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The Global 1989

1989 signifies the collapse of Soviet communism and the end of the Cold War, a moment generally recognised as a triumph for liberal democracy and when capitalism became global. *The Global 1989* challenges these ideas. An international group of prominent scholars investigate the mixed, paradoxical and even contradictory outcomes engendered by these events, unravelling the intricacies of this important moment in world history. Although the political, economic and cultural orders generated have, for the most part, been an improvement on what was in place before, this has not always been clear-cut: 1989 has many meanings, many effects and multiple trajectories. This volume leads the way in defining how 1989 can be assessed both in terms of its world historical impact and in terms of its contribution to the shape of contemporary world politics.

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CHRIS ARMBRUSTER is the founder and Executive Director of the Research Network 1989. He also tracks the evolution of digital scholarly communication for the Max Planck Society at the Max Planck Digital Library.

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Continuity and Change in World Politics

Edited by

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London School of Economics

Chris Armbruster
Max Planck Society

Michael Cox
London School of Economics

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For Fred Halliday (1946–2010)

Inspirational friend; debunker of myths

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Struggle for the International Mind (co-edited with Colin Tyler) and the other entitled *The Eurocentric Origins of International Relations*.

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Czech Dissidence: From Patočka to Havel (2000); *Our Knowledge of the Past: A Philosophy of Historiography* (Cambridge University Press, 2004); and *The Legacies of Totalitarianism: A Political Theory of Post-Totalitarianism* (forthcoming).

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The manuscript for this book was completed in the week often understood to mark the twentieth anniversary of the events of '1989 and all that': the fall of the Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989. For the most part, the anniversary was well observed: former activists – now often politicians, academics and, on occasion, businesspeople – explained how concerted struggle from below had brought communism to its knees; many former Soviet leaders – none more so than Gorbachev himself – argued that they had played the decisive role in sowing the seeds for the communist collapse from above; while Western policy makers were not shy in reminding viewers, listeners and readers the extent to which they, and the West more generally, had created the necessary conditions for the demise of the communist system. Of course, all of these accounts contain a kernel of truth. The events of 1989 were a conjuncture of both long-term trends and short-term triggers, caused by both internal and external processes, and enabled by the agency of both state actors and civil society activists.

This book, however, does more than ask why state socialism ended in Eastern and Central Europe. Rather, it seeks to move debate on: from a focus on causes to an examination of consequences, and from a concentration on Europe to a canvass which embraces the whole world. The principal aim of this book is to ask whether it is legitimate to talk about there being a 'global 1989' by examining the extent to which major historical processes of capitalist expansion, state formation and development were slowed down, hurried along, or left relatively unaffected by the events of 1989. In short, we explore the world historical importance of 1989, focusing on the continuities and changes, complexities and uncertainties which have taken place in world politics over the past two decades. Along the way, the most important impacts of 1989 – favourable and unfavourable, intended and unintended – come into view.

The main message of the book is that 1989 changed many things in world politics, but not everything, not always for the better and not always in the ways – or order – in which these changes were intended.

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Lurking behind this assessment is a broader message that the world is much more complex than our theories of it. And, in turn, behind this point is a sense in which dates and snapshots often serve to occlude rather than enlighten debates about world historical development. We all need shorthands – 1989 included – in order to simplify complex events and assess processes of continuity and change. But we also need to be aware of how these shorthands often mask more interesting dynamics which lie beneath the surface. Working on this project has been a reminder of the capacity of history to surprise and, more generally, of the fascination which comes from looking critically at particular historical moments. Of course, this book should not be read as any kind of final word on the subject; it does not seek a definitive reckoning of the world historical significance of 1989. All dates – and all histories – are works in motion. Rather, this book should be seen as a way-station on an altogether more winding journey, one born from the sense of exploration and engagement which lie at the heart of the intellectual imagination.

Although the final revisions to the manuscript were completed in November 2009, the origins of the book go back much further. Discussions about the project began in 2007, leading to a workshop at the London School of Economics in mid 2008 when first drafts of most of the papers which appear in this book were presented. Our thanks to Research Network 1989, LSE IDEAS and the International Relations Department at LSE for helping to organise and fund this event. Chapters were subjected to major editorial revisions before submission of the first draft of the manuscript in early 2009. Our thanks to the CUP assessors for their close reading of the text and for the robust, constructive way in which they approached assessment of it. We must also thank several people who read all, or part, of the manuscript along the way and whose comments, queries and occasional denunciations feature in its pages, most notably Toby Dodge, Paul Kirby, Ned Lebow, Luca Tardelli and the participants of a panel on 'The Global 1989' at the 2009 ISA convention in New York. It feels moderately unfair that the book is both substantively different and notably better because of the input of these silent partners. But we can at least acknowledge how grateful we are for the ways in which the peer review process and broader sites of scholarly exchange have resulted in a much better book than we could have produced on our own.

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Abbreviations

ACP	Africa, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States
ANC	Africa National Congress
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CoD	Concert of Democracies
COMECON	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
COP	Common Operational Picture
CPA	Coalition Provisional Authority
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CP USA	Communist Party of the USA
CSSR	Czechoslovak Socialist Republic
DARPA	Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency
DPG	Defense Planning Guidance
DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea
EU	European Union
EC/EEC	European Community/European Economic Community
ELN	Ejército de Liberación Nacional (National Liberation Army)
EMU	Economic and Monetary Union
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
EPLF	Eritrean People's Liberation Front
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
ESS	European Security Strategy
EUBAM	European Union Border Assistance Mission to Moldova and Ukraine
EVP	Eesti Vasakpartei (Estonian Left Party)
FARC	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia)
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment

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FRETILIN	Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente (Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor)
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Liberation Front of Mozambique)
FSLN	Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (Sandinista National Liberation Front)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GNP	Gross National Product
GPS	Global Positioning System
GWOT	Global War on Terror
HIPCs	Highly Indebted Poor Countries
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IEDs	Improvised Explosive Devices
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INC	Iraqi National Congress
INFs	Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces
JDAM	Joint Direct Attack Munition
KGB	Komitet gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti (Committee for State Security)
MPLA	Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola – Partido do Trabalho (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola – Party of Labour)
MRAP	Mine Resistant Ambush Protected
MTR	Military-Technical Revolution
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDP	National Defense Panel
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NICs	Newly Industrialised Countries
NKVD	Narodnyy Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs)
NPT	(Nuclear) Non-Proliferation Treaty
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PDPA	People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan
PDRY	People's Democratic Republic of Yemen
PDS	Partito Democratico della Sinistra (Italian Democratic Party of the Left)
PGMs	Precision Guided Munitions

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PNAC	Project for a New American Century
RENAMO	Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (Mozambican National Resistance)
RMA	Revolution in Military Affairs
RPGs	Rocket-Propelled Grenades
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SED	Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (Socialist Unity Party of Germany)
SNP	Scottish National Party
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deustschlands (German Social Democratic Party)
SSR	Soviet Socialist Republic
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation
TPLF	Tigrayan People's Liberation Front
UAVs	Unmanned Aerial Vehicles
UCAVs	Unmanned Aerial Combat Vehicles
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WAAM	Wide Area Antiarmor Munitions
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WSF	World Social Forum
WTO	World Trade Organization

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