



JOHN T. ROURKE

# International Politics *on the* World Stage

ELEVENTH EDITION



# *International Politics on the World Stage*

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**John T. Rourke**

*University of Connecticut*



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## Higher Education

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# Preface

## This Edition: Changes and Organization

Taking the view that our lives are inescapably affected by world politics, *International Politics on the World Stage*, Eleventh Edition, stresses the impact that world events and global interdependence have on your students' lives. In addition to highlighting this interconnection, the text points out how the events of current history relate to the theories of international politics that have been formulated by political scientists.

Each time I revise this text I think to myself, "The world will settle down and the next edition will be easier." Wrong! This edition proved to be a major challenge and effort. You will see that there is a continued emphasis on being current in order to engage the students without being journalistic. The struggle of the United States in Iraq to achieve political victory by helping Iraqis build a democratic, unified country; the ongoing threat of terrorism; the looming threat of avian influenza; the genocidal horror in the Darfur region of Sudan; corruption in the UN's oil-for-food program; tensions with both Iran and North Korea over their alleged nuclear weapons programs; the increasing presence of China as a political, economic, and even military power; the impact on U.S. foreign policy of Condoleezza Rice, the first African American woman to serve as U.S. secretary of state; the defeat of the proposed European Union constitution by voters in both France and the Netherlands; and other recent events are all extensively detailed. It is also important to be as current as possible with the massive amount of changing data on 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.

The more I study global politics, the more I am impressed with the idea that the world is a primitive political society. It is a political system that is marked by little organization, frequent violence, and 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 desire among states and their people to work together globally. Although it is still only a nascent desire, people have begun to realize that their fates are inextricably entwined with one another and with the political, economic, social, and environmental future of our planet. The organization of the text flows from this conception of the world as a primitive, but developing, political system. Therefore, the chapters not only analyze world division and conflict but also focus on cooperation both as a goal and in practice. Indeed, the organizational scheme reflects this text's view that the world is at a juncture echoing Robert Frost's poem, "Two Roads Diverged in a Wood." One road is the traditional way of sovereign states pursuing their self-interests in an often inequitable and conflict-filled world. The alternative, less-traveled-by path is the way of cooperation in a system in which states are less sovereign and international organizations play a wider and more authoritative role.



The introduction to the text discusses the importance of world politics and the methods, theories, and purposes of political science (chapter 1), the evolution of the world political system and its current instability (chapter 2), and the three levels of analysis that need to be studied simultaneously—the system, state, and individual levels (chapter 3).

Instructors who have used this text before will undoubtedly notice that what had been three chapters on the economic aspects of world politics in earlier editions has been consolidated here into two chapters (12 and 13). This change came about as a result of outside reviews of the text that McGraw-Hill and I sought. Most of the comments were gratifying and confirmed the strengths that distinguish this book since the first edition was published in 1986. But a number of reviewers commented that it was a bit long and had more chapters (16) than the usual academic semester had weeks (14 or 15). As far as where to tighten up, the consensus was that the three economic chapters (12, 13, and 14 of the tenth edition) provided greater detail than needed for a one-semester introductory course. I was not sure I agreed, and so I sent e-mail inquiries to a dozen or so instructors who were using the text at other colleges and universities. I asked them whether they favored keeping the three chapters as is or consolidating them. To my surprise, frankly, their overwhelming response was the same as that of the first set of reviewers. So, bowing to the greater wisdom, I consolidated the three chapters into two (12 and 13).

The remaining chapter organization of the book remains the same as in the tenth edition, although, again accepting suggestions of some reviewers, I moved material from one chapter to another to consolidate and avoid overlaps. For example, some material on human rights was moved from chapter 9 on international law, to the main chapter on human rights (chapter 14).

Beginning with chapter 4, the two roads theme organizes the remaining chapters of this edition, with usually alternating discussions of national conflict and international cooperation in successive chapters. In this way, equal attention can be given to the two roads without losing sight of the fact that they lead in divergent directions.

Chapters 4 and 5 deal with two divergent political orientations. The traditional orientation is nationalism (chapter 4); the alternative orientation comprises transnational ideas, identifications, and processes (chapter 5). Alternative ways of organizing the world politically are the subject of the next two chapters, with chapter 6 focusing on the traditional political unit, the state, and chapter 7 taking up international organizations, with particular emphases on the European Union and the United Nations.

Then chapters 8 and 9 explore divergent approaches to the conduct of world politics. Chapter 8 covers the traditional approach, national diplomacy; chapter 9 examines the alternative road of international law and morality. This pair of chapters is followed by another pair that introduce two approaches to physical security in the world political system: national security (chapter 10) and international security and other alternative approaches (chapter 11).

The text then turns to international political economy. The commentary begins in chapter 12 with an overview of IPE theory and of global economic conditions and trends. The main thrust of chapter 12, however, is economic nationalism, the traditional approach to the international political economy. By contrast, chapter 13 focuses on an alternative approach, economic liberalism, as part of the greater phenomenon of globalization. Chapter 13 concludes by reviewing the arguments for and against economic nationalism and economic liberalism and asking its readers to evaluate the two approaches. The final two chapters look into the traditional and alternative approaches to global human rights and dignity (chapter 14) and the environment (chapter 15).



## Writing Style and General Approach

The single greatest factor that prompted me over two decades ago to begin to write my own introductory text was the desire to use one that, in today's jargon, was "user friendly." Over the years, I have tried to accomplish that in a number of ways. One is to make my theoretical points in straightforward, "plain language," and then to illustrate them with an interesting and usually current example. Being up-to-date is a major goal of this book. Sometimes, heeding the advice of Mary Poppins that "a spoonful of sugar makes the medicine go down," I even take time to include a joke or tell a "story" (such as the travails of presidential foreign travel in chapter 8) that make a point in a light way. This is meant to show the student readers that international relations can be fascinating, even fun. A third thing that makes this book user friendly for students is the "road signs" to provide reference points and guidance during the journey through the text and semester. These road signs include an outline (a map, so to speak) to begin each chapter, lots of headings; an array of boldface glossary words, and judicious use of italicized phrases to highlight concepts and points. I am pleased to report that the feedback from instructors and from the occasional student who writes or e-mails me is that most students are delighted with the book's accessibility and readability.

## Data and Graphics

This text presents students with an extensive array of tables, figures, photographs, maps, and other graphics to emphasize, expand, and give visual life to ideas. Each photograph is picked personally by me, and I have designed almost all the figures and tables, often making my own calculations to create them from the data. Another part of my approach is to present a significant amount of data to students so that they can see for themselves what the statistics indicate rather than accept my interpretations or those of any other scholar.

## 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" style and by a significant reference list/bibliography. In addition to recognizing my intellectual debt to a host of scholars, the references and bibliography also serve as a reading list for students, as explained to them in the "To the Student" section following this preface. As such, references are often meant to serve as suggestions for further reading and do not necessarily mean that the cited author(s) propounded what is being said at the point of reference. Using this approach instead of the end-of-chapter placement gives inquisitive students immediate thoughts for additional reading. For those instructors whose organization differs from mine, I have taken care to provide a detailed table of contents and index in order to facilitate the integration of this text with your syllabus. You will find, for example, that:

**Economics** is discussed, among other places, in chapters 1 (how it affects students), 2 (globalization), 12 (theory, general global conditions, and economic nationalism), 13 (economic liberalism), and 15 (sustainable development).

**Terrorism** is addressed in chapters 1, 5, 9, and 10.



Moral and humanitarian issues are taken up extensively in chapters 9 and 15 and also form an important part of the discussions of national interest, coercion, and economic challenges in, respectively, chapters 4, 10, and 13.

## Supplements

Several supplements are available to assist both instructors and students in the use of this text. For instructors, the Instructor's Testing and Resource CD-ROM to accompany *International Politics on the World Stage* contains chapter outlines and objectives, sample lectures, discussion questions, and analytical exercises. The Test Bank provides approximately 1,500 multiple-choice and essay questions organized by chapter and degree of difficulty. A computerized version of the Test Bank and a PowerPoint slide presentation are also included. To get a copy of the Instructor's Testing and Resource CD-ROM, contact your local McGraw-Hill representative or McGraw-Hill Customer Service (1-800-338-3987) for details concerning availability.

## Online Learning Center

Students and instructors will find additional resources at [www.mhhe.com/rourke11](http://www.mhhe.com/rourke11). For students, the site offers free access to current course-specific articles by leading authorities in the field, daily news feeds from a variety of media outlets including the *New York Times*, interactive exercises including simulations, debates, research links, and chapter quizzes, and interactive maps to enhance the classroom and learning experience. The password-protected instructor's edition of the site also contains the Instructor's Manual and PowerPoint slides available for easy download. Contact your local McGraw-Hill representative or McGraw-Hill Customer Service (1-800-338-3987) for a username and password.

John T. Rourke



# To the Student

*The world, familiar to us and unknown.*

—William Shakespeare, *Henry V*

The world is changing at breathtaking speed! That reality is one of the most important things for you to understand about international politics. Yet I have found that most undergraduate students, having been born into this era of warp-speed change, consider it normal. It is not. Recorded history dates back over 30 centuries. A great deal of what we will discuss in this text has happened in the last century, even within your lifetime. But truly understanding this rate of change—maybe feeling the rate of change is a better way to put it—is hard without perspective.

As a way of trying to convey the dramatic pace of change, I will introduce you to Maria Olivia da Silva of Astorga, Brazil, the world's oldest person. When she was born on February 28, 1880, Brazil was still ruled by an emperor, Pedro II, and Rutherford B. Hayes was the U.S. president. An emperor also ruled in China and a sultan headed the Ottoman Empire. Russia's czar, Germany's kaiser, and Austria-Hungary's emperor ruled much of Central Europe, and Queen Victoria reigned over the British Empire. Most of Africa and Asia were still colonies of European powers. The communist revolution in Russia occurred when she was 37; the Soviet Union disappeared when she was 111. For me, communism and the cold war were the totality of my historical experience; for da Silva they were mere interludes. For many who read this book they are not even memories, only matter learned about in history books.

If you think about events, trends, and technology in this way—in terms of what one person has seen and experienced—you can begin to grasp how fast they are moving. When da Silva was born people were basically earthbound. She was 23 when the first airplane flew, 62 when the first jet plane took off, 81 when Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin became the first human in space, and 89 when Neil Armstrong stepped on the Moon's surface. There are many other things to consider. Ms. da Silva is more than twice as old as atomic weapons; the world's population has quadrupled during her life; she is older than three-quarters of the countries that exist today. Radios, televisions, computers, and some of the other technological innovations that affect us so profoundly now did not exist when da Silva was born.

One of the strong themes in this book is the challenges that face the world and the alternative approaches to addressing those challenges. Use da Silva to help you think about these issues. If, for example, it took all of human history—tens of thousands of years—to reach a world population of less than 1.5 billion in 1880, when she was born, and if, during her life, we have added another 4.5 billion people, then how much time do we have to get the world population under control? If you live as long as da Silva has (and you might, given modern medical technology), then what will the world population be when you are 125 years old?

In this sense of contemplating the future by pondering the past, thinking about Maria Olivia da Silva is really more about tomorrow than about yesterday or even today. When I talk about her, my thoughts are on our 21st century more than on her 19th and 20th centuries.

## Using This Text

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, the mental pictures behind 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 (Tickner, 2005:6) refers to page 6 of the book or article written by (in this case, Professor J. Ann) Tickner in 2005, which is listed alphabetically in the references at the end of the book.

I have also noted studies that helped me think about and organize various topics and those that might be informative to you. I encourage you to utilize the references to advance your knowledge beyond the boundaries of this text. 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 the contrary—part of what makes the world drama so compelling is that the audience is seated onstage 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 a happy ending, you ought to become involved. If there is anything that 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. There is wisdom, then, in Shakespeare's advice in *All's Well that Ends Well* that "Our remedies oft in ourselves do lie."

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 at the Department of Political Science U1024, University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT 06269-1024 or sending me an e-mail at [John.Rourke@uconn.edu](mailto:John.Rourke@uconn.edu). 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*

# Acknowledgments

It is a difficult task to keep this acknowledgment of those who have contributed to the text 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, this edition's organizational changes; its greater coverage of constructivism, postmodernism, and other critical approaches; and several other shifts in coverage are responses in part to suggestions. Adding to the long list of those who have reviewed earlier editions and made this text better, I would like to also thank those who contributed to this edition:

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Michele Zebich-Knos	<i>Kennesaw State University</i>

I also owe a debt to each author listed in the references of this and the previous editions. The work that these scholars have done on specific subjects forms 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 the staff at the publisher's 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 blankety-blank textbook. As we talked, he made some interesting, if pointed observations. It was also clear that 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!

I owe special thanks to Brian Urlacher of the University of Connecticut, who is responsible for revising the Instructor's Manual and Test Bank to accompany *International Politics on the World Stage*. Brian shouldered the task of preparing, revising, and updating this instructor's tool for the eleventh edition with the utmost care and good nature. Another exciting feature of this text is the supplementary material and exercises that can be found on the Online Learning Center. For this I thank Natalie Hudson of the University of Connecticut for her meticulous updates and polish.

Then there is the staff of McGraw-Hill. McGraw-Hill's political science editor, Monica Eckman, and director of development, Lisa Pinto, have encouraged me and supported me. More of a day-to-day mainstay is my general editor, Ava Suntoke. She has gently and expertly guided me through several editions, and I am continually delighted with her unusual combination of substantive expertise and editing expertise. Sheryl Rose, copyeditor, with her amazing eye for technical detail and substantive consistency, added to the process of ensuring accuracy. I also want to thank Brett Coker and the rest of the McGraw-Hill production staff and Thompson Type for their diligence and for not threatening my life through innumerable changes.

One of the things I like best about this edition is "its look." Pamela Carley has assembled photographs and editorial cartoons that bring powerful visual life to the concepts I express in words. Glenda King was the interior designer for the eleventh edition. Preston Thomas designed its striking cover. Thompson Type performed the difficult but crucial task of layout, arranging text and illustrations. Charles Vitelli 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, Emma Ghiselli and Rennie Evans did an extraordinary job with the exacting art of creating the text's many figures and maps. Thanks are also due to Alice and Will Thiede of Carto-Graphics in Eau Claire, Wisconsin, for their standard of excellence in producing the maps in the book. I owe a great debt to those who have created such a visually attractive, educationally effective package for my words.

To all of you:

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

—William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*

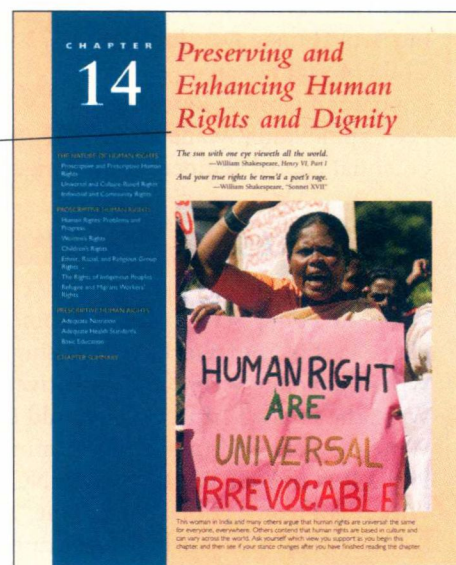


# A Brief Walkthrough of the Features in Each Chapter

JOHN ROURKE's *International Politics on the World Stage* has long been known for an abundance of learning aids that help to enrich student understanding while enlivening the study of international relations. Engaging graphics and features prompt students to think critically about world events and concepts in international relations.

## Chapter Opener Page

Shakespearean quotes and a photo set the stage by presenting the theme of the chapter. The chapter structure is outlined on the chapter-opener page, providing an overview of the chapter coverage for the student.

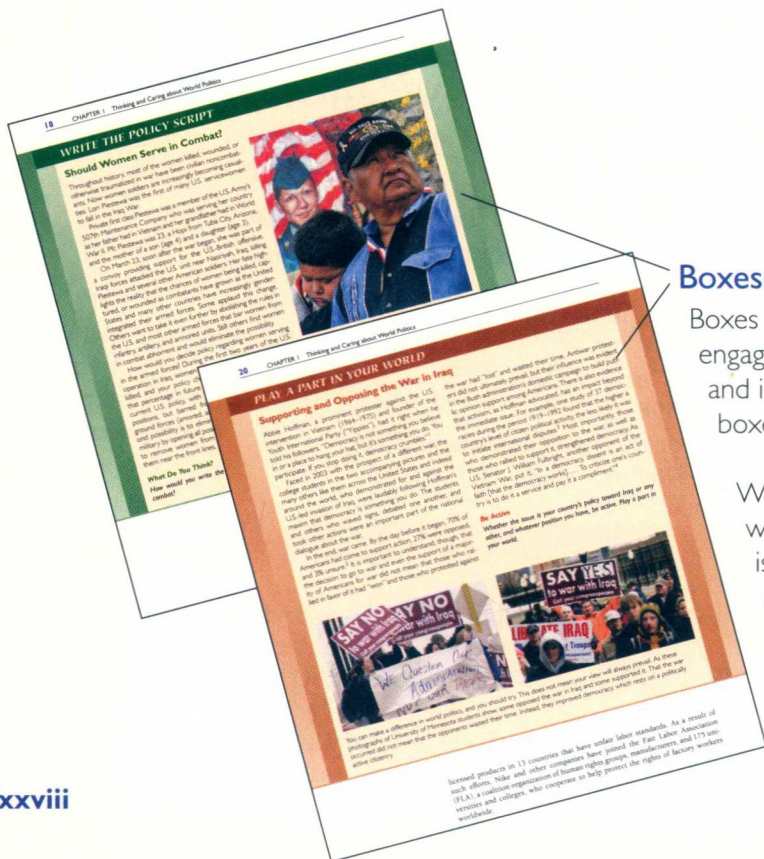


## Boxes

Boxes provide students with opportunities to engage with the concepts in the text in a lively and interactive way. There are two types of boxes.

Write the Policy Script boxes present students with the main points of a thought-provoking issue and ask them to decide on a course of action and to support their decision.

Play a Part in Your World boxes focus on student activism. They invite students to take action and become engaged with world issues.



accurately former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger (1979-1982) has described the two superpowers as behaving like "two heavily armed blind men feeling their way around a room, each believing himself in mortal peril from the other whom he assumes to have perfect vision." Each, according to Kissinger, "tends to ascribe to the other side a consistency, fervor, and coherence that in its own experience lacks."

We find it hard to understand why others dislike, mistrust, and fear us. President George W. Bush captured this overly positive sense of self during a press conference when he pronounced himself "amazed" that there was such misunderstanding of what our country is about that people would hate us. "Like most Americans, I just can't believe it because I know how good we are."<sup>11</sup> Others are less sure of Americans' innate goodness. One recent survey found that 60% or more of poll respondents in countries as diverse as Indonesia, Nigeria, Turkey, and Russia thought that the United States posed a military threat to them.<sup>12</sup>

No one often tends to have similar images of one another. Between countries and even between leaders, it is common to find a mirror-image perception. This means that each side perceives the other in roughly similar terms. Figure 3.2 depicts this sense of mutual threat that exists between the United States and Muslim countries.

#### Organizational Behavior

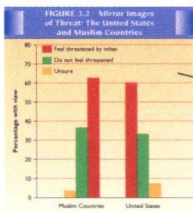
Yet another common characteristic of humans is that they tend to think and act differently in collective settings than they do as individuals (Hogers, 2001; Hermann, 2001). This leads to a second approach to individual-level analysis, one which examines how people act in organizations. Two concepts, role behavior and group decision-making behavior, illustrate this approach.

#### Role Behavior

We all play a variety of roles based on our attitudes about the positions we have and the behaviors we adopt in them. For example, how you act when you are in class, on the job, or in a family situation varies depending in part on your role—on whether you are a professor or a student, a manager or a worker, a parent or a child.

Presidents and other policy makers also play roles. The script for a role is derived from a combination of self-expectations (how we expect ourselves to act) and external expectations (how others expect us to behave). For leaders, these latter expectations are constituted by cues from advisors, critics, and public opinion. One common role expectation is that leaders be decisive. A leader who approaches a problem by saying, "I don't know what to do" or "We can't do anything" will be accused of weakness.

For example, President Bush was in Florida when the 9/11 attacks occurred, and the Secret Service wanted him to remain safely out of Washington, D.C. for a time.



Americans and citizens of Muslim countries share a mirror image of hostility toward one another. Note that almost equal percentages (60%) of Americans see Muslims as hostile and Muslims see Americans as hostile.

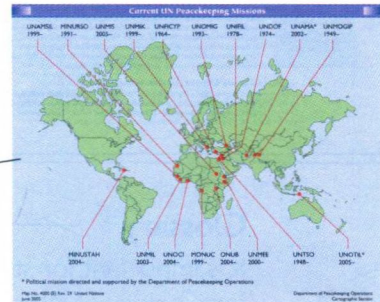
Source: The opinion of Americans was, "Do you think the Muslim world considers itself a war with the United States?" The opinion of Muslim countries was, "How do you see us?" At all, that the U.S. could become a military threat to your country consider this as a war, you would consider us to be a war, in your view of a war?" (See survey from Pew Research Center for the Hispanic and the Pew (2002).)

## Figures

Exceptionally clear graphics with detailed captions encourage students to gain an understanding of world events and trends by analyzing data.

## Maps

Maps directly support the text discussions and provide students with the geographic context they need in order to gain a full understanding of the concepts in the text.



The United Nations has placed a valuable preexisting mission. This map shows the 18 preexisting operations active in mid-2002. It is a testament to the ever-growing record of U.S. preexisting missions that the map would have become too cluttered if it had included the other 43 preexisting missions that the U.S. had undertaken and concluded in its history. The United Nations has placed a valuable preexisting mission. This map shows the 18 preexisting operations active in mid-2002. It is a testament to the ever-growing record of U.S. preexisting missions that the map would have become too cluttered if it had included the other 43 preexisting missions that the U.S. had undertaken and concluded in its history. The United Nations has placed a valuable preexisting mission. This map shows the 18 preexisting operations active in mid-2002. It is a testament to the ever-growing record of U.S. preexisting missions that the map would have become too cluttered if it had included the other 43 preexisting missions that the U.S. had undertaken and concluded in its history.

TABLE 1.3 Measures of Military Spending

Country	Spending (\$100 billion)	% of World Spending	Spending PPP (\$100 billion)	% of Country's GDP
United States	417	47	417	34
Japan	47	5	33	3
China	33	4	19	12
Russia	13	1	63	5
India	12	1	64	5

Source: SIPRI (2006), CIA (2006).

Like almost everyone in the world, you pay considerable taxes to support your country's military. However, it is possible to reach different conclusions about the level of military spending depending on the measure you use. Using unadjusted U.S. dollars, U.S. military spending is almost half the world total. But adjusting for what things actually cost in various countries (purchasing power parity—PPP), U.S. spending is about a third of the global total. Other the standard is defense spending as a percentage of a country's gross domestic product (GDP) or its national budget, U.S. expenditures are not out of line with those of many other major countries.

**Web Links**  
To better understand purchasing power parity, please go to the Web site of the Council on Economic Priorities: [www.cepri.com](http://www.cepri.com) and entering "the index" in the search window.

spending on education, health, and defense as a percentage of GDP in the United States, its two land neighbors (Canada and Mexico), and China. As you can see, Mexico and Canada spend a much smaller portion of their wealth on defense than on education and health, a sense of priorities that is different from those evident in the United States and China.

Although there is no one-to-one relationship between reduced defense spending and increased higher education spending, it is worth thinking about what would be possible if some defense spending were reallocated to higher education. In 2003 over 16 million students were enrolled in U.S. colleges. The annual cost of room, board, and tuition at the average four-year private college was \$31,051; at the average public college it was \$21,160. If the U.S. government's defense just one B-2 bomber from its savings of \$2.1 billion, that money would be enough to give an all-expenses-paid scholarship at the average private college to 67,633 students or at the average state university to 196,908 students.

Yet the reallocation of defense spending that might bring economic relief to some people would harm the economic circumstances of other people. Despite the post-9/11 increase in U.S. defense spending, overall funding for national security declined from 6.2% of the GDP in 1980 to 4% in 2004. Our impact has been a decline in defense-related employment during that period, from 8 million to 4.9 million civilian and military workers. Therefore, the many individuals, communities, and states that benefit from defense spending view it as a domestic economic issue as well as a national security issue. This was aptly illustrated by the coverage of President Bush's FY2006 budget proposal by the *Hartford Courant* in Connecticut, a state with such key defense manufacturers as Electric Boat (submarines), Sikorsky (helicopters), and Pratt & Whitney (jet engines). The newspaper covered the president's overall budget message in its main section, but the defense budget was analyzed on page 1 of the business section under the headline, "Defense Budget 2: Should State Would Gain in the Short Term, Worry Down the Road."<sup>13</sup> The economic impact of jobs gained or lost on individuals and their communities also influences the views of

## Tables

Up-to-date tables provide students with data that can be noted at a glance. The tables provide an excellent summary of complex topics.



example, one of the major hurdles that Russia must overcome to invigorate its economy is its relatively limited and decrepit transportation systems. As one standard, for every 1,000 square miles of its land territory, the United States has 14 times as many miles of paved roads and four times as many miles of railroad track than does Russia. Inadequate transportation systems are also a problem for LDCs.

#### Information and Communications Systems

A country's information and communications capabilities are becoming increasingly important (Bakkefeld, 1998). Satellites and computers have accelerated the revolution begun with radio and television. Photocopying machines, then fax machines, and now the Internet have dramatically changed communications. Enhanced communications technology increases the ability of a society to communicate within itself and remain cohesive. It also increases efficiency and effectiveness in industry, finance, and the military. Here again, the gap between LDCs and ECDCs is wide. For example, U.S. annual per capita expenditures on information and communications (33,309) are more than 50 times that of China (538). There are, for example, approximately three times more television sets, six times more radios, three times more telephones, and 1.9 times more Internet users per capita in the United States than in China.

#### National Diplomacy

Now that we have explored power as the foundation of national diplomacy, we can turn to its conduct. First we will take up diplomacy as applied power; then we will examine the various settings in which diplomacy is conducted.

#### Diplomacy as Applied Power

National diplomacy is normally about the application of a country's power to further its national interests. Expectations such as mediating a dispute among other countries, empowering the UN to advance international law which may not seem self-serving, or usually because a country's calculation that in the long run it and its people will be better off in an international system that is less anarchical than the current one.

It is common to think of applying power as using military forces or perhaps economic sanctions and incentives; the application of power is much more complex. To begin with, a country's economic and military might rest on the strength of its infrastructure. As such, a strong infrastructure adds to a country's diplomatic strength because a country's status and the willingness or reluctance of other countries to follow its lead are also aspects of applied power. Some of this is self-power that encourages other countries to support and emulate a country they admire. Prestige is also derived from hard power. As chapter 1 points out, the U.S. position as a hegemonic power creates an assumption of American leadership in many other countries. They sometimes chafe at U.S. dominance and even try to undercut it, but these countries also see it as important to system stability and prosperity.

#### Direct and Indirect Application of Power

Diplomacy applies power directly and indirectly. The *direct* diplomatic application of power includes the use of economic sanctions or inducements and also threatening or using force. Threatened or actual war is also a direct diplomatic use of power.

**Did You Know That?**  
A country's military might is not just a matter of having a big army and a big navy. It is also a matter of having a strong infrastructure.

## DYK

Did You Know clips provide a moment of diversion, giving students facts about the world today that are surprising, amusing, or informative.

## Glossary

It is important for students to master the terminology of international relations, and this text helps them do so. Key terms are boldfaced in the text, listed at the end of the chapter to provide a review, and defined in the glossary at the end of the book. The Online Learning Center has an interactive list of key terms for each chapter.

## Glossary

**Absolute power** An element of power, such as nuclear weapons, that is unduly excessive and can be potentially used irrespective of other considerations. 239  
**Adjudication** The legal process of deciding an issue through the courts. 176  
**Anarchy** The philosophy that altruistic acts are unwise and even dangerous, or that morality should never be the absolute guide of human actions, particularly in regard to international law. 203  
**Anarchical political system** An anarchical system is one in which there is no central authority to make rules, to enforce rules, or to resolve disputes about the actions in the political system. Many people believe that a system without central authority is inevitably one either of chaos or one in which the powerful prey on the weak. There is, however, an anarchic political philosophy that contends that the natural tendency of people to cooperate has been corrupted by artificial political, economic, or social institutions. Therefore, anarchists believe that the end of these institutions will lead to a cooperative society. Marxism, insofar as it foresees the collapse of the state once capitalism is destroyed and workers live in proletarian harmony, has elements of anarchism. 38  
**Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM)** A treaty signed by the United States and the Soviet Union from 1967 that barred the two countries from developing and deploying a system to shoot down ballistic missiles. The United States withdrew from the treaty in 2001 in order to pursue the development and deployment of a national missile defense system. 346  
**Anti-Personnel Mine Treaty (APM)** A treaty signed in 1997 and effective in 1999 that commits its adherents not to produce, stockpile, or transfer antipersonnel land mines, to destroy any current inventory of mines, and to remove all mines they have planned. The United States is among the handful of countries that has not signed to the treaty. 333  
**Apprehensive policy** A policy advocated by the British and French toward the Germans following World War I. The hope was to maintain peace by allowing Hitler to annex the unadministered regions of Central Europe. 45  
**Arms control** A variety of approaches to the limitation of weapons. Arms control ranges from restricting the future growth in the number, types, or deployment of weapons, through the reduction of weapons, to the elimination of some types of (or even all) weapons on a global or regional basis. 345  
**Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)** A regional trade organization founded in 1989 that now includes 21 countries. 454  
**Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)** A regional organization that emphasizes trade relations, established in 1967, now includes Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar (Burma), the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. 433  
**Asymmetrical warfare** A strategy by which a national military or other armed force, including a terrorist organization, that is relatively small and lightly equipped attacks a militarily stronger opponent by using unconventional means, such as terrorism, or with limited conventional weapons, such as nuclear explosives and material, biological agents, or other means of asymmetric warfare. 33  
**Authoritarian government** A political system that allows little or no participation in decision making by individuals and groups outside the upper reaches of the government. 76, 171  
**Authoritarianism** A type of restrictive governmental system where people are under the rule of an individual, such as a dictator or king, or a group, such as a party or military junta. 171  
**Balance of payments** A figure that represents the net flow of money into and out of a country due to trade, tourist expenditures, aid of services (such as consulting), foreign aid, profits, and so forth. 388  
**Balance of power** A concept that describes the degree of equilibrium (balance) or disequilibrium (imbalance) of power in the global or regional system. 40  
**Balance-of-power politics theory** The notion that countries seek to conserve and ensure power, that some countries seek to become powerful enough to dominate their region or even the international system, and that other countries seek to counter a hegemonic drive by balancing their increasing their own power or cooperating with other powers to prevent any country or coalition from achieving dominance. 232

removed President Bush from office. Indeed, the norm against using nuclear weapons, especially against a non-nuclear power, is so strong that only massive Iraq use of chemical or biological weapons might have prompted such a response.

Moreover, even within the parameters of a conventional invasion, it is noteworthy that U.S. and U.K. military forces generally conducted operations in a way to keep civilian casualties much lower than they might otherwise have been. That reflected the growing norms in the world, including those of Americans. 73% of whom, according to one poll, believed there should be a "very high" or "high" priority on minimizing civilian casualties.<sup>42</sup>

It is easy to lose track of the main message in this long section on system-level analysis. So to keep our focus, system-level analysis looks for the way that the structure, power distribution, economic realities, and norms of the international system influence foreign policy. Indeed, we have seen that foreign policy-making is much more complex than merely "what the president decides." Instead, foreign policy and by extension world politics are heavily influenced by numerous factors related to the status of humans as individuals and as a species, to the complicated structure of government with its many important subnational actors, and to the context of the international system in which all countries operate.

#### Chapter Summary

##### Individual-Level Analysis

1. Individual-level analysis is based on the view that it is people who make policy. It analyzes the policy-making process by examining how people (as a species, in groups, and individually) make decisions.
2. Individual-level analysis can be approached from three different perspectives. One is to examine fundamental human nature. The second is to study how people act in organizations. The third is to examine the motivations and actions of specific persons.
3. The human nature approach examines basic human characteristics, including the cognitive, psychological, emotional, and biological factors that influence decision making.
4. The organizational behavior approach studies such factors as role (how people act in their professional positions) and group decision-making behavior, including groupthink.
5. The ideational behavior approach explores the factors that determine the perceptions, decisions, and actions of specific leaders. A leader's personality, physical and mental health, age and attitudes, understanding of history, personal experiences, and perceptions are all factors.
6. The application of perceptions to policy can be explained by exploring operational reality and organizational codes.

##### State-Level Analysis

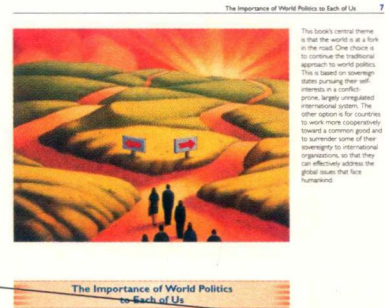
7. State-level analysis assumes that since states are the most important international actors, world politics can be best understood by focusing on how foreign policy is influenced by the political structure of states, the policy-making actors within them, and the interactions among the policy actors.
8. Foreign policy is not formulated by a single decision-making process. Instead, the exact nature of that process changes according to a number of variables, including the type of political system, the type of situation, the type of issue, and the internal factors involved.
9. States are complex organizations, and their internal, or domestic, dynamics influence their international actions.
10. One set of internal factors centers on political culture: the fundamental, long-held beliefs of a nation.
11. Another set of internal factors centers on the policy-making impact of various foreign policy-making actors. These include political leaders, bureaucratic organizations, legislatures, political parties and opposition, interest groups, and the public. Each of these influences foreign policy, but their influence varies according to the type of government, the situation, and the policy at issue.
12. Unstable heads of government are the most powerful foreign policy-making actors. Bureaucratic

## Chapter Summary

An excellent tool for chapter review is the numbered summary of main points at the end of the chapter.

## Web Links

Web links to the Internet connect students to sites that are chosen to engage students in addition to containing more information on the topic being presented in the text.



**The Importance of World Politics to Each of Us**

When Shakespeare wrote that we are all players on the world stage, he meant that in an active sense. Understanding that reality in *The Merchant of Venice*, he has Antonio exclaim, "I hold the world [to be] . . . a stage where every man must play a part." If Americans did not know it already they learned on September 11, 2001, that world politics can dramatically impact them. That morning terrorists turned four commercial airliners into weapons and shattered Americans' sense of security. Two planes demolished the twin towers of the World Trade Center in Manhattan, another plummeted into the Pentagon just outside Washington, D.C., the fourth crashed into a field near Pittsburgh despite the heroic efforts of the passengers to evade control of the aircraft. About the airliners, 33 crew members, 214 innocent passengers, and 19 terrorists died. More than 3,000 others on the ground perished, many before the horrified, almost disbelieving eyes of Americans who had turned on their televisions as news of the attacks spread. When they had awakened that morning, most Americans had never heard of Osama bin Laden or al Qaeda, by noon those names were seared in the American psyche.

The trauma of 9/11, the fear of further terrorist attacks, the U.S.-led invasion against Afghanistan, the invasion of Iraq 18 months later, and the revealed occupation of that country all worked to focus Americans' interest on foreign affairs. A high level of concern with the world has been the norm, however, and it is not clear whether in the long run Americans will sustain their interest in the world around

**Web Link**  
Let any of a flight crew account and map of the 9/11 attack at [www.911.com](http://www.911.com).

global nationalism could emerge based on the similarities among all humans and their common experiences, needs, and goals. One such scholar envisages "a nation coextensive with humanity" that would then come together in a "United States of the World" (Goreau, 1992:7).

What can we conclude? Will nationalism persist "until the last syllable of recorded time," as Horace would have (Shakespeare's *Macbeth*)? More importantly should it, given its benefits and drawbacks? You can help supply the answer to these questions because the script for tomorrow's drama on the world stage has yet to be written.

### Chapter Summary

#### Understanding Nations, Nationalism, and Nation-States

- Nationalism is one of the most important factors in international politics. It defines where we put our primary political loyalty and that is in the nation-state. Today the world is divided and defined by nationalism and nation-states.
- Nations, nation-states, and nationalism are all key concepts that must be carefully defined and clearly differentiated and understood.
- The political focus on nationalism has evolved and become ascendant over the last few centuries.

#### Nationalism in Practice: Issues and Evaluation

- There are differences between the theory of nationalism and its application. To evaluate nationalism objectively, these must be considered.
- One issue is that the ideal nation-state is more myth than reality in practice the boundaries of nations and the borders of states are seldom congruent.

For simulations, debates, and other interactive activities, a chapter quiz, Web links, PowerPoint articles, and much more, visit [www.oxfordonline.com/11](http://www.oxfordonline.com/11) and go to chapter 4. Or, while accessing the site, click on Course Related Headlines and view recent international relations articles in the New York Times.



### Key Terms

ethnonational group	microstates	nation-state	stateness
exceptionalism	multinational state	political identity	symphobia
failed state	multinational nation	popular sovereignty	Zionism
ideology	nation	self-determination	
evolutionism	nationalism	state building	

## OLC

Each chapter of the book has an Online Learning Center (OLC) organized by chapter. Each chapter contains an abundance of learning tools, including quizzes.

Some comments on the terms are appropriate. First, do not be fooled by the connotations of realism and liberalism. One school of theories labeled their position "realism" and the subsequent struck, but they do not necessarily see things as they "really" are. It would also be an error to equate the use of "liberal" here with its application in domestic politics to describe left of center political parties. Like Democrats in the United States. For example, President George W. Bush is a conservative in terms of American domestic politics, yet he exhibits some distinctly liberal tendencies in the international relations theory use of the terms. Given the sometimes confusing use and implications of the terms, it is best, perhaps, to think of realism as "positivism." Conversely, "optimism" is probably a more descriptive label for liberalism.

Second, the effort to group theories together is merely a helpful vehicle to introduce them to beginning students of international relations. Table 1.2 summarizes the main points of realism, liberalism, and their two "new" offshoots. Still, putting theories into neat categories partly obscures their range and subtleties. As one study noted, "If you put four IR theories in a room you will easily get ten different ways of organizing theory, and there will also be disagreement about which theories are relevant in the first place" (Jackson & Sorensen, 2003:34). Thus, if you delve into theory you will find many nuances in the writings of the leading realist and liberal scholars as they try to describe how the world works politically.

Third, most people's political views are a mixture of realism and liberalism. For example, we shall see that in many ways President George W. Bush fits the realist mode in his willingness to use preemptive war to smite those whom he considers an enemy and to do so against the majority of world opinion. Yet Bush's strong belief in spreading democracy in order to create a more peaceful world is classic liberalism. So if you find yourself less than a consistent realist or liberal, do not worry. Most other people are divided too.

### The Nature of Politics: Realism and Liberalism

The disagreement between realists and liberals about the nature of politics is perhaps the most fundamental division in all of political discourse. The two schools of thought disagree over the very nature of those politics (political humanism).

#### Realism and the Nature of Politics

At root, realists are pessimistic and liberals are optimistic about human nature. Realists believe that political struggle among humans is probably inevitable because people have an inherent dark side (Dorothy 2000; Sorens, 2000). Therefore realists have little political trust, and that extends to other countries and their people (Brewer, Gross, & de Villars, 2006). As one realist puts it, "The sad fact is that international politics has always been a ruthless and dangerous business and it is likely to remain that way" (Mearsmeier, 2001:2). Many realists would trace their intellectual heritage to such political philosophers as Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), who believed that humans possess an inherent urge to dominate, an "animal desire." In his book *Leviathan* (1651), Hobbes argued that "if any man desire the same thing, which nevertheless they cannot both enjoy they become enemies and . . . endeavor to destroy or subdue one another" taking the same point of view one leading realist scholar, Hans Morgenthau, wrote that an "obsession of evil in human nature" revolutionizes into political organizations "which are in essence instruments of destruction . . . and love of country into imperialism" (Zakaria, 1993:12).

A relatively recent variation on realism is the *neorealist* (or *structural realist*) school of thought (James, 2002). Neorealists focus on the anarchic nature of a world

## Web Site Icon

The interactive exercises on the OLC are tightly integrated with the text. Icons in the margins show students where there is a relevant activity on the OLC.

