

TAKING

SIDES

Clashing Views on
Controversial Issues in

World Politics

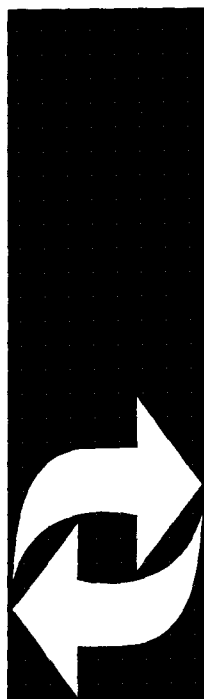
Seventh Edition

John T. Rourke



Taking SIDES

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



Seventh Edition

Edited, Selected, and with Introductions by

John T. Rourke

University of Connecticut

**Dushkin Publishing Group/Brown & Benchmark Publishers
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*For Mimi Egan: From whom I learned much about
clashing views on controversial issues.*

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PREFACE

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

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

It is gratifying to discover, as indicated by the success of *Taking Sides* over six editions, that so many of my colleagues share this belief in the value of a debate-format text.

The format of this edition follows a formula that has proved successful in acquainting students with the global issues that we face and generating discussion of those issues and the policy choices that address them. This book addresses 19 issues on a wide range of topics in international relations. Each issue has two readings: one pro and one con. Each is also accompanied by an issue *introduction*, which sets the stage for the debate, provides some background information on each author, and generally puts the issue into its political context. Each issue concludes with a *postscript* that summarizes the debate, gives the reader paths for further investigation, and suggests additional readings that might be helpful.

I have continued to emphasize issues that are currently being debated in the policy sphere. The authors of the selections are a mix of practitioners, scholars, and noted political commentators. Also, in order to give the reader a truly international perspective on the issues of world politics, the authors represent many nations, including Burma, Egypt, Great Britain, and Singapore, as well as the United States.

Changes to this edition The dynamic, constantly changing nature of the world political system and the many helpful comments from reviewers have brought about significant changes to this edition. There are 10 completely new issues: *Is It Wise to Admit East European Countries into NATO?* (Issue 2); *Will the Israelis and Palestinians Be Able to Achieve Lasting Peace?* (Issue 5); *Will China Become an Asian Superpower?* (Issue 6); *Should the U.S. Economic Embargo Against Cuba Be Lifted?* (Issue 7); *Is the New General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade Beneficial?* (Issue 8); *Was Dropping Atomic Bombs on Japan Justifiable?* (Issue 11); *Does the World Need to Have Nuclear Weapons at All?* (Issue 12); *Are Efforts to Promote Democracy Culturally Biased and Self-Serving?* (Issue 15); *Should Serbia Be Treated Leniently?* (Issue 16); and *Will the World Fragment into Antagonistic Cultures?* (Issue 18). Two other issues have been recast to reflect changing emphasis: *Should Foreign Policymakers Minimize Human Rights Concerns?* (Issue 14) and *Should Immigration Be Restricted?* (Issue 17). Even where issues

have remained controversial and have been carried over to this edition, new events and more current views have led to the use of new readings: *Should the United States Abandon Its Superpower Role?* (Issue 3); *Is Islamic Fundamentalism a Threat to Political Stability?* (Issue 4); *Is There a Global Environmental Crisis?* (Issue 10); and *Should a Permanent UN Military Force Be Established?* (Issue 13). Of the 38 readings, 27 are new. In addition, 32 were published in 1994 or 1995, and no reading is dated earlier than 1992. My practice of searching a wide range of journals for more recent expositions on one side or the other of the various issues ensures that the readings are as fresh as the issues are current.

A word to the instructor An *Instructor's Manual With Test Questions* (both multiple-choice and essay) is available through the publisher for instructors using *Taking Sides* in the classroom. A general guidebook, *Using Taking Sides in the Classroom*, which discusses methods and techniques for integrating the pro-con approach into any classroom setting, is also available through Dushkin Publishing Group/Brown & Benchmark Publishers.

A note especially for the student reader You will find that the debates in this book are not one-sided. Each author strongly believes in his or her position. And if you read the debates without prejudging them, you will see that each author makes cogent points. An author may not be "right," but the arguments made in an essay should not be dismissed out of hand, and you should work at remaining tolerant of those who hold beliefs that are different from your own.

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

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

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INTRODUCTION

World Politics and the Voice of Justice

John T. Rourke

Some years ago, the Rolling Stones recorded "Sympathy With the Devil." If you have never heard it, go find a copy. It is worth listening to. The theme of the song is echoed in a wonderful essay by Marshall Berman, "Have Sympathy for the Devil" (*New American Review*, 1973). The common theme of the Stones' and Berman's works is based on Johann Goethe's *Faust*. In that classic drama, the protagonist, Dr. Faust, trades his soul to gain great power. He attempts to do good, but in the end he commits evil by, in contemporary paraphrase, "doing the wrong things for the right reasons." Does that make Faust evil, the personification of the devil Mephistopheles among us? Or is the good doctor merely misguided in his effort to make the world better as he saw it and imagined it might be? The point that the Stones and Berman make is that it is important to avoid falling prey to the trap of many zealots who are so convinced of the truth of their own views that they feel righteously at liberty to condemn those who disagree with them as stupid or even diabolical.

It is to the principle of rational discourse, of tolerant debate, that this reader is dedicated. There are many issues in this volume that appropriately excite passion—for example, Issue 4 on whether or not Islamic fundamentalism represents a threat to political stability or Issue 12 on whether or not the world needs to have nuclear weapons at all. Few would find fault with the goal of avoiding nuclear destruction—indeed, of achieving a peaceful world. How to reach that goal is another matter, however, and we should take care not to confuse disagreement on means with disagreement on ends. In other cases, the debates you will read do diverge on goals. Amitai Etzioni, for example, argues in Issue 19 that nationalism is destructive and that we would be better off seeking new forms of political loyalty and organization. Michael Lind, in disagreement, stresses the positive contributions of self-determination. Issue 18 is also concerned with how people will organize themselves politically and relate to one another in the future. The debate here is whether or not the world will fragment into antagonistic cultures, with Samuel Huntington arguing that it will and James Kurth predicting that it will not.

As you will see, each of the authors in all the debates strongly believes in his or her position. If you read these debates objectively, you will find that each side makes cogent points. They may or may not be right, but they should not be dismissed out of hand. It is also important to repeat that the debate format does not imply that you should remain forever neutral. In fact, once you are informed, you *ought* to form convictions, and you should try to act on those convictions and try to influence international policy to conform better with your beliefs. Ponder the similarities in the views of two very

different leaders, a very young president in a relatively young democracy and a very old emperor in a very old country: In 1963 President John F. Kennedy, in recalling the words of the author of the epoch poem *The Divine Comedy* (1321), told a West German audience, "Dante once said that the hottest places in hell are reserved for those who in a period of moral crisis maintain their neutrality." That very same year, while speaking to the United Nations, Ethiopia's emperor Haile Selassie (1892–1975) said, "Throughout history it has been the inaction of those who could have acted, the indifference of those who should have known better, the silence of the voice of justice when it mattered most that made it possible for evil to triumph."

The point is: Become Informed. Then *do* something! Write letters to policymakers, donate money to causes you support, work for candidates with whom you agree, join an activist organization, or any of the many other things that you can do to make a difference. What you do is less important than that you do it.

APPROACHES TO STUDYING INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

As will become evident as you read this volume, there are many approaches to the study of international politics. Some political scientists and most practitioners specialize in *substantive topics*, and this reader is organized along topical lines. Part 1 (Issues 1 through 7) begins with a question about the present condition of the international system, currently an emphasis of many scholars. Patrick Glynn and Francis Fukuyama debate whether or not the world has become a more dangerous place since the end of the cold war. Beginning with Issue 2, the focus of Part 1 shifts to regional issues and actors. Debates here deal with Eastern Europe, the United States, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East. Part 2 (Issues 8 through 10) focuses on international economic issues, including the new revision of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the creation of the powerful World Trade Organization (WTO); the impact of efforts by the wealthier countries of the North to assist the less developed countries of the South; and whether or not there is a global environmental crisis. Part 3 (Issues 11 through 13) examines controversies surrounding the use of force in international relations, including whether or not the world would be wise to rid itself completely of nuclear weapons, whether or not the United States was justified in dropping two atomic bombs on Japan in 1945, and whether or not a permanent UN military force should be established. The inability of UN peacekeepers to bring about peace in Bosnia makes this last issue especially timely. Part 4 (Issues 14 and 15) examines the application of values in the global system. Issues here concern whether or not morality should be a centerpiece of foreign policy formation and whether or not efforts to promote democracy around the world are culturally biased. Part 5 (Issues 16 through 19) addresses issues of political identification. Where people live and to what or whom they give their political loyalties is in a great state of flux. The first of these debates examines

whether Serbia should be offered leniency to achieve peace in the Balkans or punished with economic and diplomatic sanctions for its role in the war in the Balkans. Other issues in this part consider immigration, whether or not the world will fragment into conflicting cultures, and the wisdom of promoting unfettered self-determination.

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

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

DYNAMICS OF WORLD POLITICS

The action on the global stage today is vastly different from what it was a few decades ago, or even a few years ago. *Technology* is one of the causes of this change. Technology has changed communications, manufacturing, health care, and many other aspects of the human condition. Technology has also led to the creation of nuclear weapons and other highly sophisticated and expensive conventional weapons. Issue 12 frames a debate over whether or not, having created and armed ourselves with nuclear weapons, we can and should reverse the process and disarm. Technology has also vastly increased our ability to consume resources and excrete pollution, and Issue 10 examines the controversy over whether or not there is a global environmental crisis and, if so, what should be done about it. Another dynamic aspect of world politics involves the *changing axes* of the world system. For about 40 years after World War II ended in 1945, a bipolar system existed, the primary axis of which was the *East-West* conflict, which pitted the United States and its allies against the Soviet Union and its allies. Now that the Warsaw Pact has collapsed as an axis of world politics, many new questions have surfaced relating to how security should be provided for Europe and the future of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Some analysts advocate expanding NATO to include some or all of the countries of Eastern Europe and, perhaps, even Russia and some of the other former Soviet republics. This plan is the topic of Issue 2. Insofar as containing communism and the Soviet Union were the mainstay of U.S. post-World War II policy, the end of the Soviet threat also brings the

United States to a pivotal choice about future foreign involvement. As Issue 3 explains, there is a growing tide of American sentiment that favors limiting the role of the United States abroad, but there are also those who argue that the United States should not abandon the activist, international superpower role.

Technological changes and the shifting axes of international politics also highlight the *increased role of economics* in world politics. Economics have always played a role, but traditionally the main focus has been on strategic-political questions—especially military power. This concern still strongly exists, but it now shares the international spotlight with economic issues. One important change in recent decades has been the rapid growth of regional and global markets and the promotion of free trade and other forms of international economic interchange. As Issue 8 on GATT indicates, many people support these efforts and see them as the wave of the future. But there are others who believe that free trade undermines sovereignty and the ability of governments to regulate multinational corporations.

Another change in the world system has to do with the main *international* actors. At one time states (countries) were practically the only international actors on the world stage. Now, and increasingly so, there are other actors. Some are global actors, such as the United Nations, whose current and future role in maintaining world peace is examined in Issue 13. Other actors are regional, such as China, whose potential regional superpower status is the focus of Issue 6.

PERCEPTIONS VERSUS REALITY

In addition to addressing the general changes in the world system outlined above, the debates in this reader explore the controversies that exist over many of the fundamental issues that face the world.

One key to these debates is the differing *perceptions* that protagonists bring to them. There may be a reality in world politics, but very often that reality is obscured. Many observers, for example, are alarmed by the seeming rise in radical actions by Islamic fundamentalists. As Issue 4 illustrates, the image of Islamic radicalism is not a fact but a perception; perhaps correct, perhaps not. In cases such as this, though, it is often the perception, not the reality, that is more important because policy is formulated on what decision makers *think*, not necessarily on what *is*. Thus, perception becomes the operating guide, or *operational reality*, whether it is true or not.

Perceptions result from many factors. One factor is the information that decision makers receive. For a variety of reasons, the facts and analyses that are given to leaders are often inaccurate or at least represent only part of the picture. Perceptions are also formed by the value system of a decision maker, which is based on his or her experiences and ideology. The way in which such an individual thinks and speaks about another leader, country, or the world in general is called his or her *operational code*. Issue 3, for example, explores

the role of the United States in the world. How U.S. presidents and other Americans define their country's role creates an operational code governing relations. President Bill Clinton has shown himself to have more of an internationalist operational code than the public. Clinton, for example, wanted to launch a military intervention into Bosnia and Herzegovina to assist the Muslims who were under attack by Serbian forces there. The American public was opposed to intervention in this civil war, demonstrating much less willingness than the president to cast their country in the role of defender of democracy, of human rights, or of what President George Bush called the "new world order."

Another aspect of perception is the tendency to see oneself as peacefully motivated and one's opponent as aggressive. This can lead to perceptual distortions such as an inability to understand that your actions (perceived by you as defensive) may be perceived as a threat by your opponent and, indeed, may cause your opponent to take defensive actions that, in turn, seem aggressive to you. Issue 6, for example, focuses on China and its capabilities to become an Asian superpower. Whatever China's true intention may be, there is a widespread perception that China will attempt to dominate the region. As a result, other countries in the region are building up their weapons inventories, and Asia is becoming a region of increasing military tension. Thus, perceptions could lead to conflict in Asia.

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

LEVELS OF ANALYSIS

Political scientists approach the study of international politics from different levels of analysis. The most macroscopic view is *system-level analysis*. This is a top-down approach that maintains that world factors virtually compel countries to follow certain foreign policies. Governing factors include the number of powerful actors, geographic relationships, economic needs, and technology. System analysts hold that a country's internal political system and its leaders do not have a major impact on policy. As such, political scientists who work from this perspective are interested in exploring the governing factors, how they cause policy, and how and why systems change. The discussion of the future dimension of global conflict in Issue 18 is an example of system-level analysis

After the end of World War II, the world was structured as a *bipolar* system, dominated by the United States and the Soviet Union. Furthermore, each superpower was supported by a tightly organized and dependent group of allies. For a variety of reasons, including changing economics and the nuclear standoff, the bipolar system has faded. Some political scientists argue that the bipolar system is being replaced by a *multipolar* system. In such a

configuration, those who favor *balance-of-power* politics maintain that it is unwise to ignore power considerations. The debate in Issue 3 about the future of U.S. international activity reflects the changes that have occurred in the system and the efforts of Americans to decide what role they should play in the new multipolar structure.

State-level analysis is the middle, and the most common, level of analysis. Social scientists who study world politics from this perspective focus on how countries, singly or comparatively, make foreign policy. In other words, this perspective is concerned with internal political dynamics such as the roles of and interactions between the executive and legislative branches of government, the impact of bureaucracy, the role of interest groups, and the effect of public opinion. There are a number of issues in this reader that are subject to strong domestic pressure on political leaders. To a substantial degree, whether or not the Israelis and Palestinians will be able to achieve lasting peace, as debated in Issue 5, will depend on whether or not each side can resist internal forces that are opposed to what is seen as appeasement of the enemy.

A third level of analysis, which is the most microscopic, is *human-level analysis*. This approach focuses, in part, on the role of individual decision makers. This technique is applied under the assumption that individuals make decisions and that the nature of those decisions is determined by the decision makers' perceptions, predilections, and strengths and weaknesses. Human-level analysis also focuses on the nature of humans. Issue 11 exemplifies this analysis technique in that it looks into the motives of President Harry S. Truman and others who decided to drop atomic bombs on Japan in 1945.

REALISM VERSUS IDEALISM

Realism and idealism represent another division among political scientists and practitioners in their approaches to the study and conduct of international relations. *Realists* are usually skeptical about the nature of politics and, perhaps, the nature of humankind. They tend to believe that countries have opposing interests and that these differences can lead to conflict. They further contend that states (countries) are by definition obligated to do what is beneficial for their own citizens (national interest). The amount of power that a state has will determine how successful it is in attaining these goals. Therefore, politics is, and ought to be, a process of gaining, maintaining, and using power. Realists are apt to believe that the best way to avoid conflict is to remain powerful and to avoid pursuing goals that are beyond one's power to achieve. "Peace through strength" is a phrase that most realists would agree with.

Idealists disagree with realists about both the nature and conduct of international relations. They tend to be more optimistic that the global community is capable of finding ways to live in harmony and that it has a sense of collective, rather than national, interest. Idealists also claim that the pursuit of a narrow national interest is shortsighted. They argue that, in the long run, countries must learn to cooperate or face the prospect of a variety of

evils, including possible nuclear warfare, environmental disaster, or continuing economic hardship. Idealists argue, for example, that armaments cause world tensions, whereas realists maintain that conflict requires states to have weapons. Idealists are especially concerned with conducting current world politics on a more moral or ethical plane and with searching for alternatives to the present pursuit of nationalist interests through power politics.

Several of the issues in this volume address the realist-idealist split. For example, the disagreement between realists and idealists on whether or not human rights considerations should play a strong role in determining foreign policy is the focus of Issue 14. In this debate, Alan Tonelson is the realist and Michael Posner is the idealist. The realist-idealist split is also reflected in Issue 15, in which Burmese democracy advocate Aung San Suu Kyi supports promoting democracy around the world, and Singapore diplomat Kishore Mahbubani opposes such promotion as culturally imperialistic.

THE POLITICAL AND ECOLOGICAL FUTURE

Future *world alternatives* are discussed in many of the issues in this volume. Issue 1, for example, debates whether or not the current world situation portends anarchy. The debate in Issue 9 on the North providing aid to the South is not just about humanitarian impulses; it is about whether or not the world can survive and be stable economically and politically if it is divided into a minority of wealthy nations and a majority of poor countries. Another, more far-reaching, alternative is if an international organization were to take over some (or all) of the sovereign responsibilities of national governments. In this vein, Issue 13 focuses on the authority of the UN Security Council to assume supranational (above countries) power in the area of peacekeeping. And Issue 8 is about the supranational authority possessed by the World Trade Organization under the recently revised GATT.

The global future also involves the ability of the world to prosper economically while, at the same time, not denuding itself of its natural resources or destroying the environment. This is the focus of Issue 20 on sustainable development.

THE AXES OF WORLD DIVISION

It is a truism that the world is politically dynamic and that the nature of the political system is undergoing profound change. As noted, the once-primary axis of world politics, the East-West confrontation, has broken down. Yet a few vestiges of the conflict on that axis remain. Issue 7 reviews the arguments for and against the United States lifting its economic sanctions against communist Cuba.

In contrast to the moribund East-West axis, the *North-South axis* has increased in importance and tension. The wealthy, industrialized countries (North) are on one end, and the poor, less developed countries (LDCs, South)

are at the other extreme. Economic differences and disputes are the primary dimension of this axis, in contrast to the military nature of the East-West axis. Issue 9 explores these differences and debates whether or not the North should significantly increase economic aid to the South.

The maldistribution of wealth in the world leads many people in the impoverished South to try to emigrate, legally or illegally, to wealthier countries in an effort to find a better life for themselves and their families. The extent of this migration has caused the economically developed nations to increasingly resist the movement of people across international borders. The wisdom of severely constraining immigration is the subject of Issue 17.

Then there is the question of what, if anything, will develop to divide the countries of the North and replace the East-West axis. The possibility for tension is represented in several issues. Some believe that the remnants of the USSR, especially Russia, will one day again pose a threat to the rest of Europe. At least some of the East European countries that want to join NATO do so because of that possibility. The wisdom of expanding NATO to include these countries is debated in Issue 2. If Samuel Huntington is correct (Issue 18), then cultural divisions will form the new, multiaxial dimension of global antagonism. Expanding NATO may be one step toward the formation of one part of the axis. China, dominating parts of Southeast Asia (contemplated in Issue 6), and politically resurgent Muslims (as discussed in Issue 4) could become coherent powers themselves.

INCREASED ROLE OF ECONOMICS

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

Political scientists, however, are now increasingly focusing on the international political economy, or the economic dimensions of world politics. International trade, for instance, has increased dramatically, expanding from an annual world total of \$20 billion in 1933 to \$3.5 trillion in 1993. The impact has been profound. The domestic economic health of most countries is heavily affected by trade and other aspects of international economics. Since World War II, there has been an emphasis on expanding free trade by decreasing tariffs and other barriers to international commerce. In recent years, however, a downturn in the economies of many of the industrialized countries has increased calls for more protectionism. This is related to the debate in Issue 8 on GATT. Yet restrictions trade and other economic activity can also be used as diplomatic weapons. This is discussed in Issue 7 on the U.S. economic embargo against Cuba and in Issue 16 on whether or not economic sanctions and other methods should be used to punish Serbia for its part in the Balkan conflict.

The level and impact of international aid is another economic issue of considerable dispute. Issue 9 examines the question of whether massive foreign aid would help the less developed countries (and the developed countries as well) or actually hinder economic progress in the less developed countries.

Another economic issue is whether or not the environment can withstand current and increased levels of economic activity. For people in industrialized countries, the issue is whether or not they can sustain current standards of living without consuming unsustainable levels of energy and other resources or creating unsustainable levels of pollution. For people in less developed countries, the issue is whether or not they can develop their economies and reach the standard of living enjoyed by people in wealthy countries without creating vast new drains on resources and vast new amounts of pollution. This concern is at the core of the debate in Issue 10.

CONCLUSION

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

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

CONTENTS IN BRIEF

PART 1 REGIONAL ISSUES AND ACTORS 1

- Issue 1. Has the World Become a More Dangerous Place Since the End of the Cold War? 2
- Issue 2. Is It Wise to Admit East European Countries into NATO? 18
- Issue 3. Should the United States Abandon Its Superpower Role? 46
- Issue 4. Is Islamic Fundamentalism a Threat to Political Stability? 68
- Issue 5. Will the Israelis and Palestinians Be Able to Achieve Lasting Peace? 86
- Issue 6. Will China Become an Asian Superpower? 102
- Issue 7. Should the U.S. Economic Embargo Against Cuba Be Lifted? 126

PART 2 ECONOMICS AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS 139

- Issue 8. Is the New General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade Beneficial? 140
- Issue 9. Should the Developed North Increase Aid to the Less Developed South? 160
- Issue 10. Is There a Global Environmental Crisis? 178

PART 3 INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND WORLD POLITICS 199

- Issue 11. Was Dropping Atomic Bombs on Japan Justifiable? 200
- Issue 12. Does the World Need to Have Nuclear Weapons at All? 222
- Issue 13. Should a Permanent UN Military Force Be Established? 232

PART 4 VALUES AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS 257

- Issue 14. Should Foreign Policymakers Minimize Human Rights Concerns? 258
- Issue 15. Are Efforts to Promote Democracy Culturally Biased and Self-Serving? 274

PART 5 POLITICAL IDENTIFICATION 289

- Issue 16. Should Serbia Be Treated Leniently? 290
- Issue 17. Should Immigration Be Restricted? 306
- Issue 18. Will the World Fragment into Antagonistic Cultures? 324
- Issue 19. Is Self-Determination a Right of All Nationalities? 350

CONTENTS

Preface	i
Introduction: World Politics and the Voice of Justice	xii
PART 1 REGIONAL ISSUES AND ACTORS	1
ISSUE 1. Has the World Become a More Dangerous Place Since the End of the Cold War?	2
YES: Patrick Glynn, from "The Age of Balkanization," <i>Commentary</i>	4
NO: Francis Fukuyama, from "Against the New Pessimism," <i>Commentary</i>	10
Patrick Glynn, a former official in the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, contends that the post-cold war world is a more dangerous place. Francis Fukuyama, a consultant at the RAND Corporation, argues that the current period of political instability will not necessarily lead to a more dangerous future.	
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ISSUE 2. Is It Wise to Admit East European Countries into NATO?	18
YES: Zbigniew Brzezinski, from "A Plan for Europe," <i>Foreign Affairs</i>	20
NO: Michael E. Brown, from "The Flawed Logic of NATO Expansion," <i>Survival: The IISS Quarterly</i>	29
Zbigniew Brzezinski, a professor of foreign policy, argues that an expanded NATO will produce a more peaceful Europe in the future. Michael E. Brown, a fellow of the Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University, contends that the costs of expanding NATO outweigh any possible advantages that could be gained.	
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ISSUE 3. Should the United States Abandon Its Superpower Role?	46
YES: Doug Bandow, from "Keeping the Troops and the Money at Home," <i>Current History</i>	48
NO: Anthony Lake, from "The Price of Leadership: The New Isolationists," <i>Vital Speeches of the Day</i>	58
Doug Bandow, a senior fellow at the Cato Institute, argues that the United States should bring its military forces home and curtail expensive foreign aid programs. Anthony Lake, special assistant for national security affairs for	