

# INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**PERSPECTIVES, CONTROVERSIES AND READINGS**



**Fifth Edition**

**Keith L. Shimko**



# International Relations

## Perspectives, Controversies & Readings

**Keith L. Shimko**  
PURDUE UNIVERSITY



**International Relations: Perspectives,  
Controversies & Readings, Fifth Edition**

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# Preface: For the Instructor

*International Relations: Perspectives, Controversies, & Readings*, Fifth Edition, grows out of more than two decades of teaching the course for which it is intended—introductory international relations. I struggle to find the right balance of fact and theory, current events and historical background, as well as to provide breadth and depth of coverage in an accessible manner, without caricature or condescension. I constantly need to remind myself that even though the latest theoretical fad or methodological debate may interest me and my colleagues, it is usually of little interest or value to my students. Conversely, though many issues might be old and settled for those of us who have been immersed in the discipline for decades, they can still be new and exciting for students.

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## Goals

An introduction to international relations should accomplish several basic tasks: first, provide the essential information and historical background for an incredibly wide and diverse range of issues; second, instill the necessary conceptual and theoretical tools for students to analyze historical and contemporary issues from a broader perspective; and third, demonstrate the relevance of seemingly abstract academic theories and concepts for understanding the “real world.”

In providing the necessary information and historical background, the major obstacle is the sheer volume of material. Because there is so much history that seems essential and there are so many issues to cover, it is always easy to find material to add but nearly impossible to identify anything to eliminate. Every textbook author knows this problem well: reviewers inevitably offer numerous suggestions for additions, but few for deletions. Unfortunately, quantity is sometimes the enemy of quality. Presented with an endless catalog of facts, names, theories, and perspectives, students risk drowning in a sea of detail. In trying to teach everything, we run the risk that students end up learning nothing. Choices need to be made.

These choices should be guided by the fundamental objective of getting students to *think* about international relations, instilling an appreciation for ideas and argument. If students understand the arguments for and against free trade, for example, it is not essential that they know the details of every World Trade Organization (WTO) meeting or General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) round. Discussion of the WTO might be a useful entry point, but it is the ideas and arguments underlying the debate over free trade that are most critical.

Such ideas need to be presented in a manner that enables students to truly engage the arguments and grasp their implications. It is not enough that students are able to provide a paragraph summary of balance of power theory or the theory of comparative advantage: they need to understand the basic assumptions and follow arguments through their various stages, twists, and turns. This requires that ideas and theories must be developed at some length so that students can see how the elements come together. As a result, it may be better to present two or three theories and positions in some depth, rather than brief summaries of a dozen.

Since most undergraduates hope that the class will help them understand the realities of international relations, the challenge of demonstrating relevance is critical. This is often achieved by supplementing a traditional text with a reader organized in a “taking sides” format. Although readers can be useful, they are seldom designed to accompany a particular text. As a consequence, the fit between readers and texts is usually imperfect. An additional problem with the text/reader combination is that it requires the purchase of two books. This text offers a unique solution to both problems: each of the substantive chapters incorporates readings that would normally appear in a supplementary reader, creating a single volume that is *both* a traditional textbook and a reader. The benefit for the instructor and students is that the readings are chosen specifically to reflect the discussion in each chapter. The additional benefit for students is that there is no additional reader to purchase.

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## Approach

The format of *International Relations: Perspectives, Controversies, & Readings* reflects its approach to addressing these major challenges. Chapters 1 and 2 provide the basic historical and theoretical foundations for thinking about international relations. The remaining chapters are framed differently than in most other texts, in that each chapter revolves around a central question or debate embodying an important and enduring controversy in international relations:

- Does international anarchy inevitably lead to war? (Chapter 3)
- Are democracies more peaceful? (Chapter 4)
- Is war part of human nature? (Chapter 5)
- Does free trade benefit all? (Chapter 6)
- What are the obstacles to economic development? (Chapter 7)
- Is globalization erode a threat to national sovereignty? (Chapter 8)
- Does international law matter? (Chapter 9)
- Is humanitarian intervention justified? (Chapter 10)

- How dangerous is nuclear proliferation? (Chapter 11)
- How should we respond to international terrorism? (Chapter 12)
- Is the global commons in danger? (Chapter 13)

Once the question is posed and the essential historical/factual background provided, alternative answers to the question are developed. The questions and “debate” format provide focus, prompting students to follow coherent and contrasting arguments. The goal is to present sustained arguments, not snippets. Finally, to help students move beyond abstract debates, each chapter concludes with readings that bring to life the debates discussed in the chapter. For example, in Chapter 3, dealing with democracy and war, the “Points of View” documents debate whether more democracy would bring peace to the Middle East. Given the successful protests against authoritarian rule in the Arab world in 2011 (e.g., in Tunisia and Egypt) and the prospect of more democratic forms of government in the region, this should help students appreciate the real-world implications of theoretical arguments.

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## Features

Beginning with Chapter 3, students will notice a standard set of pedagogical features that will guide their studies of the enduring controversies in international relations:

- An **opening abstract** introducing students to the chapter and its central question.
- An **introduction** providing historical background.
- **Key terms** are boldfaced where they are first introduced in the chapter, defined in the margin, and listed at the end of the chapter.
- The **Points of View** section includes two readings related to the chapter’s issues, often presenting both sides of the debate. An introduction to the readings provides questions for students to ponder as they read the selections.
- A **chapter summary** provides a brief review of the chapter.
- **Critical questions** ask students to apply the concepts that they learned in the chapter.
- **Further readings** provide citations of additional sources related to the chapter material.
- Related **Web sites** give students the opportunity to explore the Internet for more information.

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## Highlights of This Fifth Edition

*International Relations: Perspectives, Controversies, & Readings*, Fifth Edition, has been thoroughly updated. Key revisions include the following:

- New and updated “Point of View” sections. In Chapter 9, new readings focus on whether Syria (or Syrian leaders) should be referred to the International

Criminal Court for their actions against Syrian civilians in the country's ongoing conflict. In Chapter 11, new readings focus on the debate over the "Global Zero" initiative to abolish nuclear weapons. And although the topics remain the same, there are new "Point of View" readings included in Chapter 3, Chapter 4, Chapter 5, and Chapter 10.

- Chapters are revised and updated; changes include debates about whether U.S. covert actions against democracies undermine democratic peace theory (Chapter 4), Stephen Pinker's thesis about human nature and declining global violence (Chapter 5), corruption as an obstacle to development (Chapter 7), Syria's alleged use of chemical weapons under customary international law (Chapter 9), Ukrainian denuclearization and its consequences for its crisis with Russia (Chapter 11), and updated information on issues of climate change and global resources, particularly the latest Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) report and the theory of peak oil (Chapter 13).
- Updated statistics throughout the book.
- New and updated Web links throughout to provide useful resources in exploring chapter-related issues beyond the text.
- New and updated end-of-chapter critical questions to prompt deeper student analysis and engagement with the concepts.

*International Relations: Perspectives, Controversies, & Readings*, Fifth Edition, offers the following ancillary materials:

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## Instructor Resources

TITLE: **Instructor Companion Web site** for *International Relations: Perspectives, Controversies, & Readings*, Fifth Edition

ISBN: 9781285865188

DESCRIPTION:

This **Instructor Companion Web site** is an all-in-one online resource for class preparation and testing. Accessible through [Cengage.com/login](http://Cengage.com/login) with your faculty account, it features all of the free student assets, plus an instructor's manual and a test bank in Microsoft® Word®.

TITLE: **CourseReader 0-30: International Relations**

Printed Access card ISBN: 9781111480608

Instant Access card ISBN: 9781111480592

DESCRIPTION:

**CourseReader for International Relations** allows you to create your reader, your way, in just minutes. This affordable, fully customizable online reader provides access to thousands of permissions-cleared readings, articles, primary sources, and audio and video selections from the regularly updated Gale research library database. This easy-to-use solution allows you to search for and select just the material that you want for your courses. Each selection opens with a descriptive

introduction to provide context, and concludes with critical-thinking and multiple-choice questions to reinforce key points.

CourseReader is loaded with convenient tools like highlighting, printing, note-taking, and downloadable PDFs and MP3 audio files for each reading. CourseReader is the perfect complement to any Political Science course. It can be bundled with your current textbook, sold alone, or integrated into your learning management system. CourseReader 0–30 allows access to up to 30 selections in the reader. Please contact your Cengage sales representative for details.

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## Student Resources

**TITLE:** Student Companion Web site for Shimko, *International Relations: Perspectives, Controversies, & Readings*, Fifth Edition

ISBN: 9781285865195

**DESCRIPTION:**

This free companion Web site is accessible through [cengagebrain.com](http://cengagebrain.com) and allows students access to chapter-specific interactive learning tools, including flash cards, quizzes, glossaries, and more.

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## Acknowledgments

The process of writing an introductory international relations text has been a rewarding, yet at times frustrating, experience. I suspect that this is the case in any field. Although only my name is on the cover, this product involved the input of many people over the course of several editions. First and foremost are all those people who have read and commented on various drafts along the way. Many friends and colleagues at Purdue University, specifically Berenice Carroll, Harry Targ, Louis René Beres, and Aaron Hoffman, have made valuable suggestions for improving several chapters. Cynthia Weber of Leeds University provided useful input on my discussion of international relations theory, especially feminism. Although my debts to Stanley Michalak of Franklin and Marshall College go all the way back to my undergraduate days, for this text, he read numerous chapters that are now much better as a result of his insightful, considerate advice and friendly criticism. Stanley was also one of my main sources of encouragement at times when I wondered whether the world really needed another introductory international relations text. In addition, Randy Roberts also gave valuable advice on navigating the maze of textbook publishing.

In addition to these friends, there is a list of reviewers for this edition arranged through my editors at Cengage:

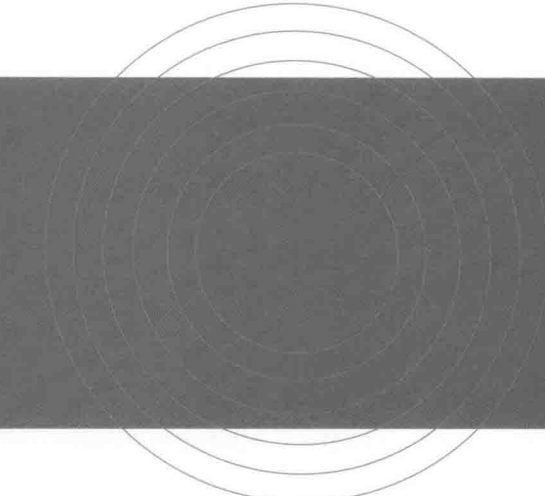
Joel McMahon, Baker College Online  
Aron Tannenbaum, Clemson University  
Emily Copeland, Bryant University  
Baris Kesgin, Susquehanna University



Although it was obviously not possible to incorporate all of the ideas and suggestions provided by these reviewers, I can honestly say that this is a much better book as a result of their input.

Finally, this book is dedicated to my mother and father, Riitta and Leonard Shimko. My mother passed away halfway through the writing of the first edition. Although she was not here to see the final product, I know she would have been happy that after many years of talking about it, I finally got off my duff and wrote it. I only regret that she was not here to see it. My father saw the first edition but passed away just before I wrote the second edition. I miss them both terribly.

*Keith L. Shimko*



# Introduction for the Student: Why Study International Relations?

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## You and the World

There are times when international events dominate the daily news, displacing the more immediate domestic issues and economic concerns that usually occupy people's attention. Despite the continuing recession and persistently high unemployment, domestic issues were bumped from the headlines in the spring of 2014 as the crisis between Russia and Ukraine threatened war on the periphery of Europe and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). On television, YouTube, the blogosphere, and a host of social media outlets, the world was flooded with images of protests and troop movements. Talk shows and twenty-four-hour news channels were filled with policymakers and analysts arguing about the strategic, legal, humanitarian, and economic implications of the crisis. What some have characterized as the most significant conflict between the United States and Russia since the end of the Cold War appeared to come out of nowhere, overshadowing domestic and other international concerns.

But even in more tranquil times, when international affairs recede into the background, our lives are touched by events beyond our shores. Whether the United States is at peace or at war, almost 20 percent of your tax dollars goes to defend the nation's security. If you are a farmer or work for a company that exports its products, your livelihood may depend on continued access to international markets. As a consumer, you pay prices for food and clothes from abroad that are influenced by how much access other nations have to our markets. A crisis on the other side of the globe may require you to shell out more money for the gas that you pump into your car. And if you or a loved one is a member of the armed forces, international affairs can literally become a matter of life and death. Indeed, in the wake of September 11, 2001, Americans now know something that people in less secure parts of the world have always known—one need not be wearing a uniform to become a casualty. There may have been a time, before bombers, ballistic

missiles, and the global economy, when friendly neighbors and the isolation provided by two oceans allowed Americans to ignore much of what happened around the world. That world is long gone. Today, we are reminded at almost every turn that our lives are affected—sometimes dramatically—by what goes on thousands of miles from home.

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## International Relations

What is *international relations*? At first glance, this appears to be a relatively straightforward and easy question. In a narrow sense, international relations is the behavior and interaction of states. Those inclined to this somewhat restrictive definition often prefer the label *international politics* instead of *international relations*. Today, the more commonly used term *international relations* connotes a much broader focus. Although no one denies that state behavior is a focus (perhaps even the *central* focus) of international relations, few believe that this adequately defines the boundaries of the discipline. There are simply too many important actors (e.g., multinational corporations, religious movements, international organizations, and terrorist groups) and issues (e.g., climate change) that do not fall neatly into a state-centric vision of the world. But as we conceptualize international relations more broadly, it is hard to know where to stop. The line between domestic and international politics blurs as we realize that internal politics often influence a state's external conduct. The distinction between economics and politics fades once we recognize that economic power is an integral component of political power. In the end, it may be easier to specify what, if anything, does *not* fall within the realm of international relations. Indeed, according to one definition, international relations is “the whole complex of cultural, economic, legal, military, political, and social relations of all *states*, as well as their component populations and entities.”<sup>1</sup> That covers an awful lot of territory.

Fortunately, we need not settle on any final definition. Although it might be an interesting academic exercise, it serves no useful purpose at this point. It is enough that we have a good idea of the subjects included in any reasonable definition. It is hard, for example, to imagine a definition of international relations that would not encompass questions of war and peace, sovereignty and intervention, and economic inequality and development. As an introductory text, this book deals with perspectives and issues that almost everyone agrees fall well within the core of international relations.

---

## Learning and Thinking About International Relations

This text is designed to help you think systematically and critically about international affairs in a way that allows you to understand today's headlines as well as yesterday's and, more important, tomorrow's. Once you are able to see familiar patterns in unfamiliar situations, identify recurring puzzles in novel problems,

and recognize old ideas expressed in new debates, international relations ceases to be a disjointed and ever-changing series of “events.” The names and faces may change, but many of the fundamental problems, issues, and debates tend to reappear, albeit in slightly different form.

The first step in thinking systematically about international politics is realizing that our present is the product of our past. What happened today was influenced by what happened yesterday, and what happens today will shape what happens tomorrow. Even unanticipated and surprising events do not occur out of the blue: there are always antecedent developments and forces that produced them. The outbreak of World War I, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, and the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, cannot be understood apart from their historical roots. Understanding contemporary problems requires an appreciation of their historical origins. History is also essential for evaluating the significance of contemporary events. Without history, we would have no way of judging whether a proclaimed “new world order” is really new, or merely a mildly updated version of the old world order.

The second step in thinking systematically about international relations is moving beyond *description* to the more difficult task of *explanation*. The transition from description to explanation is rarely easy. Anyone who has ever taken a history class knows that agreement on “the facts” does not necessarily translate into consensus on the explanation behind events. Historians might be in total agreement about exactly what happened before and during World War I—who assassinated whom, which nation declared war first, and who won what battles—yet nonetheless disagree about what “caused” the war. These debates occur because historical facts do not speak for or explain themselves. Explanation requires that events be interpreted and linked, and there is always more than one plausible explanation or interpretation.

Competing interpretations are the result of preexisting beliefs and worldviews that act as lenses or filters enabling people to *look* at the same things, yet *see* them differently. As a result, understanding debates about international relations requires knowledge of not only “the facts,” but also the lenses through which people interpret and understand them. Only then is it possible to understand, for example, why some see the United Nations as an invaluable institution for creating a more civilized world, while others dismiss it as a pompous and ineffective debating society. International relations is marked not only by conflicts among nations, but also by conflicting worldviews.

In addition, an appreciation of these competing worldviews is an essential aspect of critical thinking, which necessarily entails looking at issues and problems from many perspectives. This is why students in debating clubs and societies are required to defend positions regardless of their personal opinions. Presenting and defending positions other than your own is an intellectual exercise that aids critical analysis, encourages you to think about the structure of argument and the nature of evidence, and makes you aware of the strengths and weaknesses of your own position. Someone who cannot understand or faithfully present an opposing point of view can never really understand his or her own.

Thus, in order to cultivate this sort of critical analysis, a textbook needs to accomplish at least three tasks. First, it must provide a foundation of knowledge that enables you to think about current events in a broader *historical context*. Second, it has to make you aware of the differing worldviews that influence analyses of international affairs so they can analyze events in a broader *intellectual context*. And third, it should examine issues from multiple perspectives so that you can get into the habit of seeing international relations from many different angles.

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## Plan of the Book

This text has two sections. The first provides the historical and theoretical foundation. It begins (Chapter 1) with a broad survey of the development of international relations, focusing on the emergence and evolution of what we call the “modern state system.” Although any attempt to summarize more than five centuries in a single chapter inevitably sacrifices much detail, it is still possible to convey the most significant elements of change and continuity. This historical survey is followed by an introduction to the major perspectives that offer alternative ways of explaining and understanding international relations (Chapter 2).

The second section, which forms the bulk of the text, is devoted to enduring and contemporary controversies in international relations. Individual chapters focus on a central international issue, ranging from the very abstract and theoretical (e.g., war and human nature) to the extremely concrete and policy-oriented (e.g., nuclear proliferation and terrorism). Whatever the specific issue, the format of each chapter is similar: A brief historical and factual introduction is followed by a discussion of competing perspectives or arguments.

Of course, it is impossible to do justice to every conceivable position on each issue. In the real world, there are never just two sides to an argument or debate. There are always nuances of emphasis and gradations of belief in academic and policy debates. But before we can deal with nuances, we need to appreciate the more basic and fundamental differences. Thus, rather than covering the full range of positions on every topic, the focus will be on two or three major positions reflecting differences on fundamental questions. This allows us to concentrate on the most significant points of disagreement, develop arguments, and discuss evidence in some depth.

The transition from the classroom to the “real world” is provided by each chapter’s “Points of View” section, which includes an eclectic mix of official foreign policy statements, government documents, news stories, and editorials. What are you supposed to get from these documents? Sometimes they are intended to demonstrate that ideas, which can often appear very theoretical, have real-world consequences. Other documents require you to think outside the box a little by presenting positions that depart somewhat from those presented in the chapter. Finally, some documents are straightforward news stories providing real-world examples of various phenomena.

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## After the Final Exam

Few of you will make a career of studying international relations. This may be both the first and the last international relations course you will ever take (though hopefully not). But whether you like the subject or not, your life will be influenced by international affairs. Long after the exams and quizzes are an unpleasant memory, many of the issues and problems that you studied here will come up again. Even if you do not emerge with a burning interest in international relations and a passionate desire to learn more, I hope that you will come away with an appreciation of the important issues at stake, that you will listen to candidates and their proposed policies, and that you can identify and understand the assumptions and beliefs that inform them. You should be able to analyze arguments and evidence rather than accept them at face value. You should aim to become an interested, informed, articulate, and thoughtful citizen of a nation and world in which all of our lives and fates are increasingly intertwined and dependent.

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## NOTE

<sup>1</sup>Cathal J. Nolan, *The Longman Guide to World Affairs* (White Plains, NY: Longman, 1995), p. 178.



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