mountains and topographical evidence suggesting the existence of water.

Finally, while listening to NPR later that evening, you hear several other reports: The United Nations announced that rich and poor countries have agreed upon new international development goals that will end poverty and hunger, ensure universal access to quality education, secure gender equality, and advance environmental sustainability. With all of the conflict and hardship in the world, it is encouraging that people can work together to improve the human condition. You also hear that in light of the warming of relations between the United States and Cuba, a popular cruise company is looking at providing trips to the island nation. You make a mental note to look into the possibility of a spring break vacation or a study abroad tour.

The scenario just described is not hypothetical. The events identified record what actually occurred during the month of July 2015. Undoubtedly, many individuals experienced fear and confusion during this period. But 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 really 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 stand 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 and how changes are remaking our political and economic lives. Only through learning how our own decisions and behavior, as well as those of powerful state governments and nonstate transnational actors, contribute to the global condition, and how all people and groups in turn are heavily conditioned by changes in world politics, 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."

The whole purpose of education is to turn mirrors into windows.

—Sydney J. Harris, American political journalist

## 1-1 THE CHALLENGE OF INVESTIGATING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

To best understand the political convulsions that confront the globe's more than 7 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.

#### 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.

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 world 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, then, 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. This is followed by 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.

## 1-2 HOW DO PERCEPTIONS INFLUENCE IMAGES OF GLOBAL REALITY?

Although you may not have attempted to explicitly define 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 may be built on illusions and misconceptions. They 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 now 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 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 the way it is.



#### 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 partially 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 perfectly represent 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 the three-dimensional object 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 making adjustments to 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. Cartographers' ideas of what is most important in world geography have varied according to their own global perspectives. In turn, the accuracy of their rival maps matters politically because they shape how people view what is important.

Consider these four maps (Maps 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, and 1.4). Each depicts the distribution of the Earth's land surfaces and territory but portrays a different image. Each is a model of reality, an abstraction that highlights some features of the globe while ignoring others.

#### WHAT DO YOU THINK?

- What are some of the policy implications associated with the image of the world as depicted in each of the respective projections?
- 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?
- In thinking about images and the important role they play in foreign policy, should a consensus be made as to the world projection that is "least" distorted? Would it be better for everyone to use one map or to use many different types of projections? Why?

(Continued)

#### **SHOULD WE BELIEVE WHAT WE SEE? (Continued)**



MAP 1.1 MERCATOR PROJECTION This Mercator projection, named for the Flemish cartographer Gerard Mercator, 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."

How we view 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). Reflecting on this tendency, political scientist Richard Ned Lebow (1981, p. 277) warns that, just like the rest of us, "Policymakers are prone to distort reality in accord with their needs even in situations that appear... relatively unambiguous."

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 and people when attempting to understand the world by *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*, 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 long-standing fear of 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 since World War II, which committed the country

### schematic reasoning

The process of reasoning by which new information is interpreted according to a memory structure, 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.

to active involvement nearly everywhere on nearly every issue. Most Americans, thinking of their country as virtuous, have difficulty understanding why others sometimes regard such farreaching 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's with Islam during the Crusades in the Middle Ages, Israel's and Palestine's since the birth of the sovereign state of Israel in 1948, and the United States' with Al Qaeda today, 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, "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. war in Iraq 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.

#### 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.