

The World at 2000

By the same author

Arabia without Sultans

Iran: Dictatorship and Development

Threat from the East? Soviet Policy in the Arc of Crisis

The Ethiopian Revolution (*co-author*)

The Making of the Second Cold War

State and Ideology in the Middle East and Pakistan (*co-editor*)

Cold War, Third World

Revolution and Foreign Policy: The Case of South Yemen, 1967–1987

Arabs in Exile: Yemeni Migrants in Urban Britain

Islam and the Myth of Confrontation: Religion and Politics in the Middle East

Rethinking International Relations

Revolution and World Politics: The Rise and Fall of the Sixth Great Power

Nation and Religion in the Middle East

The World at 2000

Perils and Promises

Fred Halliday

palgrave



© Fred Halliday 2001

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No paragraph of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, 90 Tottenham Court Road, London W1P 0LP.

Any person who does any unauthorised act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The author has asserted his right to be identified as the author of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 2001 by
PALGRAVE

Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS and
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010

Companies and representatives throughout the world

PALGRAVE is the new global academic imprint of
St. Martin's Press LLC Scholarly and Reference Division and
Palgrave Publishers Ltd (formerly Macmillan Press Ltd).

ISBN 978-0-333-94534-6 hardback

ISBN 978-0-333-94535-3 ISBN 978-0-333-99427-6 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-0-333-99427-6

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and
made from fully managed and sustained forest sources.

A catalogue record for this book is available
from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Halliday, Fred

The world at 2000/Fred Halliday.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-333-94534-6 – ISBN 978-0-333-94535-3 (pbk.)

1. World politics—21st century. 2. Globalization. 3. Democracy.

4. Security, International. I. Title: World at two-thousand.

II. Title.

D2003 .H35 2000

909.83—dc21

00-062604

Editing and origination by
Aardvark Editorial, Mendham, Suffolk

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

10 09 08 07 06 05 04 03 02 01

For Alex

Contents

<i>Preface</i>	ix
<i>List of Acronyms</i>	xi
1 A World in Transition	1
Movements of History	4
Intellectual Challenges	9
Limits of the New	15
The Surprises of Continuity	17
2 The Shadow of the Twentieth Century	19
The Twentieth Century: a Short History	21
1945: the Turning Point	22
‘European’ Values and Beyond	26
3 Arguments about World Politics	30
Hegemonic Optimism	30
Liberal Reform	35
A New Anti-imperialism	40
The ‘New Middle Ages’	44
4 The Recurrence of War	46
War and Modernity	47
The Evolution of Insecurity	49
The Prospect of Inter-state War	53
The ‘Revolution in Military Affairs’	56
Possibilities of Peace	58
5 Globalization and its Discontents	60
Definition and History	60
Instabilities and Inequalities	63
Scientific and Technological Change	67
The Unanswered Challenge: Modernity and Inequality	71

6	The Fragility of Democracy	75
	Liberty and its Limits	76
	Historical Context	82
	Russia, China, Indonesia	84
	The Chimera of Fortress Democracy	86
7	The Unaccountable Hegemon	90
	A Society in Change	96
	Foreign Policy in Dispute	98
	The Limits of Hyperpower	104
	The US and the World: Towards a Balance Sheet	107
8	Delusions of Difference	110
	A Necessary Sociology of Knowledge	115
	Transnationalism in Context	119
	The Misuse of the 'Other'	121
	Beyond Cultural Conflict	123
9	Governance Beyond Frontiers	125
	Internationalism in Flux	125
	The Advent of 'Governance'	130
	Governance: Four Levels	133
10	For a Radical Universalism	139
	The Need for Utopia	139
	Bases of a Just Order	144
	The Claims of Community	148
	Universalism Imperilled	152
	Agency in Our Time	156
	<i>Notes</i>	158
	<i>Index</i>	163

Preface

The book that follows is based on a set of public lectures given at the London School of Economics in spring 2000: conceived of as part of the LSE's 'Spanning the Centuries' series, they were designed to explore broad themes in the field of international relations.

Throughout I have been aware of the pitfalls of such a speculative venture – the risks of any attempt to identify the major issues in world politics, the folly of prediction about human affairs, the particular dangers of verbosity that beset those who take as their starting point the millennium. That the very date 2000 is not, of course, of such import to those who have different calendars – be they Muslim, Iranian, Jewish, Ethiopian, or Japanese – is itself a corrective to any inflated privilege of global perspective: for them it is 1420, 1379, 5760, 1992 and 12 respectively.

The book is intended as a contribution to a number of key current academic and public debates about international relations, and hopefully one that will cross divisions of calendar and culture. While no reader will agree with everything in this book, it should be possible to conduct discussion of the issues it raises on the basis of facts and reasoning, and of some shared criteria. The realm of the international need not be conceded either to the emotional or the particularist, nor to the deterministic.

This book, therefore, rests on an argument for what I term 'international reason', this understood in two senses: analysing international relations in terms, analytic and moral, that aspire to being rational and universal, and assessing disputes within international relations through rational argument.

In preparing these lectures, and in reworking them for publication, I have also sought to strike a distinctive note, to avoid the two besetting vices of much writing on international affairs, complacency disguised as realism, and irresponsibility posing as conscience. In this vein, I try to chart a course that is both critical of the state of the contemporary world and exigent about that which may present itself as an alternative.

A number of people are owed a particular debt for their contribution to the completion of this book. My publisher Steven Kennedy both encouraged me to attempt these lectures and acted as a sympathetic editor throughout. *Radical Philosophy* kindly agreed to let me use material in Chapter 2, which was originally published in Issue 98, November–December 1999. The Foreign Policy Centre generously acted as co-sponsors of the lecture series. Amanda Goodall was enthusiastic in incorporating me into the LSE's 'Spanning the Centuries' programme. Gary Delaney, Sarah Smith and Clare Devaney of the LSE Conference and Events Office arranged the lectures themselves. Jennifer Chapa of the Department of International Relations LSE was invaluable in support for completion of lectures and book. Among those to whom I owe a particular intellectual gratitude I would mention Nuri Abd al-Razzaq, Mariano Aguirre, Fabian Biancardi, Nick Bisley, Tony Cole, Katerina Dalacoura, Wolfgang Deckers, Meghnad Desai, Edmund Fawcett, Graham Fuller, Tony Giddens, David Held, Christopher Hill, Dominique Jacquin-Berdal, Mary Kaldor, Gerison Lansdown, Margot Light, Jim Paul, Dennis Sammut, Jonathan Steele, Grahame Thompson and William Wallace. To my students over the years in the International Relations Department at LSE I owe stimulation and contestation. Finally, my family, Maxine and Alex, had to start the new millennium by putting up with more than the usual aberrant intensity that accompanies work of this kind. To all of them, for their patience and support, I give my heartfelt thanks and offer the excuse which goes for the book as a whole: it is only 2000 once.

FRED HALLIDAY
London
September 2000

List of Acronyms

ABM	anti-ballistic missile
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
BINGO	business-supported international non-governmental organization
CNN	Cable News Network
CTBT	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
ELN	Ejercito de Liberación Nacional
EU	European Union
FARC	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia
FDI	foreign direct investment
FRETILIN	Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor
GDP	gross domestic product
GINGO	government-controlled international non-governmental organization
GM	genetically modified
ICANN	Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	international non-governmental organization
IRA	Irish Republican Army
KGB	Committee of State Security/(USSR state secret police)
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army
MNC	multinational corporation
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	non-governmental organization
NIEO	New International Economic Order
NMD	National Missile Defense
NPT	Non-Proliferation Treaty
OAU	Organization for African Unity
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries

OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PKK	<i>Partiya Karkeran Kurdistan</i> (Kurdistan Workers' Party)
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
RINGO	reactionary international non-governmental organization
RMA	revolution in military affairs
TINGO	tribal international non-governmental organization
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WMD	weapons of mass destruction
WTO	World Trade Organization