

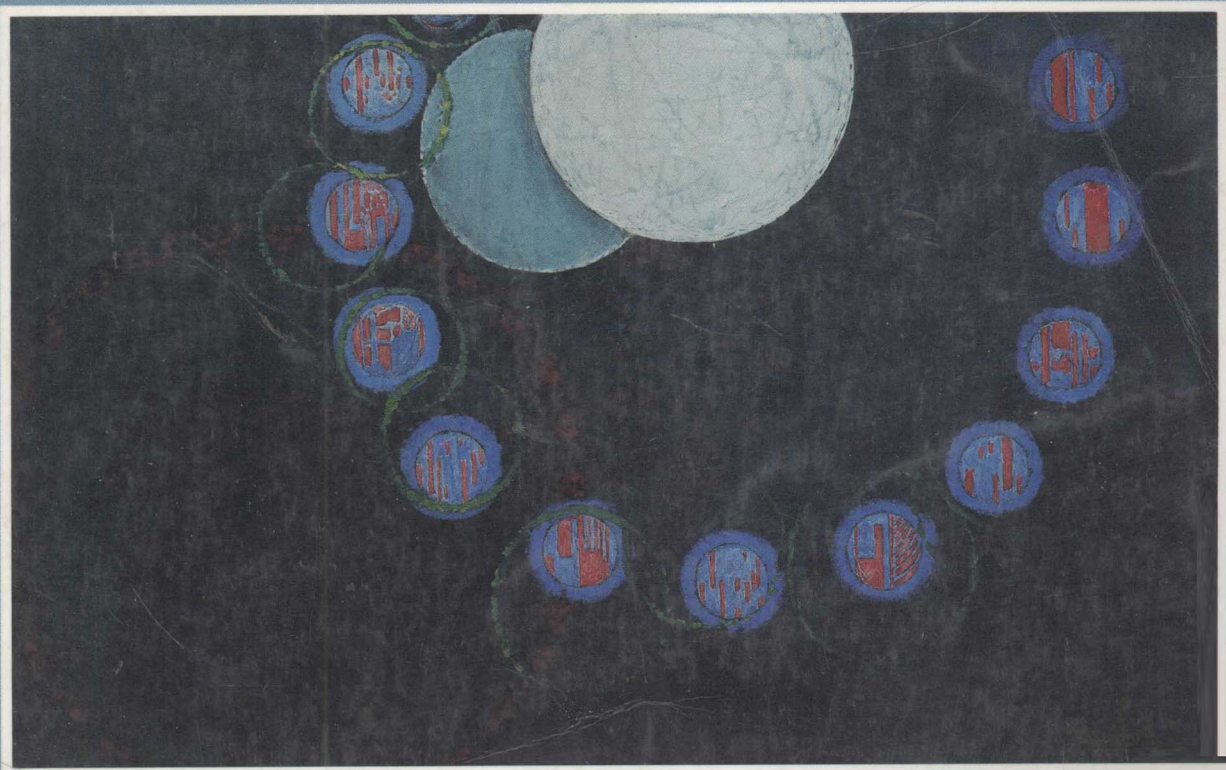
THIRD EDITION

POLITICS

INTERNATIONAL

on the World Stage

JOHN T. ROURKE



THIRD EDITION

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS on the World Stage

JOHN T. ROURKE

University of Connecticut



The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc.

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PREFACE

When Dean Acheson wrote his autobiography, he called it *Present at the Creation*. His title refers to the genesis of the cold war and the Western alliance system during his service in the State Department. The bipolar world that Acheson and others, East and West, helped mold has passed. Now it is our turn to be present at the creation, this time of a post-cold war world. Such moments of birth present rare opportunities to begin—almost—anew; but beginnings are also times of uncertainty and peril.

This Edition: Changes and Organization As a result of this text's view that our lives are inescapably affected by world politics, *International Politics on the World Stage*, Third Edition, stresses the impact that world events and international interdependence have on your students' lives. In addition to highlighting the effect that the world has on them, this approach includes pointing out to students the connection between the events of current history and the theories of international politics that have been conceived and refined by political scientists.

When I wrote the second edition I expanded the depth of coverage considerably and did some organizational adjustments based on reactions to the first edition. Future editions, I thought to myself, would be a lot easier. Wrong! This edition proved to be a major challenge and effort. You will see that there is an emphasis on being current without being journalistic. The end of the cold war, the reunification of Germany, the economic and political travails of the Soviet Union, the Middle East conflict of 1990–91, the treaty limiting conventional forces in Europe, the emerging START treaty, and other recent events are all extensively detailed. It is also important to be as current as possible with the massive amounts of changing data that details economic performance and capacity, weapons levels and transfers, and other statistical aspects of world politics. I have used original sources for my data when possible so that students will have the most recent information available.

Additional Chapter The breathtaking changes we all have witnessed have prompted several changes in this edition beyond extensive updating. Perhaps the most obvious is that there is an extra chapter. I have added chapter 19 on the biosphere, its social and ecological issues, and the progress on them through international cooperation. As a reflection of the changes we are witnessing in world politics, this edition also contains more discussion of international political economy. Most significantly here, there is now an entire chapter, 18, devoted to the issues of and progress toward international and regional economic cooperation (with a particular emphasis on the European Community).

Other Chapters Have Changed Conceptually or in Emphasis Chapter 9 on power, for one, conceptually reorganizes its discussion along functional lines instead of the earlier tangible/intangible dichotomy. As an example of changed emphasis, chapter 10 on the use of force happily reduces its discussion of theater-level nuclear war; unhappily, it has become necessary to increase its analysis of chemical warfare. Chapter 5 has more on the impact of domestic forces on Soviet foreign policy; chapter 6 increases the discussion of the national divisions within the U.S.S.R.; and chapter 7 includes expanded sections on the strong ebb of communism and the less certain flow of democracy in the Soviet Union and elsewhere.

Recent Intellectual Debates This edition also includes new or expanded discussions of some of the provocative ideas that have stirred the intellectual community in recent years. Among others these include Francis Fukuyama's thesis that democracy is becoming the accepted norm of governance, the renewed controversy over whether democracies are more peaceful than authoritarian forms of government, John Mearsheimer's view that the end of the cold war may bring chaos and danger to Central Europe, the continuing debate on Paul Kennedy's theory about declining U.S. power, the argument of many scholars that noncoercive power is on the ascent and coercive power is on the wane, and the assertion by a few scholars that war is about to be a thing of the past, at least among the major powers.

Data and Graphics Many new tables, figures, photographs, maps, and other graphics have been added to emphasize, expand, and give visual life to ideas. Also, significant revisions have been made to both the instructor's manual and to the extensive test-bank that is available from the publisher in both printed and computerized versions. These are further explained in the paragraph on Supplements on page viii, along with the new Student Atlas of World Politics.

Research, Citations, Bibliography, and Suggested Readings One of the aims of this text is to bring together a representative sampling of the latest research in international relations. Scholarly articles, so often ignored in survey texts, are particularly emphasized. This research is documented by extensive references using the "in-text" APA style and by a significant bibliography. In addition to recognizing my intellectual debt to a host of scholars, the references and bibliography also serve as a suggested reading list for students, as explained to them in the "To the Students" section of this preface. As such, references are often meant to serve as a suggested reading and do not necessarily mean that the cited author(s) propounded what is being said at the point of reference.

Using this approach to references and further readings, instead of the end-of-chapter placement, gives inquisitive students an immediate suggestion for additional reading.

Organization Someday someone will invent a modular, snap-together text that instructors can rearrange so that it will follow their own concepts and syllabus in exact order. Unfortunately, that day has not yet arrived. For those instructors whose organizations differ from mine, care has been given to the table of contents and to the index in order to facilitate integrating the text with your syllabus. You will find, for example, that:

Economics is discussed in chapter 1 (how it affects students), 9 (as a basis of power), 13 and 14 (developed and less developed countries), and 18 (cooperation).

Arms and force are addressed in all or parts of chapters 1, 9, 10, 11, and 17.

Moral and humanitarian issues are taken up extensively in chapters 7, 16, and 19 and also form an important part of the discussions of national interest, force, penetration, and economic challenges in, respectively, chapters 8, 10, 11, and 18.

Despite the substantial changes I have made in this edition, the basic organization of the text continues to reflect my view of world politics. The more I study the subject, the more I am impressed with the idea that the world is a primitive political society. As such, it is a political system that is marked by little organization, by frequent violence, and by a limited sense of global responsibility. It is a world of conflict. But there is also a world of cooperation, a countertheme, based on a still-limited desire among states and their people to cooperate globally as they begin to realize that their fates are inextricably entwined with one another and with the political, economic, social, and environmental future of our planet.

The Parts Part I, which includes chapters 1 through 5, discusses how to study international politics. Students will read in chapter 1 that there are realists and idealists and will, I hope, be prompted to think about where they, their professors, and others with whom they may discuss politics stand on the realist-idealist scale. Although I take a realist approach, I find myself less sure of my own wisdom on this point as time goes by. In fact, I have become convinced that substantial changes have to be made in the way international politics is conducted. Perhaps “realism with a nagging idealist conscience” would be an apt description of this text’s orientation.

Part I also addresses levels of analysis. As students will soon discover, academics disagree about the proper focus of study. Three levels (system, individual, and state) are presented here. The text primarily utilizes state-level analysis (how countries make foreign policy) as discussed in chapter 5, but, here again, my views have evolved and changed since the first edition. The more I learn, the more I have become impressed with the role of system-level analysis (how the nature of the world system influences politics); there are two full chapters on this subject. Chapter 2 outlines the evolution of the world political system, and chapter 3 discusses system-level theory. Both of these chapters pay particular attention to the profound system change that is now occurring. Since it is unwise to ignore the human factor in international politics, that level is explored in chapter 4.

Part II, which includes chapters 6, 7, and 8, deals with some of the motivating factors that affect foreign policy-making including nationalism; ideas, ideology, and morality; and national interest.

Part III, consisting of chapters 9 through 14, examines the way the world drama is played out. In this part, I discuss power, force, penetration and intervention, diplomacy, the economics of the developed countries, and the economics of the less developed countries. Here is a “world full of sound and fury.”

Part IV, including chapters 15 through 19, introduces some new issues and also reexamines some of the subjects discussed earlier, but this time from the perspective of cooperation. The chapters on international organization, international law, disarmament and arms control, economic cooperation, and social and environmental cooperation detail some of the problems we and our world face and the ways we are beginning to cooperate in an attempt to solve them.

Supplements There are several supplements that have been created to assist both instructors and students in the use of this text. The instructor’s resource guide, *Teaching and Testing from International Politics on the World Stage*, outlines and discusses the text’s objectives, contains several analytical exercises, and gives several other teaching supports. In addition, there are approximately 1,900 multiple-choice and essay questions organized by chapter and degree of difficulty. These examination questions are also available on EZ-TEST computer disc. For the students, and new to this edition, there is the *Student Atlas of World Politics*. This innovative supplement contains 14 full-color world maps that illustrate key geopolitical concepts and relationships. It is available at no cost with copies of the text purchased from the publisher.

To the Student

The world, familiar to us and unknown.

Shakespeare, *Henry V*

Remembering Chris Geoffrey June 2, 1989, was a Friday. Chris Geoffrey died that day. Chris's death is memorialized near what remains of the Berlin Wall. There are many other markers there. They are dedicated to the people who were killed while trying to escape over, under, and through the Wall to West Berlin. The first markers are for those gunned down in 1961 just after the Wall was built. Chris's memorial is the last.

I was in Berlin just a little over a year after Chris was killed. July 1, 1990, was the day of German economic union. It was also the first day that there were no more guards at the Wall. You could travel freely in either direction, and along with crowds of Germans I had the exhilarating experience of taking an elevated tram over the wall, past the now-empty machine-gun towers, and into East Berlin. The tram was crowded; I had to stand. I did not think I was nervous, but when we arrived at the first stop in East Berlin there was a welt on my hand from holding the overhead strap too tightly.

Each year for the past few years the National Football League has held a preseason exhibition game or two in Europe. One was scheduled for West Berlin to be played in August 1990 between the Los Angeles Rams and the Kansas City Chiefs. When I got off the tram at the first station in East Berlin there was already a poster up advertising the game. Chris had died on June 2, 1989, trying to beat the Wall. Just 393 days later Chris could have caught the tram in the other direction, gone over to West Berlin, and bought a ticket to the Rams-Chiefs game.

This story about Chris, the Wall, and the NFL is about two things. One of these is the amazing changes that have occurred in the past two years. I would love to say that as a brilliant political prognosticator I foresaw the sudden end of the cold war. But I did not. Neither did anyone else. Thus this book is both an analytical epitaph to the bipolar confrontation that, among other tragedies, ended Chris Geoffrey's life, and a glimpse at what can be seen of the future, post-cold war world.

The second important message that Chris's story contains is that world politics is about people. Sometimes people are victims. Chris was. People are also players on the world stage. Chris was that too, and the deaths that occurred at the Wall and the demands of the East Germans for freedom and a unified German people helped end the cold war.

The strong point of view of this text is that we all are both affected by and can affect world politics. Just like Chris.

The text that follows is my attempt to introduce you to the complex and compelling study of international politics. Prefaces are often given scant attention, but they can be a valuable learning tool for you. They let you in on the author's conceptions, his or her mental pictures, of a text. What is the author's approach? What are the author's orientations and biases? Does the text have one or more basic themes? How is the text organized? In this preface I have addressed these issues. I hope you'll read it.

In writing this text I have tried to use straightforward prose and have assumed that students who take this course know little about international politics. To help you further, I have included an outline at the beginning of each chapter. Before you read the chapter, pay attention to its outline. It is axiomatic that if you know where you are going, you will find it a lot easier to get there! Additionally, I have written a numbered summary at the end of each chapter to help you quickly review the scope of the chapter. This, of course, is no substitute for carefully studying the chapter.

There are many figures, tables, maps, and photographs in this book. Pay close attention to them. You will find that they graphically represent many of the ideas presented in the text and will help you understand them. But if you really want to know all about something, you will have to read a lot more than just this book and to involve yourself in more than just the course for which it has been assigned. To make it easier for you to do this I have chosen an "in-text" reference system that gives you citations as you read. Thus (Nye, 1990:18) refers to page 18 of the book or article written by (in this case, Professor Joseph) Nye in 1990, which is listed alphabetically in the references and bibliography. I have also noted studies that helped me think about and organize various topics and those which might be informative to you. I encourage you to utilize the references and bibliography to advance your knowledge beyond the boundaries of this text. You will find a list of the abbreviations that I have used throughout the book on page xxxi. Explanations for terms set in **boldface** will be found in the Glossary at the end of the text.

Some note should be made of this book's title, *International Politics on the World Stage*, and the Shakespearean quotations that begin each chapter and are used from time to time to highlight a point. The idea behind this motif is to convey some of the sweep and complexity of the world drama. No one who has ever read William Shakespeare can dismiss his masterpieces as easily understood or inconsequential. The events on the world stage are similar—complex, full of drama, sometimes hopeful, often tragic, and always riveting. But you, the reader, would be mistaken to assume that the play analogy means that, as a member of the audience, you can be content to sit back and watch the

plot unfold. Quite to the contrary, part of what makes the world drama so compelling is that the audience is seated on stage and is part of, as well as witness to, the action that is unfolding. And that is one reason why I have also quoted more recent world players. Shakespeare's plays are of the past; the world drama is ongoing. Furthermore, as in an improvisational play, you in the audience can become involved, and, given the consequences of a potentially tragic rather than happy ending, you ought to become involved. If there is anything this text proposes, it is that each of us is intimately affected by international politics and that we all have a responsibility and an ability to become shapers of the script. As we shall see, our play has alternative scripts, and what the next scene brings depends in part on us.

I am sincerely interested in getting feedback from the faculty members and students who use this text. My pretensions to perfection have long since been dashed, and your recommendations for additions, deletions, and changes in future editions will be appreciated and seriously considered. People do write me, and I write or call them back! You are encouraged to join this correspondence by writing to me in care of The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc., Sluice Dock, Guilford, Connecticut, 06437. This book, just like the world, can be made better, but its improvement depends heavily on whether or not you are concerned enough to think and act.

John T. Rourke

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A difficult task is to keep this acknowledgment of those who have contributed down to a reasonable length. There are many who have played an important part, and my debt to each of them is great. I have tried to make adjustments wherever possible. Some contributors have pointed out specific concerns about matters of fact or interpretation, and a number of corrections were made. On a larger scale, the increased coverage of economics and the chapter on the biosphere are responses in part to suggestions. Ralph Carter at Texas Christian University, Robert B. Charlick at Cleveland State University, Dennis R. Gordon at Santa Clara University, Zho Keyean at Dalhousie University, Stephen Manning at Wittenberg University, Miroslav Nincic at University of California/Davis, Robert A. Poirier at Northern Arizona University, Denis Snook at Oregon State University, and Thomas Zant at Forest Park Community College all supplied helpful suggestions. Two of my colleagues at the University of Connecticut, Elizabeth Crump Hanson and J. Garry Clifford, have used my text in their classes, and their running commentary on matters of theory, fact, and students' reactions have been invaluable. From a somewhat different perspective, James A. Turner, Jr., who teaches at Rampart High School and uses this text in his advanced class on contemporary world affairs, has provided ideas and information that have made the third edition better than the second. I also owe a debt to each author listed in the bibliography of this and the previous editions. The work these scholars have done on specific subjects are the intellectual building blocks that are a significant part of the final structure of this, or any, worthwhile introductory textbook. This text is also evolutionary, and I want to continue to express my appreciation to all those who read and commented on the previous editions. Additionally, I also want to thank the colleagues who have taken the time at International Studies Association meetings or other conferences to give me the benefit of their views. I have even, on occasion, taken off my name tag and helped staff the Dushkin booth at professional meetings. The comments I have received in this anonymity have been sometimes encouraging, sometimes humbling, but always helpful.

Best of all, I have received many good suggestions from students. My own students have had to both read the text and listen to me, and their often obviously candid comments have helped the generations of students who will follow. My favorite was a sophomore who did not do well on his first exam and came to my office to lay blame at the door of the confounded textbook. As we talked, he made some interesting observations. It was also clear he had not connected the author's name on the front of the book with his professor. Boy, was he surprised when it finally dawned on him that he was grumping about the book to its author! Another interesting view was provided by

Professor Chand Wije at Kent State University. He uses the text as a supplement to his political geography course and had students write a review. He sent one of the papers (with the student author anonymous) to me. After some initial kind words, the student spent several pages pointing out improvements that could be made. Professor Wije gave the student an A; so would have I. One of the frustrations about writing an introductory text is that it has to encapsulate in a few sentences or paragraphs what might legitimately merit an entire book. If the student at Kent were to read the text again, though, he or she might find some of the paper's suggestions have been taken. I also received letters from students Nicole A. Stein at State University of New York at Binghamton and Lynn Verhuilla at Indiana University of Pennsylvania with both kind words and suggestions. Thanks!

I owe special thanks to Mark Denham of the University of Toledo, John Allen of the University of Connecticut, and Dale Greenawald of the Social Science Education Consortium, Inc., in Boulder, Colorado. Professor Denham shouldered the task of revising and updating the test item file for this edition and carried it off with great success. My colleague in Storrs, John Allen, was both the source of inspiration for and the creator of the new *Student Atlas of World Politics* that accompanies this edition. Dale Greenawald's analytical exercises in the instructor's guide, *Teaching and Testing with World Politics*, continue to be an outstanding feature of the learning package.

Then there is the staff of The Dushkin Publishing Group. They have encouraged me and supported me. I remain fortunate to have the very experienced and very talented John Holland as my editor. John has been ably assisted by Robert Mill. Bob has an amazing eye for detail, a keen sense of what is and what is not readable prose, and an adept diplomatic touch to convince me his corrections are necessary and proper. Diane Barker's proofreading added to the process of ensuring accuracy. I also want to thank the DPG typesetters headed by Libra Ann Cusack.

One of the things I like best about this edition is the excellent illustrations it contains. Pamela Carley Petersen has taken the lead in assembling photographs and editorial cartoons that bring powerful visual life to the concepts I express in words. Charles Vitelli not only performed the difficult, but crucial, task of arranging text and illustrations, he drew the original cartoons in this book. He took my raw mental images and turned them into wonderful representations of the issues being discussed in the text. In the same area, Whit Vye did an extraordinary job with the exacting art of creating the text's many tables and figures. To Harry Rinehart I owe a debt of gratitude for designing this edition.

I would also like to thank my publisher, Rick Connelly, president of The Dushkin Publishing Group, for his support in providing the resources that make this the most attractive and well-illustrated book on the market in its field.

Finally, anyone who has written will recognize that it is an intensely personal, as well as professional, experience. I am fortunate to have people around me who understand when I am seemingly glued to my word processor for long periods of time and who sometimes insist I shut my computer off. My son and friend John Michael helps me endure the ups and downs of the New York Giants and UConn athletic teams, shares the frustrations of fishing, and occasionally tries to interpret MTV for me. Susan and Jon Zimmerman are good and caring friends, and I owe them much, of which they know. Claudia Jane Elliott is a soulmate of many years who, like Halley's Comet, brightens the sky during her far-too-infrequent passes through my universe. Fortunately for me, 1990 was a C. J. year. Some of my favorite people in this world are the Bantell family: Linda, John, Adam, and Emily. Through good times and through not-so-good periods they have been among the best of all things: good friends. I dedicate this edition to the Bantells as a symbol of my appreciation and of my affection for them.

To all of you:

I can no other answer make but thanks, thanks, and ever thanks.

Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*

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