



INTERNATIONAL POLITICS ON THE WORLD STAGE

B R I E F

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

JOHN T. ROURKE • MARK A. BOYER



f i f t h e d i t i o n

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS ON THE WORLD STAGE, BRIEF

John T. Rourke

University of Connecticut

Mark A. Boyer



Boston Burr Ridge, IL Dubuque, IA Madison, WI New York
San Francisco St. Louis Bangkok Bogotá Caracas Kuala Lumpur
Lisbon London Madrid Mexico City Milan Montreal New Delhi
Santiago Seoul Singapore Sydney Taipei Toronto



Higher Education

International Politics on the World Stage, Brief
Fifth Edition

Published by McGraw-Hill, an imprint of The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., 1221 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10020. Copyright © 2004 by The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or distributed in any form or by any means, or stored in a database or retrieval system, without the prior written consent of The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., including, but not limited to, in any network or other electronic storage or transmission, or broadcast for distance learning.

3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 DOC / DOC 0 9 8 7 6 5 4

ISBN 0-07-288569-6

Vice president and editor-in-chief: *Thalia Dorwick*

Publisher: *Lyn Uhl*

Senior sponsoring editor: *Monica Eckman*

Senior developmental editor: *Jim Strandberg*

Developmental editor: *Ava Suntoke*

Marketing manager: *Katherine Bates*

Media producer: *Sean Crowley*

Production editor: *Brett Coker*

Production supervisor: *Randy Hurst*

Art director: *Jeanne Schreiber*

Cover designer: *Joan Greenfield*

Photo researcher: *Pam Carley*

Compositor: *Thompson Type*

Typeface: *10/12 Berkeley Book*

Paper: *45# New Era Matte*

Printer and binder: *R. R. Donnelley*

Cover photo: © *Robert Clare/Getty Images/Taxi*

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Rourke, John T., 1945-

International politics on the world stage, brief / John T. Rourke, Mark A. Boyer.—5th ed.
p. cm.

Concise updated version of: *International politics on the world stage*. 9th ed. 2003.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-07-288569-6 (acid-free paper)

1. International relations. 2. World politics—1989- 3. International economic relations.

I. Boyer, Mark A. II. Rourke, John T., 1945- *International politics on the world stage*. III. Title.

JZ1305.R68 2003

327—dc21

2003048788

The Internet addresses listed in the text were accurate at the time of publication. The inclusion of a Web site does not indicate an endorsement by the authors or McGraw-Hill Higher Education, and McGraw-Hill does not guarantee the accuracy of the information presented at these sites.

www.mhhe.com

Preface

We live in an era of unprecedented change and challenge in world politics. From the 9-11 terror attacks and their far-flung repercussions, to uncertainties in global economic conditions, to shifts in political relationships, we are constantly confronted with new political, economic, and social phenomena. *International politics on the World Stage, Brief*, Fifth Edition, has been developed as a shorter international relations text in order to provide students and teachers with the opportunity to explore international relations and its new challenges in a straightforward, accessible way. In contrast to a course that centers on the original, longer edition of this text, this brief edition is designed to allow for greater use of supplemental materials (such as cases, simulations, special topical approaches to the field, or computer applications). The course can thus be tailored to fit a variety of teaching and learning styles.

The brief edition is, however, more than just an abridged version of the longer edition. It has been updated both in terms of substantive examples and scholarly research. This edition also has four fewer chapters than the longer one and has been reorganized considerably to reflect the needs of a shorter approach to the field. Still it retains the sense of international political drama portrayed in the original *International Politics on the World Stage*, Ninth Edition.

This book makes extensive use of the growth in information technologies and provides the student and teacher with a well-developed Web site of resources to aid in student learning. These Web-based resources, all flagged with Web icons within the chapters, augment the material in the book itself. In addition, the Web site of each chapter has a list of links to external Web sites. These links are based on the main topics covered in the chapter. The book can be used without these digital resources, but we have endeavored to make this Web site something new and different, as well as a valuable enhancement to the student's learning experience. In particular, we have created interactive exercises for each chapter of the book. Some of these activities allow students to compare their ideas with their peers who are accessing the Web site, while others are focused on in-class activities. In each case, they emphasize the active learning orientation of the authors of this book and of the book itself. In essence, we developed this Web site on the firm conviction that students learn and retain more by *doing* rather than by reading alone. We welcome your feedback on this initiative, so if you have thoughts or ideas about this material, or anything related to the book, please contact us at the Web site Message Board.

The text is organized in the following way: Chapters 1, 2, and 3 focus on approaches to the study of international relations. Chapter 1 makes the case that international relations do matter to the average student and that the individual student can have an impact on international relations. It also lays out the basically theoretical



and conceptual debates, in particular the recurrent divide between the realist and liberal approaches to analysis and prescription in world affairs. Chapter 2 is primarily historical. It traces the evolution of the international system, concentrating on how the contemporary international system has its roots in the past and the degree to which both centralizing and decentralizing tendencies coexist in world affairs today. Chapter 3 lays out the conceptual framework of the levels of analysis to show students the different perspectives that can be used to structure our study of international relations.

The second section of the book comprises chapters 4 through 9 and follows the structure of examining the traditional versus the alternative approaches to world politics. Chapters 4 and 5 examine the forces of nationalism and transnationalism, respectively. Chapters 6 and 7 focus on the traditional dominance of national states in international affairs and the rising role and influence of international organizations. And chapters 8 and 9 lead the reader through the traditional role of power and diplomacy in the world to the impact of international law on constraining behavior of actors on the world stage.

The last portion of the book, chapters 10 through 14, discusses an array of the substantive issues of world affairs. Chapter 10 focuses on the traditional high politics issues of war and peace, military influence, and arms control. Chapters 11 and 12 highlight the importance and rising influence of economic issues in the world. Chapter 12 in particular discusses the dual tendencies of competition and cooperation in international political economy. Chapter 13 examines the human condition internationally, showing how culture, economics, and power impact the ways people live and are treated around the world. And lastly, chapter 14 elucidates the issues of ecological quality and sustainable development as well as the challenges that are emerging in that substantive area.

Even with all these changes, *International Politics on the World Stage, Brief*, maintains the conceptual and theoretical sophistication of the long edition and employs the same standards of timeliness and readability found therein. *International Politics* presents the student and teacher with the most up-to-date coverage of the substance of current international relations, including the shift in policy focus in the wake of the 9-11 terror attacks, the disarmament crisis in Iraq, the resurgence of the North Korean nuclear threat, and the changing roles of the UN and NATO during crises. This provides the student with stronger ties to the real world of international relations. In other words, illustrations of current events make the concepts and theory of the textbook come alive in demonstrative ways.

The brief edition also seeks to be student-friendly. Its wide use of graphics such as photographs, figures, tables, and maps gives visual life to the text ideas. A glossary, chapter outlines and summaries, and an extensive bibliography are also included to aid the student in studying and the faculty member in teaching.

Finally, this edition maintains the standards of the longer edition in continuously accessing scholarly research. We have included the insights of newly published research, even material that has been published since the last edition of the parent text came out. This means that the student today is reading a state-of-the-art discussion in international relations.

Before closing, we would like to acknowledge a number of the scholars who took the time to review our initial plan to condense the material of the longer edition. Their input and ideas were invaluable in the process that we have undertaken over the past years. They are:

Russell Bove, Dickinson College
William K Callum, Daytona Beach Community College
Neal Coates, Abilene Christian University
Rodney Grubb, St. Olaf College
Charles F. Gruber, Marshall University
Clinton Hewan, Northern Kentucky University
Diddy Hitchins, University of Alaska-Anchorage
Henry Louis, Kansas City Kansas Community College
Christine Nahau Patrinis, Holy Names College
Marek Payerhin, Alma College
Daniel C. Sanford, Whitworth College
Sanford Silverburg, Catawba College
Michael Sonnleitner, Portland Community College

The time and effort they put into reviewing our approach is greatly appreciated.

We would also like to thank two other young scholar-teachers whose contributions to this project have been invaluable. For the past two years, Michael Butler, University of Connecticut, has produced “World Politics Weekly” for the book’s Web site. His ability to link current events with the conceptual substance of the book is far-reaching and rich. By taking on this responsibility, he helps keep the book current on a weekly basis and brings the book alive and connected with the ever-changing world in which we live. We are very grateful for his continued work with us.

Secondly, Natalie Florea, University of Connecticut, was a real lifesaver during the most recent revision process. As we pushed toward fast-approaching production deadlines, Natalie did an excellent job of updating data throughout the book to make sure we were as current as possible in our facts and figures. In addition, she has a wonderful eye for photo ideas and choices, and all the graphics in the book are much better because of her work.

Last, but absolutely not least, we would like to thank all the people at McGraw-Hill who made the development of this fifth edition a smooth and creative process. First, we wish to thank Ava Suntoke for her exemplary editorial work and attention to the detail of world politics. She not only does great work in making our writing sound intelligent, but her ability to stay abreast of world politics helps us make better use of current events in the body of the text. The project is much better for her efforts. Pam Carley continues to do a great job as our photo editor and researcher. Her eye for good photos that can bring the substance of world politics home visually is truly remarkable. We’ve also very much enjoyed our new relationship with McGraw-Hill “central.” Monica Eckman, Jim Strandberg, and Brett Coker bent over backward to work with us in preparing this edition and getting it to market on time.

We owe them a debt of gratitude for their efforts on our behalf and look forward to continuing to work together on many editions to come.

Along those same lines and to close, we ask that you please let us know if you have any comments on what we have done in this volume. We hope that you will write to us with any insights you have on how we can make this volume more student-friendly and teacher-useful while continuing its lively mix of contemporary substance and scholarly research. We are in the business of teaching about world affairs, but we can do our job well only if we hear how we are doing from both teachers and students.

John T. Rourke
Mark A. Boyer

Contents in Brief

About the Authors ii
Preface vii

Chapter 1	<i>Thinking and Caring about World Politics</i>	1
Chapter 2	<i>The Evolution of World Politics</i>	24
Chapter 3	<i>Levels of Analysis</i>	45
Chapter 4	<i>Nationalism: The Traditional Orientation</i>	84
Chapter 5	<i>Transnationalism: The Alternative Orientation</i>	105
Chapter 6	<i>National States: The Traditional Structure</i>	131
Chapter 7	<i>International Organization: The Alternative Structure</i>	152
Chapter 8	<i>National Power and Diplomacy: The Traditional Approach</i>	185
Chapter 9	<i>International Law and Morality: The Alternative Approach</i>	217
Chapter 10	<i>Pursuing Security</i>	245
Chapter 11	<i>Globalization in the World Economy</i>	289
Chapter 12	<i>Global Economic Competition and Cooperation</i>	320
Chapter 13	<i>Preserving and Enhancing Human Rights and Dignity</i>	367
Chapter 14	<i>Preserving and Enhancing the Global Commons</i>	392
Epilogue		425
Endnotes		427
Glossary		433
Abbreviations		445
References		447
Index		467

Contents

About the Authors	ii
Preface	vii
Contents in Brief	xi
Contents	xiii
Countries of the World Map	xxiv

Chapter 1

Thinking and Caring About World Politics 1

The Importance of Studying World Politics	2
World Politics and Your Finances	4
International Trade and Your Finances	4
The Flow of International Capital and Your Finances	5
Defense Spending and Your Finances	5
World Politics and Your Living Space	7
World Politics and Your Life	8
Can We Make a Difference?	9
The World Tomorrow: Two Roads Diverge	11
Realism and Liberalism: Some Travel Notes on Two Roads	12
The Nature of Politics: Realism and Liberalism	13
Realism and the Nature of Politics	13
Liberalism and the Nature of Politics	14
The Roles of Power and Justice: Realism and Liberalism	14
Realism: An Emphasis on Power	14
Liberalism: An Emphasis on Justice	15
Prospects for Competition and Cooperation: Realism and Liberalism	16
Realism and the Competitive Future	16
Liberalism and the Cooperative Future	17
Assessing Reality: Realism and Liberalism	18
How to Study World Politics	19
Political Scientists and World Politics	19
Why Political Scientists Study World Politics	19
How Political Scientists Conduct Research	20
What to Study: Levels of Analysis	21
Chapter Summary	21

chapter 2

The Evolution of World Politics 24

- The Evolving World System: Early Development 25**
- The Evolving World System: The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries 27**
- The Evolving World System: The Twentieth Century 28**
 - The Twentieth Century: The Years to World War II 29**
 - The Twentieth Century: The Cold War Begins and Ends 30**
 - The Rise and Decline of the Bipolar System 31
 - The End of the Bipolar System 32
- The Twenty-First Century Begins: Changes and Choices 33**
 - Political Structure and Orientation: Changes and Choices 33**
 - The Emerging Polar Structure 33
 - The Weakening Western Orientation of the International System 34
 - Challenges to the Authority of the State 35
 - Security: Changes and Choices 36**
 - International Economics: Changes and Choices 37**
 - Economic Interdependence 38
 - Economic Disparity Between North and South 39
 - The Quality of Life: Changes and Choices 40**
 - Human Rights 40
 - The Environment 41
- Chapter Summary 43**

chapter 3

Levels of Analysis 45

- System-Level Analysis 45**
 - Structural Characteristics 46**
 - The Organization of Authority 46
 - The Actors 47
 - Scope and Level of Interaction 50
 - Power Relationships in the International System 50**
 - Number of System Poles 50
 - Concentration of Power 51
 - Power Changes: Causes and Effects 53
 - Economic Patterns in the International System 53**
 - Norms of Behavior in the International System 55**
 - System-Level Analysis: Predicting Tomorrow 56**
- State-Level Analysis 57**
 - Understanding State-Level Analysis 57**

Making Foreign Policy: Types of Government, Situations, and Policy	58
Types of Government	59
Types of Situations	61
Types of Policy	62
Making Foreign Policy: Political Culture	62
Making Foreign Policy: Actors in the Process	63
Political Executives	63
Bureaucracies	64
Legislatures	66
Political Opposition	67
Interest Groups	67
The People	68
Individual-Level Analysis	70
The Human Element	70
Cognitive Factors	70
Psychological Factors	71
Biological Factors	72
Organizational Behavior	74
Role Behavior	74
Group Decision-Making Behavior	75
Leaders and Their Idiosyncrasies	76
Personality	77
Physical and Mental Health	77
Ego and Ambition	78
Political History and Personal Experiences	78
Perceptions	80
Chapter Summary	81

Chapter 4

Nationalism: The Traditional Orientation 84

Understanding Nations, Nation-States, and Nationalism	85
Nations	85
Nation-States	88
Nationalism	88
The Evolution of Nationalism	88
The Rise of Nationalism	89
The Predicted Demise of Nationalism	90
Persistent Nationalism	91
Nationalism: Builder and Destroyer	91
The Beneficent Face of Nationalism	92
The Troubled Face of Nationalism	93
How We Relate to Others	93
The Lack of Fit Between Nations and States	96

Nationalism and the Future	100
Self-Determination as a Goal	100
Nationalism: Will the Curtain Fall?	102
Chapter Summary	104

Chapter 5

Transnationalism: The Alternative Orientation 105

The Origins and Evolution of Transnationalism	106
Transnational Interaction	107
Transnational Economics	107
Transnational Communications	107
Transnational Transportation	109
Transnational Organizations	110
The Transnational Women's Movement	111
The Transnational Women's Movement: Perspectives and Goals	112
The Transnational Women's Movement: Programs and Progress	115
Transnational Religion	117
Religion and World Politics	117
The Strength of Religious Fundamentalism	119
Islam and the World	120
The Political Heritage of Muslims	121
Islam and Nationalism	121
Islam and the Non-Islamic World	122
Islamic Traditionalism and Secularism	123
Transnational Culture	124
The Spread of Common Culture	124
The Resistance to a Common Culture	127
Transnationalism Tomorrow	128
Chapter Summary	129

Chapter 6

National States: The Traditional Structure 131

The Nature and Origins of the State	131
The State Defined	132
Sovereignty	132
Territory	133
Population	133
Diplomatic Recognition	134

Internal Organization	135
Domestic Support	135
The Origins of the State	136
The State as the Core Political Organization	137
Theories of Governance	137
Authoritarian Theories of Governance	137
Democratic Theories of Governance	139
State Governance and World Politics	139
The Drive for Universal Democracy: Issues	140
National and Other Interests	142
National Interest as a Standard of Conduct	142
Alternatives to National Interest	145
States and the Future	145
The State: The Indictment	146
States Are Obsolete	146
States Are Destructive	148
The State: The Defense	148
The State: The Verdict	149
Chapter Summary	150

Chapter 7

International Organization: The Alternative Structure 152

The Origins, Growth, and Roles of International Organization	153
The Origins of IGOs	153
Belief in a Community of Humankind	154
Big-Power Peacekeeping	154
Pragmatic Cooperation	154
The Growth of IGOs	154
Theories of IGO Growth	155
Reasons for Growth	155
Roles That IGOs Play	157
Interactive Arena	157
Creator and Center of Cooperation	158
Independent International Actor	158
Supranational Organization	159
Regional IGOs: Focus on the European Union	159
The Origins and Evolution of the European Union	160
Economic Integration	160
Political Integration	161
The Government of Europe: A Prototype	161
Political Leadership	161
Bureaucracy	162

Legislative Branch	162
Judicial Branch	163
The Future of the EU	163
Global IGOs: Focus on the United Nations	166
IGO Organization and Related Issues	166
General Membership	167
Representative Bodies	167
Voting Formulas	169
Political Leadership	171
Bureaucracy	173
IGO Financing and Related Issues	174
IGO Activities and Related Issues	175
Promoting International Peace and Security	175
Evaluating IGOs and Their Future	181
Chapter Summary	183

Chapter 8

National Power and Diplomacy: The Traditional Approach 185

National Power: The Foundation of Diplomacy	187
Power as an Asset	188
Measuring Power	189
Characteristics of Power	189
The Elements of Power	192
The National Core	192
National Geography	192
People	193
Government	194
The National Infrastructure	194
Technology	195
Transportation Systems	196
Information and Communications Systems	196
The Nature of Diplomacy	196
The Functions of Diplomacy	198
The Diplomatic Setting	199
The International System	199
The Diplomatic Environment	200
The Domestic Connection	202
The Conduct of Diplomacy	202
Modern Diplomacy	203
Expansion of Geographic Scope	203

Multilateral Diplomacy	203
Parliamentary Diplomacy	205
Democratized Diplomacy	205
Open Diplomacy	205
Leader-to-Leader Diplomacy	206
Public Diplomacy	207
The Rules of Effective Diplomacy	208
Options for Conducting Diplomacy	210
Direct or Indirect Negotiations	210
High-Level or Low-Level Diplomacy	210
Using Coercion or Rewards to Gain Agreement	212
Being Precise or Being Intentionally Vague	213
Communicating by Word or Deed	213
Linking Issues or Treating Them Separately	214
Maximizing or Minimizing a Dispute	214
Chapter Summary	215

Chapter 9

International Law and Morality: The Alternative Approach

Fundamentals of International Law and Morality	218
The Primitive Nature of International Law	218
The Growth of International Law	219
The Practice of International Law	220
The Fundamentals of International Morality	221
The International Legal System	221
The Philosophical Roots of Law	222
How International Law Is Made	223
Adherence to the Law	224
Adjudication of the Law	226
Applying International Law and Morality	229
Cultural Perspectives	229
Applying International Law and Morality in a Multicultural World	231
Applying International Law and Morality to States	231
Should States Be Held to the Same Standards as Individuals	232
States and Issues of Law and Morality	232
Applying International Law and Morality to Individuals	237
Post-World War II Tribunals	237
The National Enforcement of International Law	238
Current International Tribunals	238
International Criminal Court	239

Law and Morality: Issues of Prudent Judgment and Application	241
The Future of International Law and Morality	243
Chapter Summary	243

Chapter 10

Pursuing Security 245

Thinking About Security 245

A Tale of Insecurity 246

A Drama and Dialogue of Insecurity 246

Critiquing the Drama 247

Conflict and Insecurity: The Traditional Road 247

War and World Politics 247

War: The Human Record 248

The Causes of War: Three Levels of Analysis 249

Force as a Political Instrument 249

Levels of Violence: From Intimidation to Attack 249

The Effectiveness of Force 250

The Changing Nature of War 252

Classifying Wars 253

Unconventional Warfare 253

Arms Transfers 253

Special Operations 257

Terrorism 257

Conventional Warfare 264

Weapons of Mass Destruction Warfare 265

Biological Weapons 266

Chemical Weapons 266

The Potential for Nuclear War 267

Nuclear Weapons, Deterrence, and Strategy 269

Global and International Security

The Alternative Road 270

Limited Self-Defense Through Arms Control 272

Methods of Achieving Arms Control 272

The Barriers to Arms Control 274

International Security Forces 278

International Security Forces: Theory and Practice 278

International Security and the Future 283

Abolition of War 284

Complete Disarmament 284

Pacifism 285

Chapter Summary 287

Chapter 11

Globalization in the World Economy 289

Theories of International Political Economy 290

Economic Nationalism 290

Economic Internationalism 292

Economic Structuralism 293

Marxist Theory 293

Dependency and World Systems Theory 294

Two Economic Worlds: North and South 295

Two Economic Worlds: Analyzing the Data 295

Two Economic Worlds: Human Conditions 297

The Growth and Extent of International Political Economy 298

Trade 299

A General Pattern of Expanding Trade 299

Uneven Patterns of Trade: North and South 301

International Investment 303

Foreign Direct and Portfolio Investment 303

International Investment and Multinational Corporations 303

Monetary Relations 304

The Globalization of the Monetary System 304

Exchange Rates 305

Balance of Payments 306

Globalization and Interdependence: Debating the Future 307

The Case for Free Economic Interchange 309

The Case Against Free Economic Interchange 313

The Debate in Perspective 317

Chapter Summary 318

Chapter 12

Global Economic Competition and Cooperation 320

Global Economic Competition: The Traditional Road 321

National Economic Power: Assets and Utilization 321

Methods of Manipulating Economic Interchange 321

Applying Economic Power 323

The North and International Political Economy 325

The National Economies of the North 325

National Economic Issues and Policies of the North 327

The South and International Political Economy 329