


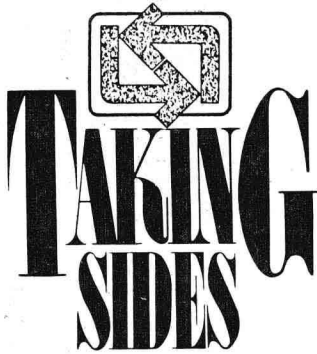
3rd
edition



TAKING SIDES

**Clashing Views
on Controversial Issues
in World Politics**

John T. Rourke



**Clashing Views
on Controversial Issues
in World Politics**

3rd edition

**Edited, Selected,
and with Introductions by**

John T. Rourke
University of Connecticut

For my son and friend—John Michael

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PREFACE

In the first edition of *Taking Sides*, I wrote of my belief in informed argument:

[A] book that debates vital issues is valuable and necessary. . . . [It is important] to recognize that world politics is usually not a subject of absolute rights and absolute wrongs and of easy policy choices. We all have a responsibility to study the issues thoughtfully, and we should be careful to understand all sides of the debates.

It was gratifying to discover in the success of *Taking Sides* that so many of my colleagues share this belief in the value of a debate-format text. The format of this edition is the same as the last. There are nineteen issues on a wide range of topics in international relations. Each issue has two readings: one pro and one con. Each is also accompanied by an issue *introduction*, which sets the stage for the debate, provides some background information on each author, and generally puts the issue into its political context. Each issue concludes with a *postscript* that summarizes the debate, gives the reader paths for further investigation, and suggests additional readings that might be helpful.

I have continued to emphasize issues that are currently being debated in the policy sphere, and the authors of the selections are a mix of practitioners, scholars, and noted political commentators. In order to give the reader a truly international perspective on the issues of world politics, the authors of the selections represent many nations, including Canada, China, France, Israel, Japan, South Africa, and the Soviet Union, as well as the United States.

Changes to this edition The dynamic, constantly changing nature of the world political system and the many helpful comments from reviewers have brought about significant changes to this edition. Twelve of the 19 issues are completely new. Thirty-two of the 38 readings are new, and of those 38 readings, the majority are from 1989/90 publications.

For this edition I have redoubled my efforts to select lively articles and pair them in such a way as to show clearly the controversies of a given issue. (See, for example, Issue 2 on the Soviet Union's participation in a common European community, where a former French president and the Soviet president square off.)

Supplements An Instructor's Manual with Test Questions (both multiple-choice and essay) is available through the publisher for the instructors using *Taking Sides* in the classroom. A general guidebook, which discusses methods and techniques for integrating the pro-con approach into any classroom setting, is also available through the Dushkin Publishing Group.

A note especially for the student reader You will find that the debates in this book are not one-sided. Each author strongly believes in his or her

position. And if you read the debates without prejudging them, you will see that each author makes cogent points. An author may not be “right,” but the arguments made in an essay should not be dismissed out of hand, and you should work at remaining tolerant of those who hold beliefs that are the opposite of your own.

There is an additional consideration to keep in mind as you pursue this debate approach to world politics. One is that to consider objectively divergent views does not mean that you have to remain forever neutral. In fact, once you are informed, you ought to form convictions. More importantly, you should try to influence international policy to conform better with your beliefs. Write letters to policymakers; donate to causes you support; work for candidates who agree with your views; join an activist organization. *Do* something, whichever side of an issue you are on!

Acknowledgments I received many helpful comments and suggestions from colleagues and readers across the United States and Canada. Their suggestions have markedly enhanced the quality of this edition of *Taking Sides*. If as you read this book you are reminded of a selection or issue that could be included in a future edition, please write to me in care of the Dushkin Publishing Group with your recommendations.

My thanks go to those who responded with suggestions for the third edition:

Hisham Ahmed	Florida International University
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Hugh Hayes	Barry University
Louis Hayes	University of Montana
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Luis Valdes	Rollins College
Timothy White	University of Missouri, St. Louis
Rudolf T. Zarzar	Elon College
Ron Freund	Columbia College
Ken E. McVicar	University of Manitoba

I would also like to thank the program manager for the *Taking Sides* series, Mimi Egan, for her help in refining this edition.

John T. Rourke
The University of Connecticut

INTRODUCTION

World Politics and the Voice of Justice

John T. Rourke

Some years ago, the Rolling Stones recorded "Sympathy with the Devil." If you have never heard it, go find a copy. It is worth listening to. That theme is echoed in a wonderful essay by Marshall Berman, "Have Sympathy for the Devil" (*New American Review*, 1973). The Stones and Berman's theme was based on Johann Goethe's *Faust*. In that classic drama, the protagonist, Dr. Faust, trades his soul to gain great power. He attempts to do good, but in the end he commits evil by, in contemporary paraphrase, "doing the wrong things for the right reasons." Does that make Faust evil, the personification of the devil Mephistopheles among us? Or is the good doctor merely misguided in his effort to make the world better as he saw it and imagined it might be? The point that Mick Jagger and Marshall Berman make is the importance of not falling prey to the trap of many zealots who are so convinced of the truth of their own views that they feel righteously at liberty, even compelled, to condemn those who disagree with them as stupid or even diabolical.

It is to the principle of rational discourse, of tolerant debate, that this reader is dedicated. There are many issues in this volume that appropriately excite passion—for example, Issue 5 on apartheid. Few would find fault with a commitment to end apartheid. How to get to that end is another matter, however, and we should take care not to confuse disagreement on means with disagreement on ends. In other cases, the debates you will read do diverge on goals. Salah Khalaf argues in Issue 6 that Israel should agree to the creation of a Palestinian state; David Bar-Illan replies, "No." In still other debates, you will find that the debate participants are not completely at odds in all areas. In the Issue 9 debate on whether or not foreign investments threaten U.S. independence, Martin and Susan Tolchin do not argue that all foreign investment should be banned, and Eliot Richardson does not contend that, without exception, trade restrictions should be eliminated. But they do, nevertheless, differ sharply, with the Tolchins seeing foreign investment as a threat that should be carefully monitored and controlled and Richardson believing investment is beneficial and should be encouraged.

As you will see, each of the authors in all the debates believes in his or her position. As I urged in the Preface, if you read these debates with an objective attitude, you will find that each side makes cogent points. They may or may not be right, but they should not be dismissed out of hand. It is

also important to repeat that the debate format does not imply that you should remain forever neutral. In fact, once you are informed, you *ought* to form convictions and you should try to act on those convictions and try to influence international policy to conform better with your beliefs. Write letters to policymakers, donate money to causes you support, work for candidates with whom you agree, join an activist organization.

On the subject of lethargy and evil, Ethiopia's emperor Haile Selassie (1892–1975) told the United Nations in 1963:

Throughout history it has been the inaction of those who could have acted, the indifference of those who should have known better, the silence of the voice of justice when it mattered most that made it possible for evil to triumph.

The point is: Become Informed. Then *do* something!

APPROACHES TO STUDYING INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

As will become evident as you read this volume, there are many approaches to the study of international politics. Some political scientists and most practitioners specialize in *substantive topics*, and this reader is organized along topical lines. Part 1 (Issues 1 through 7) deals with regional issues and actors. There are debates there that deal with Europe, Asia, Latin America, Africa, the United States, and the Middle East. Part 2 (Issues 8 through 11) focuses on international economic issues, such as international trading practices, foreign investments, and North-South development. Part 3 (Issues 12 through 14) examines the conduct and future of international relations, including issues of how to respond to terrorism, morality in foreign policy-making, and nuclear disarmament. Part 4 investigates issues of global significance—world government, international protection of the environment, population growth, and the evolution of liberal democracy.

Political scientists also approach their subject from differing *methodological perspectives*. We will see, for example, that our subject can be studied from different *levels of analysis*. The question is: What is the basic source of the forces that shape the conduct of politics? Possible answers are world forces, the individual political processes of the specific countries, or the personal attributes of a country's leaders and decisionmakers. Various readings will illustrate all three levels.

Another way for students and practitioners of world politics to approach their subject is to focus on what is called the realist versus the idealist debate. Realists tend to assume that the world is permanently flawed and therefore advocate following policies in their country's narrow self-interests. Idealists take the approach that the world condition can be improved substantially by following policies that, at least in the short term, call for some risk or self-sacrifice. This divergence is an element of many of the debates you will read.

DYNAMICS OF WORLD POLITICS

The action on the global stage today is also vastly different from what it was a few decades ago, or even a few years ago. *Technology* is one of the causes of this change. Technology has changed communications, manufacturing, health care, and many other aspects of the human condition. Technology has also created nuclear weapons, and there is a debate (Issue 14) over whether, having created and armed ourselves with them, we can safely reverse the process and disarm. Another dynamic aspect of world politics involves the changing axes of the world system. For about forty years after World War II ended in 1945, a bipolar system existed, the primary axis of which was the *East-West conflict*, which pitted the United States and its allies against the Soviet Union and its allies. For a variety of reasons that will be discussed in the debates (see Issues 9, 10, 16), the dominance of that axis as a focus of world politics has declined to the point of vanishing. This creates many questions, such as whether to be optimistic or pessimistic about the post-cold war world (Issue 1) and whether to welcome the Soviet Union into close European cooperation (Issue 2). Another change has been the growing importance of the *North-South* axis, a concept that emphasizes the tremendous economic disparity between the industrialized countries (North) and the much poorer, less developed countries (South). The degree to which the North should aid the South are part of the debate in Issue 11.

Technological changes and the shifting axes of international politics also highlight the *increased role of economics* in world politics. Economics have always played a role, but traditionally the main focus was on strategic-political questions—especially military power. This latter concern still strongly exists, but it shares the international spotlight with economic issues.

Another change in the world system has to do with the main actors. States (countries) were once almost the only *international actors* on the world stage. Now and increasingly so, there are other actors, such as the United Nations, the International Court of Justice, the International Monetary Fund, and multinational corporations. These actors are known as international (governmental or nongovernmental) organizations or transnational actors. (See Issue 15 and Issue 16.)

PERCEPTIONS VERSUS REALITY

In addition to addressing the general changes in the world system outlined above, the debates in this reader explore the controversies that exist over many of the fundamental issues that face the world. Can Mikhail Gorbachev's announced desire to join a "common European home" in peace be trusted? Was the United States in Panama an international protector of democracy or an imperialist predator? Should Israel accede to the establishment of an independent Palestine?

One key to these debates is the differing *perceptions* that protagonists bring to them. There may be a *reality* in world politics, but very often that reality is obscured. In these cases, it is often the perception, not the reality, that is more important because policy is formulated on what decisionmakers *think*, not necessarily on what *is*. Thus, perception becomes the operating guide, or *operational reality*, whether it is true or not.

Perceptions result from many factors. One is the information that decisionmakers receive. For a variety of reasons, the facts and analysis that are given leaders are often inaccurate or at least represent only part of the picture. Perceptions are also formed by the *value system* of a decisionmaker, which is based on his or her experiences and ideology. The way in which such an individual thinks and speaks about another leader, country, or the world in general is called his or her *operational code*. Issue 4, for example, explores the U.S. intervention in Panama and its "right" to overthrow dictator Manuel Noriega. That debate is based in significant part of how one perceives the appropriate role of the United States as a defender of democracy, especially in the Western Hemisphere.

Another aspect of perception is the tendency to see oneself as peacefully motivated and one's opponent as aggressive. This can lead to perceptual distortions such as an inability to understand that your (self-perceived defensive) actions may be perceived as a threat by your opponent and, indeed, may cause your opponent to take defensive actions that, in turn, seem aggressive to you. Issue 2, for example, features Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev proclaiming his intention to work for a safer, more cooperative Europe. He certainly believes what he says, as do many, East and West. Yet others, and former French president Valéry Giscard D'Estaing is one, perceive Gorbachev and the Soviets very differently.

Perceptions, then, are crucial to understanding international politics. It is important to understand *objective* reality, but it is also necessary to comprehend *subjective* reality in order to be able to predict and analyze another country's actions.

LEVELS OF ANALYSIS

Political scientists approach the study of international politics from differing levels of analysis. The most macroscopic view is *system-level analysis*. This is a "top down" approach that maintains that world factors virtually compel countries to follow certain foreign policies. Governing factors include the number of powerful actors, geographic relationships, economic needs, and technology. System analysts hold that a country's internal political system and its leaders do not have a major impact on policy. As such, political scientists who work from this perspective are interested in exploring the governing factors, how they cause policy, and how and why systems change.

After World War II's end, the world was structured as a *bipolar* system, dominated by the United States and the Soviet Union. Further, each super-

WORLD POLITICS AND THE VOICE OF JUSTICE

power was supported by a tightly organized and dependent group of allies. For a variety of reasons, including changing economics and the nuclear standoff, the bipolar system has faded. As the bipolar system declines, some political scientists argue that it is being replaced by a *multipolar* system. In such a configuration, those who favor *balance-of-power* politics maintain that it is unwise to ignore power considerations. The debate in Issue 3 over the appropriate response to the suppression of democracy by China's government, symbolized by the massacre at Tiananman Square, partially addresses this issue.

State-level analysis is the middle, and the most common, level of analysis. Social scientists who study world politics from this perspective focus on how countries, singly or comparatively, make foreign policy. In other words, this perspective is concerned with internal political dynamics such as the roles of and interactions between the executive and legislative branches of government, the impact of bureaucracy, the role of interest groups, and the effect of public opinion. There are a number of issues in this reader that are subject to strong domestic pressure on political leaders. One is Issue 8 over whether Japan engages in unfair trade practices and, if so, what to do.

A third level of analysis, which is the most microscopic, is *human-level analysis*. This approach focuses on the role of individual decisionmakers. It contends that individuals make decisions and that the nature of those decisions are determined by the decisionmakers' perceptions, predilections, and strengths and weaknesses. Issue 4 on U.S. interventionism illustrates this level of analysis.

REALISM VERSUS IDEALISM

Realism and idealism represent another division among political scientists and practitioners in their approaches to the study and conduct of international relations. *Realists* are usually skeptical about the nature of politics and, perhaps, the nature of humankind. They are prone to believe that countries have conflicting interests and that these differences can lead to conflict. They further contend that states (countries) are by definition obligated to do what is beneficial for their own citizens (national interest). The amount of power that a state has will determine how successful it is in attaining these goals. Therefore, politics is, and ought to be, a process of gaining, maintaining, and using power. This does not mean that realists are warmongers. It does mean, however, that they are apt to believe that the best way to avoid conflict is to remain powerful and, also, to avoid pursuing goals that are beyond one's power to achieve. "Peace through strength" is a phrase that most realists would agree with.

Idealists disagree about both the nature and conduct of international relations. In the first place, idealists tend to be more optimistic that the global community is capable of finding ways to live in harmony and has a sense of collective, rather than national, interest. Idealists also claim that the pursuit

of a narrow national interest is shortsighted. They argue that, in the long run, countries must learn to cooperate or face the prospect of a variety of evils, including possible nuclear warfare, environmental disaster, or continuing economic hardship. Idealists argue, for example, that armaments cause world tensions, whereas realists maintain that conflict requires states to have weapons. Idealists are especially concerned with conducting current world politics on a more moral or ethical plane and with searching for alternatives to the present pursuit of nationalist interests through power politics.

The issue of terrorism also presents several difficult moral questions. One is the morality of terrorism as such. Terrorist tactics are almost universally condemned in the West. Yet those who engage in or support terrorism defend their causes and acts as just, and it is important to understand their view. They argue that the justice of their goal (end) legitimizes their actions (means). They also maintain that whether explosives are delivered by bomber or by automobile makes little moral difference—they both kill. Finally, they say that given the overwhelming military superiority of their oppressive enemies, they have little choice but to use the only tactic, terror, available to them if they hope to win. How to respond to terrorism involves other moral issues. Especially, how effective and moral is military action? In Issue 13, then-Israeli ambassador and now deputy foreign minister Benjamin Netanyahu argues for a counterstrike policy against terrorists and their supporters. Peter Sederberg disagrees and contends that military action is often neither appropriate nor effective.

THE POLITICAL AND ECOLOGICAL FUTURE

Future *world alternatives* are discussed in Issues 15 through 19. The Issue 14 debate on the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) illustrates one alternative, cooperation through functionalist (specific task-oriented) international governmental organizations. As you will see, issues such as who controls the organization, its specific policies, and bureaucratization swirl around international, as well as domestic, political structures. Another, more far-reaching, alternative, is world government, and Issue 16 features two Soviet analysts debating the practicality and wisdom of such a structure.

The global future also involves the availability of natural resources, the condition of the environment, and the level of world population. Issue 18 addresses one of these concerns, with scientists disagreeing over whether or not there is a threatening rise in the Earth's climate. Issue 19 focuses on whether the expansion of the world's population presents a global threat and, if so, what to do.

THE EAST-WEST AND NORTH-SOUTH AXES

It is a truism that the world is politically dynamic and that the nature of the political system is undergoing profound change. As noted, the once primary

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axis of world politics, the *East-West* confrontation, has largely broken down. Some people, such as U.S. secretary of state James Baker in Issue 1 and Francis Fukuyama in Issue 19, believe that the end of the cold war and the spread of democracy to Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and elsewhere bring promise for a more peaceful future. Others are less sure, and the skeptics are represented, respectively, by John Mearsheimer and Samuel Huntington.

In contrast to the fading East-West axis, the *North-South* axis has increased in importance and tension. The wealthy, industrialized countries (North) are on one end, and the poor, less developed countries (LDCs, South) are at the other extreme. Economic differences and disputes are the primary dimension of this axis, in contrast to the military nature of the East-West axis. In the past few decades, the LDCs have become more resentful of the economic gap that separates them from the North. They have called for a New International Economic Order (NIEO), including more aid and loans from the North, a revision of trade practices that disadvantage the South, and more input in world economic policy-making. Issue 11 finds Canadian Ivan Head contending that for both humanitarian and self-interest reasons, the North should significantly increase its aid to the South. His view is contested, however, by that of another thoughtful and sincere analyst.

INCREASED ROLE OF ECONOMICS

As the growing importance of the North-South axis indicates, economics is playing an increased role in world politics. The economic reasons behind the decline of the East-West axis is further evidence. Economics has always played a part in international relations, but the traditional focus has been on strategic-political affairs, especially questions of military power.

Political scientists, however, now also increasingly focus on international political economy, the economic dimensions of world politics. International trade, for instance, has increased dramatically, expanding in the period between 1933 and 1989 from an annual world total of \$20 billion to \$2.9 trillion. The impact has been profound. The domestic economic health of most countries is heavily affected by trade and other aspects of international economics. Since World War II, there has been an emphasis on expanding free trade by decreasing tariffs and other barriers to international commerce. In recent years, however, a downturn in the economies of many of the industrialized countries and charges of unfair trade practices have increased calls for more protectionism. Japan, which has a huge trade surplus, is a particular focus of discontent, and the question is addressed in Issue 8 in a debate between the head of Sony Corporation and a U.S. senator over the fairness of Japan's international trading practices.

The level and impact of international investment is another economic issue of considerable dispute, and Issue 9 examines the question of whether or not

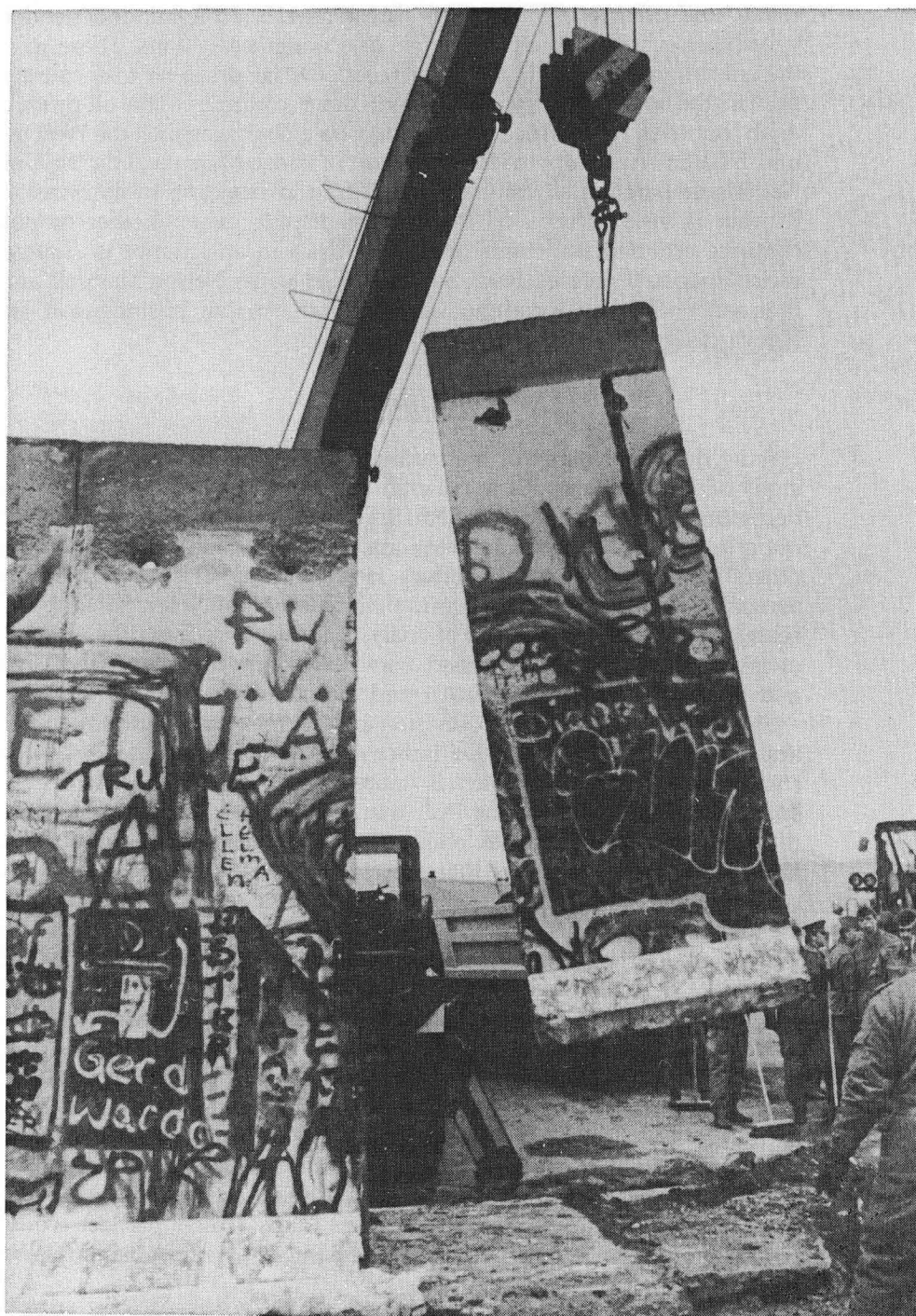
massive foreign investment in and control of American businesses, real estate, and other economic assets threatens U.S. economic independence.

Another economic issue is the use of economic sanctions. These refer to the utilization of trade, aid, and other economic factors to try to encourage or punish the foreign policy behavior of other countries. The oil-producing Arab countries, for instance, instituted an oil embargo against the West in the mid-1970s in an attempt to lessen support of Israel. More recently, the United Nations embargoed all commerce with Iraq in response to its invasion of Kuwait. Issue 5 focuses on the current dispute over whether or not to continue economic sanctions on South Africa in an attempt to change its racist, apartheid policies. Black South African leader Nelson Mandela argues that sanctions should continue; Black South African businessman James Ngoya disagrees.

CONCLUSION

Having discussed many of the various dimensions and approaches to the study of world politics, it is incumbent on this editor to advise against your becoming too structured by them. Issues of focus and methodology are important both to studying international relations and to understanding how others are analyzing global conduct. However, they are also partially pedagogical. In the final analysis, world politics is a highly interrelated, perhaps seamless, subject. No one level of analysis, for instance, can fully explain the events on the world stage. Instead, using each of the levels to analyze events and trends will bring the greatest understanding.

Similarly, the realist-idealist division is less precise in practice than it may appear. As one of the debates indicate, each side often stresses its own standards of morality. Which is more moral: defeating dictatorship or sparing the sword and saving lives that will almost inevitably be lost in the dictator's overthrow? Further, realists usually do not reject moral considerations. Rather, they contend that morality is but one of the factors that a country's decisionmakers must consider. Realists are also apt to argue that standards of morality differ when dealing with a country as opposed to an individual. By the same token, most idealists do not completely ignore the often dangerous nature of the world. Nor do they argue that a country must totally sacrifice its short-term interests to promote the betterment of the current and future world. Thus, realism and idealism can be seen most accurately as the ends of a continuum—with most political scientists and practitioners falling somewhere between, rather than at the end of, the extremes. The best advice, then, is to think broadly about international politics. The subject is very complex, and the more creative and expansive you are in selecting your foci and methodologies, the more insight you will gain. To end where we began, with Dr. Faust, I offer his last words in Goethe's drama, "Mehr licht," . . . More light! That is the goal of this book.



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YES: James A. Baker, from "A New Europe, A New Atlanticism: Architecture for a New Era," *Vital Speeches of the Day* 4

NO: John J. Mearsheimer, from "Why We Will Soon Miss the Cold War," *The Atlantic* 13

U.S. secretary of state James Baker argues that the easing of the cold war, the movement toward democracy in Eastern Europe, and the strength of Western European institutions all bode well for the future of Europe. University of Chicago political scientist John Mearsheimer contends that Europe's future may be so disorganized, antagonistic, and potentially violent that we will look back with nostalgia to the stable cold war period.

ISSUE 2. Can the U.S.S.R. Be Part of a "Common European Home"? 30

YES: Mikhail Gorbachev, from "International Community and Change: A Common European Home," *Vital Speeches of the Day* 32

NO: Valéry Giscard D'Estaing, from "The Two Europes, East and West," *International Affairs* 42

Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev proposes that all European countries, including the U.S.S.R., join together in a common organization to establish security mechanisms, economic interchange, and other forms of European cooperation. Former French president Giscard D'Estaing rejects the concept of a common European home and argues that Western Europe should continue its ongoing process of expanding cooperation without including Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

ISSUE 3. Should Sanctions Be Imposed on China for Human Rights Violations? 50

YES: Minxin Pei, from Testimony before the Subcommittee on International Development, Finance, Trade, and Monetary Policy, Committee on Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs, *Human Rights and Multilateral Aid to China and Somalia*, U.S. House of Representatives 52

NO: Yi Ding, from "Opposing Interference in Other Countries' Internal Affairs Through Human Rights," *Beijing Review* 57

Minxin Pei, a Chinese student doing graduate studies at Harvard University, argues that moral responsibility and economic prudence dictate that financial assistance should not be given to China. Yi Ding, a spokesman for China's government, contends that economic sanctions in response to China's domestic policies are unjustified interference in its internal affairs.

ISSUE 4. Was U.S. Intervention in Panama Justified? 62

YES: Robert Kagan, from "There to Stay: The U.S. and Latin America," *The National Interest* 64

NO: Edward M. Kennedy, from "The Panama Invasion," *Congressional Record* 72

Robert Kagan, former deputy assistant secretary of state for Inter-American Affairs, contends that the United States has a responsibility to itself and to the people of Latin America to play a strong role in the hemisphere. Edward Kennedy, U.S. senator from Massachusetts, maintains that the U.S. invasion of Panama was unjustified and damaging for Panama and the United States.

ISSUE 5. Should Sanctions Against South Africa Be Continued? 78

YES: Nelson Mandela, from Statement of the Deputy President of the African National Congress, United Nations General Assembly 80

NO: James Ngoya, from Testimony before the Subcommittees on International Economic Policy and Trade, and on Africa, Committee on