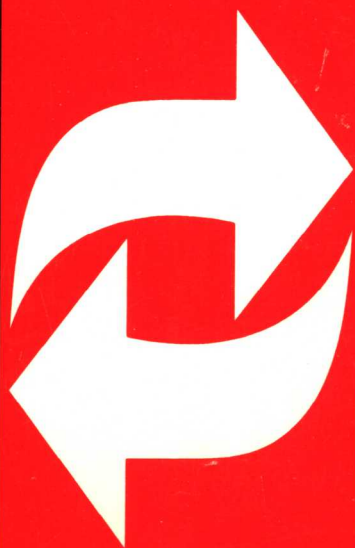


# **Taking** **SIDES**

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

**Fifth Edition**

**John T. Rourke**



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**Clashing Views on  
Controversial Issues in  
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**Edited, Selected, and with Introductions by**

**John T. Bourke**

*University of Connecticut*



**The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc.**

*For my son and friend—John Michael*

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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 was gratifying to discover in the success of *Taking Sides* that so many of my colleagues share this belief in the value of a debate-format text.

The format of this edition is the same as the last. There are 20 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, and the authors of the selections are a mix of practitioners, scholars, and noted political commentators. In order to give the reader a truly international perspective on the issues of world politics, the authors of the selections represent many nations, including Canada, China, England, Japan, Mexico, and Russia, 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. Twelve of the 20 issues are completely new; four other issues have been recast to reflect changing emphasis. Thirty-two of the 40 readings are new, and of the 40 readings, the majority are from publications dated 1992 or later.

For this edition I have redoubled my efforts to select lively articles and pair them in such a way as to show clearly the controversies of a given issue. (See, for example, Issue 14 on the military role of the United Nations.)

**A word to the instructor** An *Instructor's Manual With Test Questions* (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 The Dushkin Publishing Group.

**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 importantly, 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 issue that could be included in a future edition, please write to me in care of The Dushkin Publishing Group with your recommendations.

My thanks go to those who responded with suggestions for the fifth edition:

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**I would also like to thank the program manager for the Taking Sides series,  
Mimi Egan, for her help in refining this edition.**

**John T. Rourke  
University of Connecticut**

# 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. That theme is echoed in a wonderful essay by Marshall Berman, "Have Sympathy for the Devil" (*New American Review*, 1973). The Stones and Berman's theme was 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 6 on whether or not Islamic fundamentalism represents a threat to political stability or Issue 8 on the intervention in Somalia. Few would find fault with a commitment to end starvation in Somalia. How to get to that end 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. Jerome Wiesner and two other authors argue in Issue 13 that the United States can and should reduce military expenditures by a very great amount now that the cold war is over. General Colin Powell disagrees that this can be done without endangering U.S. security. Issue 2 deals in part with how the former opponents of the former Soviet Union should establish new relations with Russia. A key issue is whether or not democracy will survive there.

As you will see, each of the authors in all the debates strongly believes in his or her position. If you read these debates with an objective attitude, 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. Write letters to policymakers,

donate money to causes you support, work for candidates with whom you agree, or join an activist organization.

On the subject of lethargy and evil, Ethiopia's emperor Haile Selassie (1892–1975) told the United Nations in 1963:

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!

## 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 8) begins with a question about the future of the international system, currently an emphasis of many scholars. Beginning with Issue 2, the focus of Part 1 shifts to regional issues and actors. Debates here deal with Russia, the United States, Europe, Asia, Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East. Part 2 (Issues 9 through 12) focuses on international economic issues, including Japan's international economic strength, North-South development, the wisdom of the global arms trade, and the conundrum of ecologically sustainable economic development. Part 3 (Issues 13 through 16) examines issues surrounding the use of force in international relations, including whether or not countries can drastically reduce defense expenditures and remain secure, the future of the United Nations' military activities, and how women serving in combat equally with men would impact national security. Part 4 (Issues 17 through 20) examines values and the future operation of the global system. Issues here concern whether or not morality should be a centerpiece of foreign policy formation, the possibility of establishing global human rights standards, population growth, and the justness of modern war.

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 decisionmakers. 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 these debates.

### DYNAMICS OF WORLD POLITICS

The action on the global stage today is also 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. One debate (Issue 13) is over whether or not, having created and armed ourselves with these weapons, we can and should reverse the process and disarm. Similarly, there is controversy (Issue 11) over whether or not arms-producing countries should be selling their wares to other countries. 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, such as whether or not the primary successor state to the Soviet Union, Russia, may someday once again represent a threat to European countries, as well as other countries. One standard that is being used to estimate that possibility is whether or not Russia will remain democratic (see 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 isolationist sentiment in the United States, but there are also those who argue that abandoning internationalism would be foolhardy.

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.

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, such as the United Nations, are global actors, and Issue 14 debates one aspect of the UN's current and future role. Other actors are regional. Issue 4 explores the future of the world's most advanced regional actor, the European Community. Then Issue 5 takes up what may become another great regional actor, the North American Free Trade Association, which would come about if a free-trade agreement between Canada, the United States, and Mexico goes through.

## 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 are, for example, alarmed by the seeming rise of radical actions by Islamic fundamentalists. As Issue 6 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 most important because policy is formulated on what decisionmakers *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 decisionmakers 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 decisionmaker, 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 United States' role in the world. How U.S. presidents and other Americans define their country's role creates an operational code governing relations. Thus far, President Bill Clinton has shown himself to have more of an internationalist operational code than the public does. Clinton, for example, wanted to launch a military intervention into Bosnia-Herzegovina to assist the Muslims who were under attack by Serbian forces there. The American public was opposed to intervention in this civil war, showing 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," as addressed in Issue 1.

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 9, for example, focuses on relations with Japan and how Japan's recent economic rise is perceived by some as a prelude to world domination. Such perceptions could lead to economic conflict.

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 differing 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.

After World War II's end, 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 faded. Some political scientists argue that it is now 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 7 about the future of China as a regional, perhaps global, power affects considerations of how to deal with China over trade disputes, the suppression of democracy by China's government (symbolized by the 1989 massacre at Tiananmen Square), and many other issues.

*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, such as Issue 11 on international arms sales.

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. Political scientists who take this approach contend that individuals make decisions and that the nature of those decisions is determined by the decisionmakers' perceptions, predilections, and strengths and weaknesses. Human-level analysis also focuses on the nature of humans. Issue 15 about women in combat is about much more than physical and emotional suitability; it is about whether or not equal participation by women in all aspects of politics—from leading countries to shouldering guns—will have a substantial impact on the way countries and the world operate.

## REALISM VERSUS IDEALISM

Realism and idealism represent another division among political scientists and practitioners in their approaches to the study and conduct of interna-

tional relations. *Realists* are usually skeptical about the nature of politics and, perhaps, the nature of humankind. They 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 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 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 address the realist-idealist split. For example, in Issue 17, Cyrus Vance contends that human rights represent a fundamental principle and should strongly influence policy, while George Shultz contends that morality must be balanced with other factors to determine policy. There is also an idealist-realist element to Issue 15, based on the contention by some feminists and scholars that full participation of women in the political system would promote idealist, rather than realist, policies. The debate over intervention in Somalia (Issue 8), and by extension other troubled countries and places in which modern conflicts may arise (Issue 20), also involves realist-idealist considerations.

## THE POLITICAL AND ECOLOGICAL FUTURE

Future world alternatives are discussed in many of the issues. Issue 1, for example, debates whether or not an idealist "new world order" is a reasonable goal. The Issue 10 debate 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. To explore this alternative, Issue 14 focuses on the authority of the UN Security Council to assume supranational (above countries) power in the area of peacekeep-

ing. Another possibility for governance falls between current countries (each governed independently) and the possibility of a single global government, represented by the United Nations. Issue 4 on the European Community debates the possibility of such governments developing.

The global future also involves the availability of natural resources, the condition of the environment, and the level of world population, which are addressed in Issues 12 and 19.

### 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, Issue 2 is related to the question of whether or not, in a nonideological context, this axis might be reconstituted by an ultranationalist, hostile Russia.

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 10 explores these differences and debates whether or not the North should significantly increase economic aid to the South.

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 Western Europe, as noted. There are also those who argue that the European Community (Issue 4), an Asia organized and dominated by Japan (Issue 9) or China (Issue 7), and a North American region that is based on the existing United States-Canada free trade agreement and the agreements both Washington and Ottawa are negotiating with Mexico City (Issue 5) could form the basis of a new split.

### INCREASED ROLE OF ECONOMICS

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

However, political scientists are now focusing increasingly 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 \$3.2 trillion in 1990. 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 de-

creasing 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 Issue 9 debate on Japan's international trading practices.

Another economic issue is whether or not the environment can withstand current and increased economic activity. For people in industrialized countries, the issue is whether they can sustain current standards of living without continuing to consume unsustainable levels of energy and other resources and while lowering levels of pollution and other forms of environmental degradation. For people in less developed countries, the issue is whether 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 the core of the debate in Issue 12.

### 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? Further, realists usually do not reject moral considerations. Rather, they contend that morality is but one of the factors that a country's decisionmakers 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 to 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.

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<b>ISSUE 1. Is a "New World Order" a Realistic Possibility for International Politics?</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>YES: Richard Falk, from "In Search of a New World Model," <i>Current History</i></b>	<b>4</b>
<b>NO: Robert W. Tucker, from "Realism and the New Consensus," <i>The National Interest</i></b>	<b>11</b>
Falk contends that it is necessary and feasible to work toward a new world order, one based on cooperation and the development of a global community. Tucker argues that the standard of <i>national</i> interest remains the most reasonable one for the formulation of foreign policy.	
<b>ISSUE 2. Will Democracy Survive in Russia?</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>YES: Nina Belyaeva, from "Russian Democracy: Crisis as Progress," <i>The Washington Quarterly</i></b>	<b>20</b>
<b>NO: Walter Laqueur, from "Russian Nationalism," <i>Foreign Affairs</i></b>	<b>28</b>
Belyaeva maintains that although Russia will face crises in its governance, democracy will prevail. Laqueur maintains that the democratic tradition in Russia is weak and that, amid turmoil, an authoritarian system based on nationalist populism is likely to occur.	
<b>ISSUE 3. Should the United States Abandon Its Superpower Role?</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>YES: Alan Tonelson, from "Clinton's World," <i>The Atlantic Monthly</i></b>	<b>38</b>
<b>NO: Elliott Abrams, from "Why America Must Lead," <i>The National Interest</i></b>	<b>44</b>
Tonelson argues that the level of strong internationalism exhibited by the United States during the cold war period is no longer politically required, nor is it economically viable. Abrams contends that the United States can best serve its own interests and contribute to world stability by maintaining a high level of international involvement.	



**ISSUE 4. Will the European Community Increase Its Level of Integration? 52**

**YES:** Walter Goldstein, from "Europe After Maastricht," *Foreign Affairs* 54

**NO:** Angelo M. Codevilla, from "The Euromess," *Commentary* 64

Goldstein contends that the European Community's setbacks can be overcome if it follows a more gradual, realistic path toward integration. Codevilla argues that disapproval of the EC has been building and that its framework and the future of integration are doubtful.

**ISSUE 5. Will the North American Free Trade Agreement Benefit All Its Member Countries? 74**

**YES:** Jaime Jose Serra Puche, from "The North American Free Trade Agreement: A Source of Competitiveness," *Vital Speeches of the Day* 76

**NO:** Sheldon Friedman, from "NAFTA as Social Dumping," *Challenge* 83

Serra Puche maintains that NAFTA will be mutually beneficial to Americans, Canadians, and Mexicans. Friedman charges that NAFTA will work to the disadvantage of all workers, particularly those at the lowest end of the wage scale.

**ISSUE 6. Is Islamic Fundamentalism a Threat to Political Stability? 90**

**YES:** Judith Miller, from "The Challenge of Radical Islam," *Foreign Affairs* 92

**NO:** Leon T. Hadar, from "What Green Peril?" *Foreign Affairs* 100

Miller argues that the radical Islamic movement in the greater Middle East region has created a combustible mixture that threatens domestic and international political stability. Hadar maintains that Islam is neither unified nor a threat to political stability.

**ISSUE 7. Will China Become an Asian Superpower? 110**

**YES:** Zhao Xiaowei, from "The Threat of a New Arms Race Dominates Asian Geopolitics," *Global Affairs* 112

**NO:** Samuel S. Kim, from "China as a Regional Power," *Current History* 119

Zhao Xiaowei predicts that as China modernizes and becomes more stable domestically, it is likely to engage in an arms race designed to build itself up