

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS on the WORLD STAGE

FOURTH EDITION



JOHN T. ROURKE

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS on the WORLD STAGE

F O U R T H E D I T I O N

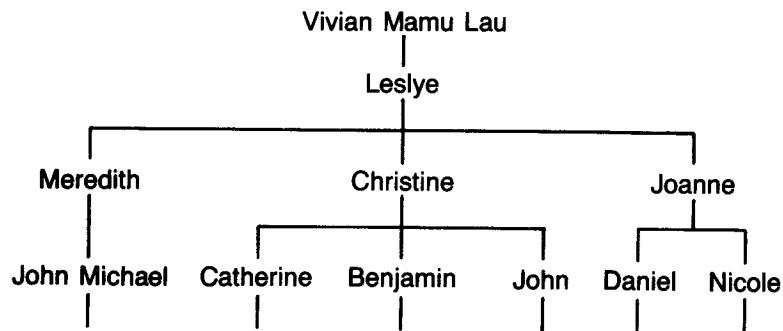
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The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc.

To Vivian Mamu Lau, her descendants, and their children yet to come: for themselves and as symbols of our history, our present, and the future we are now creating for our children yet to come.



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on recycled paper

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Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 92-76094

International Standard Book Number (ISBN) 1-56134-227-0

Fourth Edition, First Printing

The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc., Sluice Dock, Guilford, Connecticut 06437

Preface

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

When I wrote the third edition I expanded the depth of coverage considerably and did some organizational adjustments based on reactions to the first two editions. Future editions, I thought to myself, would be a lot easier. Wrong! This edition proved to be a major challenge and effort. You will see that there is an emphasis on being current without being journalistic. The collapse of the Soviet Union, the economic and political travails of Russia and the other former Soviet republics, the North American Free Trade Agreement, the progress and difficulties in the European Community, the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks II Treaty, the breakup of Yugoslavia, and other recent events are all extensively detailed. It is also important to be as current as possible with the massive amounts of changing data that details economic performance and capacity, weapons levels and transfers, and other statistical aspects of world politics. I have used original sources for my data when possible so that students will have the most recent information available.

New to this edition is an organizational scheme that reflects this text's view that there are two opposing forces shaping the world today: conflict (disintegration) and cooperation (integration). The text begins with an introduction to the importance of world politics to students and to the methods, theories, and purposes of political science (chapter 1), the evolution of and current instability in the world political system (chapter 2), and the three levels of analysis that need to be studied simultaneously—the system, state, and individual levels (chapters 3, 4, and 5). Then chapter 6 introduces the realist and idealist orientations as a preface to the remaining chapters of this edition, which alternate between discussions of national conflict and international cooperation. In this way, equal attention can be given to the two trends, without losing sight of the fact that they are operating simultaneously.

The substantial changes I have made in this edition make it reflect more accurately the changing nature of world politics. The more I study the subject, the more I am impressed with the idea that the world is a primitive political society. As such, it is a political system that is marked by little organization, 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 still-limited desire among states and their people to work together globally as they begin to realize that their fates are inextricably entwined with one another and with the political, economic, social, and environmental future of our planet.

The breathtaking changes we all have witnessed have prompted several changes in this edition beyond extensive updating. Perhaps the most obvious is that there is

one chapter less than the previous edition. International penetration and intervention, which constituted an entire chapter in the last edition, have been downplayed as a result of the end of the cold war, and are covered in chapter 13, "National Coercion." Further reflecting the changes we are witnessing in world politics, this edition contains even more discussion of international political economy than did the previous edition. Within the discussion of economics, there is additional emphasis on regional organizations, with the North American Free Trade Association joining the European Community as a major regional actor.

Data and Graphics Many new tables, figures, photographs, maps, and other graphics have been added to emphasize, expand, and give visual life to ideas. A new full-color insert, the Atlas of World Politics, contains 12 maps containing geographical, historical, and statistical information that students should find especially relevant to the text's discussion. Also, significant revisions have been made to both the instructor's manual and to the extensive testbank that is available from the publisher in both printed and computerized versions. These are further explained in the paragraph on Supplements on page vii.

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

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

Economics is discussed in chapter 1 (how it affects students), 9 (as a basis of power), 15 and 16 (developed and less developed countries), 17 (cooperation), and 18 (sustainable development).

Arms and force are addressed in all or parts of chapters 1, 9, 10, 13, and 14.

Moral and humanitarian issues are taken up extensively in chapters 8, 10, and 18 and also form an important part of the discussions of national interest, coercion, and economic challenges in, respectively, chapters 6, 13, and 17.

The organization of the text flows from this conception of the world as a primitive, but developing, political system. The text not only analyzes world division and conflict but also focuses on cooperation both as a goal and in practice.

The Parts Part I, which includes chapters 1 through 5, discusses how to study international politics. Students will read in chapter 1 (and even more extensively in chapter 6) that there are realists and idealists and will, I hope, be prompted to think about where they, their professors, and others with whom they may discuss politics stand on the realist-idealist scale. Although I take a realist approach, I find myself less sure of my own wisdom on this point as time goes by. In fact, I have become convinced that substantial changes have to be made in the way international politics is conducted. Perhaps "realism with a nagging idealist conscience" would be an apt description of this text's orientation.

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

Part II, which includes chapters 6, 7, and 8, deals with some of the basic orientations that affect foreign policy-making, including individual, national, and global interests; nationalism; and transnational ideas, ideology, and morality.

Part III, consisting of chapters 9 through 12, examines the alternative ways that the world drama is and can be played out. In this part, I alternate between national and international approaches, with discussions of national power, international law, national diplomacy, and international organizations.

Part IV, consisting of chapters 13 and 14, introduces two approaches to physical security in the world political system: national security (chapter 13) and international security and other alternative approaches (chapter 14).

Part V, chapter 15 through 18, describes in detail the economic disparity between the North and South and the challenges faced by both, and concludes with two chapters that look at many of the economic and the social and ecological problems that we and our world face and the ways we are beginning to cooperate in an attempt to solve them.

Supplements There are several supplements that have been created to assist both instructors and students in the use of this text. The instructor's resource guide, *Teaching and Testing from International Politics on the World Stage*, outlines and discusses the text's objectives, contains several analytical exercises, and gives several other teaching supports, in addition to providing approximately 1,900 multiple-choice and essay questions organized by chapter and degree of difficulty. These examination questions are also available on EZ-TEST computer disc.

TO THE STUDENT

The world, familiar to us and unknown.

Shakespeare, *Henry V*

Meeting Mamu 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 to try convey the dramatic pace of change, when I teach introduction to international relations I have found myself using Vivian Lau as a reference point. She is an amazing woman. Known affectionately to those around her as Mamu, she celebrated her one-hundredth birthday in January 1992.

I visited Mamu Lau on her centennial birthday and recently saw her after her 101st birthday. Talking to her about what the world was like when she was a girl, what it was like when she was the age of most of the students who use this book, and how the world has changed during her lifetime leaves me almost incredulous. My intellect can tick off the events that she has witnessed; my emotional sense of history and the passage of time finds it hard to accept that so much has occurred in just one lifetime.

When Mamu Lau was born in 1892, Benjamin Harrison was president of the United States. Just six months before, Canada's first prime minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, had died in office. There was in 1892 an emperor in China, an Ottoman Empire ruled by a sultan, a czar in Russia, a kaiser in Germany, and an emperor in Austria-Hungary who ruled much of Central Europe. Most of Africa and Asia were still colonies of European powers. There were only about 1.5 billion people in the world; only birds (and insects and bats) could use wings to fly, and the world's most ferocious weapons were the Gatling gun and long-range artillery piece.

Talking to Mamu is like being transported back into history. She grew up in New York City and can remember when the site of the landmark New York City Library on



A key thing to understand about international relations is how fast the world is changing. There, for example, has been more technological change in the last century than in all the rest of history combined. Vivian "Mamu" Lau can help us get a sense of the speed of change. In this picture we can see Mamu Lau, who was born in 1892, and her great-granddaughter, Kate Crowley, who was born 83 years later. Mamu remembers the Wright brothers taking to the air in 1903; she also saw Neil Armstrong step onto the Moon in 1969. Kate may well travel in space one day. If Kate lives as long as Mamu, who is now 101, then the two will have spanned a time from 1892 to at least 2076. Think of what the world may be like then, perhaps for you, and certainly for your children and grandchildren.

42nd Street was a reservoir. Mamu remembers the Spanish-American War and a little song that went, "Spain, Spain, Spain; Shame, Shame, Shame; You sank the Maine, Maine, Maine." Orville and Wilber Wright did not get off the ground until Mamu Lau was 11 years old. When, on her 100th birthday, I commented on the disappearance of the communist Soviet Union, she replied: "You know, I remember when that Lenin fellow came in. I didn't think they [the communists] would last." For me, communism and the cold war were the totality of my historical experience; for Mamu Lau they were mere interludes. She was twenty-six when Lenin and the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia; ninety-nine when the Soviet hammer-and-sickle flag was lowered for the last time from atop the Kremlin's spires in Moscow.

Indeed, I have found myself using Mamu as something of a standard unit of measurement, as in (for example), "The United Nations was founded less than a half-Mamu ago." If you think about events, trends, and technology in this way—in terms of what one person has seen and experienced—then you can begin to grasp how fast they are moving. When Mamu was born people were basically earthbound. She was 11 when the first airplane flew, 52 when the first jet plane took off, 69 when Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin became the first human in space, and 77 when Neil Armstrong stepped onto the Moon's surface. There are many other things to ponder. Atomic weapons are less than a half-Mamu old; the world's population has almost quadrupled during a single Mamu; 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 Mamu Lau 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 Mamu Lau 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 1.5 billion in 1892, and if, during Mamu's life, we have added another 4 billion people, then how much time do we have to get the world population under control? If you live as long as Mamu has (and you might, given modern medical technology), then what will the world population be when you are 100 years old?

In this sense of contemplating the future by pondering the past, thinking about Mamu Lau is really more about tomorrow than about yesterday or even today. When I talk about her, my thoughts are on your twenty-first century more than on her nineteenth and twentieth centuries. That is why in the dedication I have used a family tree of Mamu and her descendants. The lives of Mamu's great-grandchildren and your life have relatively just begun. The question is what their and your world will be like when and if they and you have grandchildren and great grandchildren. That future will be a product of what we do today and during the coming years.

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, his or her mental pictures, of a text. What is the author's approach? What are the author's orientations and biases? Does the text have one or more basic themes? How is the text organized? In this preface I have addressed these issues. I hope you'll read it.

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

There are many figures, tables, maps, and photographs in this book. Pay close attention to them. You will find that they graphically represent many of the ideas presented in the text and will help you understand them. But if you really want to know all about something, you will have to read a lot more than just this book and to involve yourself in more than just the course for which it has been assigned. To make it easier for you to do this, I have chosen an “in-text” reference system that gives you citations as you read. Thus (Martin, 1992:18) refers to page 18 of the book or article written by (in this case, Professor Lisa) Martin in 1992, which is listed alphabetically in the references and bibliography.

I have also noted studies that helped me think about and organize various topics and those that might be informative to you. I encourage you to utilize the references and bibliography to advance your knowledge beyond the boundaries of this text. You will find a list of the abbreviations that I have used throughout the book on pages 605–606. Explanations for terms set in **boldface** will be found in the glossary at the end of the text.

Some note should be made of this book's title, *International Politics on the World Stage*, and the Shakespearean quotations that begin each chapter and are used from time to time to highlight a point. The idea behind this motif is to convey some of the sweep and complexity of the world drama. No one who has ever read William Shakespeare can dismiss his masterpieces as easily understood or inconsequential. The events on the world stage are similar—complex, full of drama, sometimes hopeful, often tragic, and always riveting. But you, the reader, would be mistaken to assume that the play analogy means that, as a member of the audience, you can be content to sit back and watch the plot unfold. Quite to the contrary, part of what makes the world drama so compelling is that the audience is seated on stage and is part of, as well as witness to, the action that is unfolding. And that is one reason why I have also quoted more recent world players. Shakespeare's plays are of the past; the world drama is ongoing. Furthermore, as in an improvisational play, you in the audience can become involved, and, given the consequences of a potentially tragic rather than 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.

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

John T. Rourke

Acknowledgments

A difficult task is to keep this acknowledgment of those who have contributed down to a reasonable length. There are many who have played an important part, and my debt to each of them is great. I have tried to make adjustments wherever possible. Some contributors have pointed out specific concerns about matters of fact or interpretation, and a number of corrections were made. On a larger scale, the increased coverage of economics and the chapter on the biosphere are responses in part to suggestions. I would like to thank the following for their perspicacity:

Louay Abdulla	Sarah W. Keidan
Kent State University	Oakland Community College
William K. Callam	Henry Louis
Daytona Beach Community College	Kansas City Kansas Community College
Miranda A. Carlton-Carew	Susan MacFarland
University of Arizona	Wesleyan College
Jules S. Chan	Dan Madar
University of Wisconsin at Eau Claire	Brock University
Richard Oliver Collin	Sister Elaine Martin
Coastal Carolina College	Neumann College
Willie Curtis	Mary Memedova
Saint Cloud State University	Pima College
Adeed Dawisha	Peter P. T. Merani
George Mason University	Towson State University
Mark E. Denham	Jeffrey R. Orenstein
University of Toledo	Kent State University
Nader Entessar	Rene Peritz
Spring Hill College	Slippery Rock University
William R. Feeney	Richard G. Randall
Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville	American River College at Sacramento
Leonard L. Gambrell	Donald R. Ranish
University of Wisconsin at Eau Claire	Antelope Valley College
Mark Gasiorowski	Mohammed Rashiduzzman
Louisiana State University	Glassboro State College
Charles F. Gruber	Nathaniel Richmond
Marshall University	Utica College of Syracuse University
Clinton G. Hewan	Ken Ross
Northern Kentucky University	Adrian College
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(continued on next page)

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Charles S. Taber
State University of New York at
Stony Brook
Willard Paul Tice
Oklahoma City University
Shue Tuck Wong
Simon Fraser University

I am also indebted to the reviewers of previous editions who supplied helpful suggestions:

Valerie Assetto
Colorado State University
Ralph Carter
Texas Christian University
Robert B. Charlick
Cleveland State University
Edward Chaszar
Indiana University of Pennsylvania
J. Garry Clifford
University of Connecticut
David Dickson
Northeastern University
Dennis Gordon
Santa Clara University
Elizabeth Crump Hanson
University of Connecticut
Asad Husain
Northeastern Illinois University
John Jacobsohn
West Virginia University
Zho Keyean
Dalhousie University

Stephen Manning
Wittenberg University
T. David Mason
Mississippi State University
Miroslav Nincic
University of California, Davis
Robert A. Poirier
Northern Arizona University
Helen Purkitt
U.S. Naval Academy
Hans P. Ridder
California State University, Long
Beach
Mary Ann Tetreault
Old Dominion University
James A. Turner
Rampart High School, CO
Primo Vanicelli
University of Massachusetts, Boston
Shirley Washington
Indiana University of Pennsylvania
Thomas Zant
Forest Park Community College

I also owe a debt to each author listed in the bibliography of this and the previous editions. The work these scholars have done on specific subjects are the intellectual building blocks that are a significant part of the final structure of this, or any, worthwhile introductory textbook. This text is also evolutionary, and I want to continue to express my appreciation to all those who read and commented on the previous editions. Additionally, I also want to thank the colleagues who have taken the time at International Studies Association meetings or other conferences to give me the benefit of their views. I have even, on occasion, taken off my name tag and helped staff the Dushkin booth at professional meetings. The comments I have received in this anonymity have been sometimes encouraging, sometimes humbling, but always helpful.

Best of all, I have received many good suggestions from students. My own students have had to both read the text and listen to me, and their often obviously candid comments have helped the generations of students who will follow. My favorite was a sophomore who did not do well on his first exam and came to my

office to lay blame at the door of the confounded textbook. As we talked, he made some interesting observations. It was also clear he had not connected the author's name on the front of the book with his professor. Boy, was he surprised when it finally dawned on him that he was grumping about the book to its author!

I owe special thanks to the three people responsible for revising the instructor's resource guide, *Teaching and Testing from International Politics on the World Stage*. G. Dale Greenawald of the University of Northern Colorado, who provided the analytical exercises found in earlier editions of this guide, devised and prepared a variety of innovative features that appear for the first time in this edition. These include a lecture outline keyed to the chapter objectives and an extensive set of activities and discussion questions for both classroom and out-of-class settings. Virginia Haufler of the University of Maryland furnished a comprehensive, current, and authoritative set of additional readings for each chapter in the text. Lisa Clyde Nielsen shouldered the task of revising and updating the test items for this edition, carrying it off with great success. Thanks are also due to Andrew Taylor of the University of Connecticut, who had the daunting task of creating the index for this text, and to Alice and Will Thiede of Carto-Graphics in Eau Claire, Wisconsin, for their standard of excellence in producing the map insert, the Atlas of World Politics. Finally, among the unsung contributors to the effort behind this book is Jackie Young, the ever-smiling Federal Express agent who made sure all the various stages of the manuscript reached my publisher expeditiously.

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

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

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

Finally, anyone who has written will recognize that it is an intensely personal, as well as professional, experience. I am fortunate to have people around me who understand when I am seemingly glued to my word processor for long periods of time and who sometimes insist I shut my computer off. My son and friend John Michael helps me endure the ups and downs of the New York Giants and UConn athletic teams, shares the frustrations of fishing, and occasionally tries to interpret MTV for me. Susan and Jon Zimmerman are good and caring friends, and I owe them much, of which they know.

To all of you:

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

Shakespeare, Twelfth Night

ATLAS OF WORLD POLITICS

1

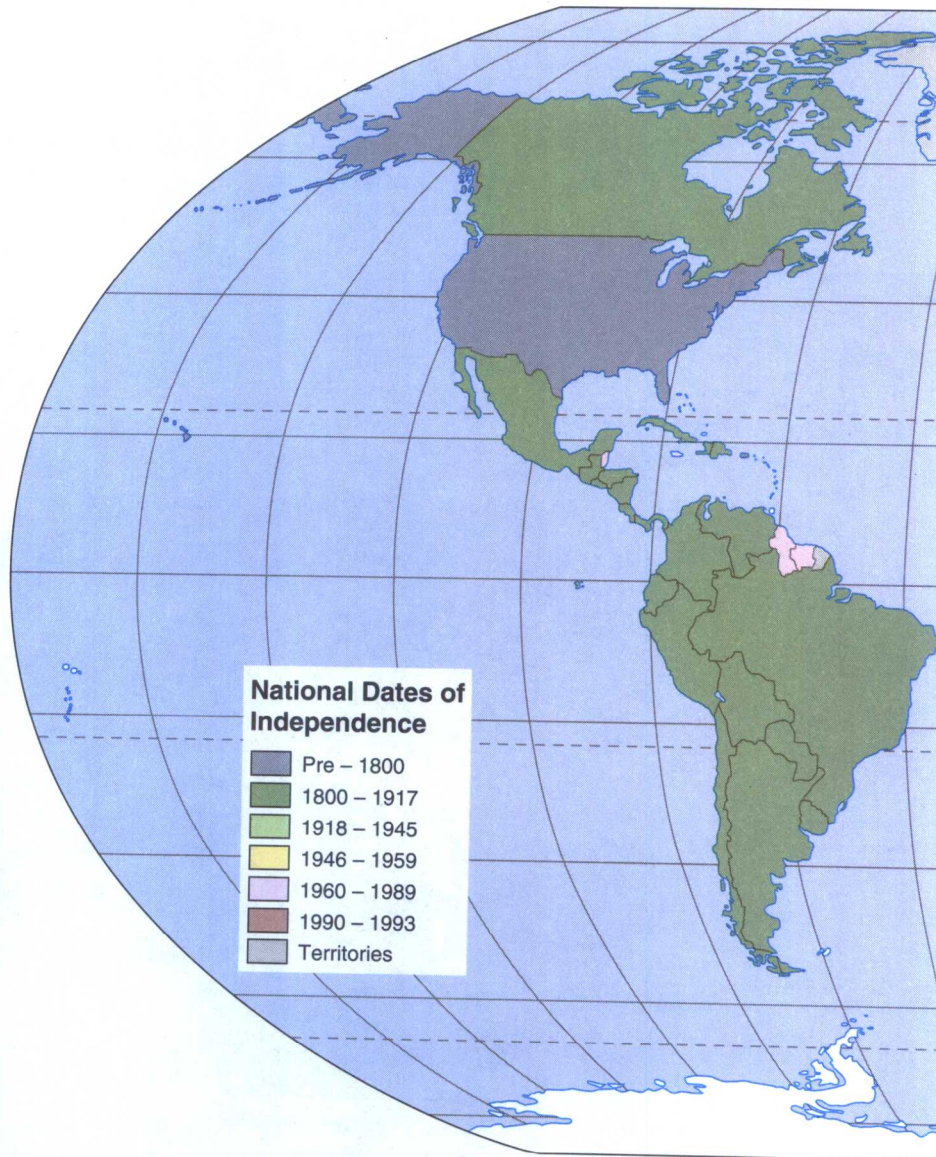


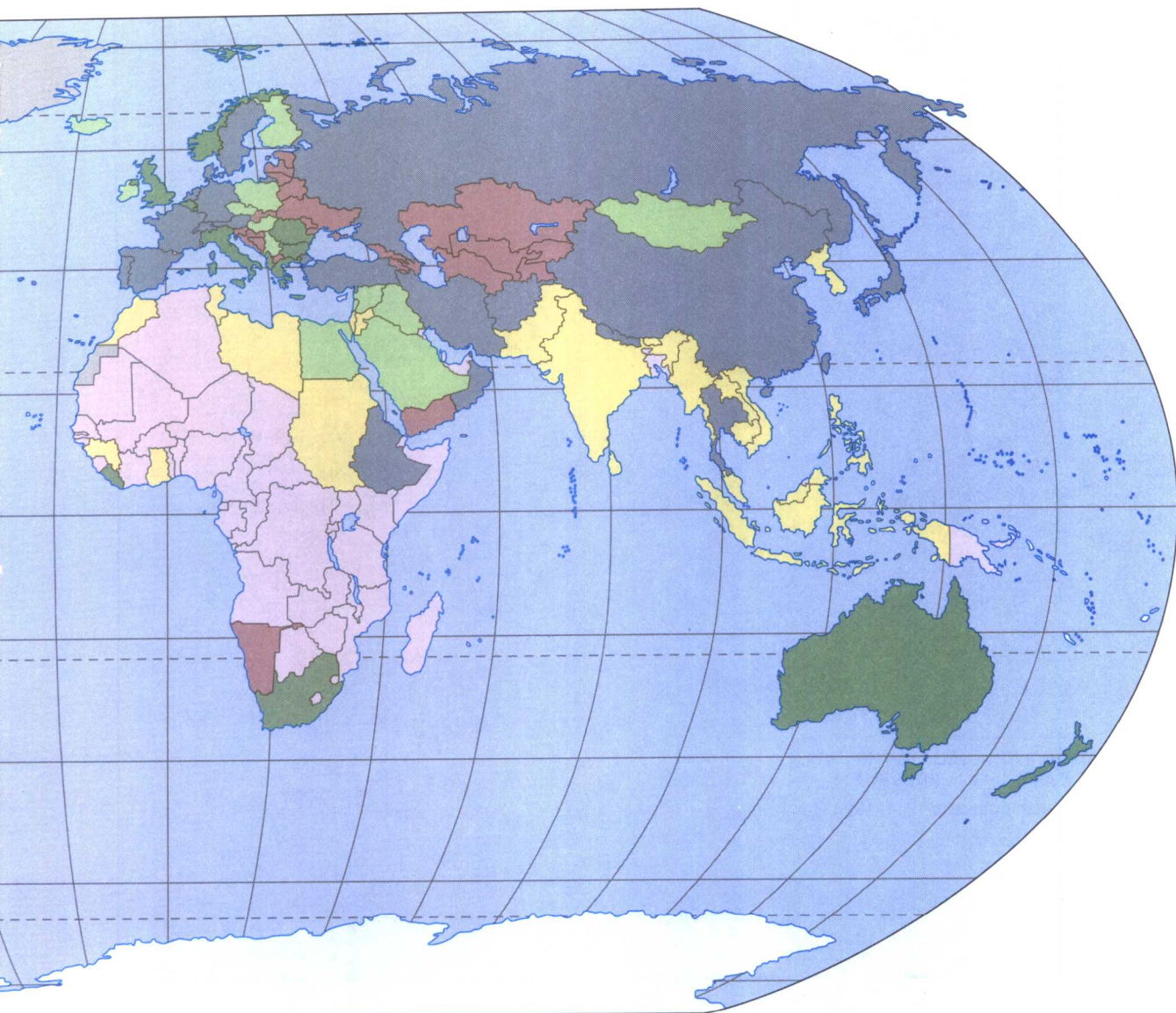
Former Soviet Republics: The 15 countries referred to as former Soviet republics (FSRs) constitute a new and unstable group of national actors on the world stage. Their instability is due to many factors, including ethnic tensions, economic difficulties, and a lack of democratic tradition. Areas of particular ethnic tension are indicated on the map above.

The international system includes many types of actors. Of these, states (or countries) are the most important. National boundaries are the most important source of political division in the world, and for most people nationalism is the strongest source of political identification.









One key change in the political system since World War II has been the rapid rise in the number of states, which is now approaching 190. About 60 percent of all countries that exist today were not independent in 1945. During the early 1990s alone, the breakup of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia created 22 countries where 3 had existed.