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International Politics on the World Stage

NINTH EDITION

JOHN T. ROURKE

D8

International Politics on the World Stage

NINTH EDITION

JOHN T. ROURKE

University of Connecticut

The McGraw-Hill Companies



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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*, Ninth 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 points 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.

Each time I revise this text I think to myself, "The world will settle down and the next edition will be easier." Wrong! This edition proved to be a major challenge and effort. You will see that there is a continued emphasis on being current in order to engage the students without being journalistic. The traumatic terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, marked the day as one of those few that almost everyone will remember with a vivid recollection of where they were when they learned of the horrific news. That tragedy, the ensuing U.S.-led operation against al-Qaeda and the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, and the other events related to what has become known simply as 9-11 understandably dominate our perspectives of 2001 and 2002, but there were many other important changes in the action on the world stage. President George W. Bush assumed the U.S. presidency, and his unilateralist approach to world politics led to the U.S. rejection of the Kyoto Treaty (1997) to control greenhouse gases, the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (1972) that barred either Washington or Moscow from building a ballistic missile defense system, and the treaty that led to the creation of the International Criminal Court (ICC) in 2002. Elsewhere in the world, the violence between Israelis and Palestinians went from bad to worse, nuclear weapons-armed Pakistan and India teetered on the edge of war, Argentina descended into economic chaos, and other unsettling events beset the world. There were also a number of attempts to improve the state of the world. These included the World Conference Against Racism (2001), in Durban, South Africa; the International Conference on Financing for Development (2002), in Monterrey, Mexico; and the World Summit on Sustainable Development (2002) in Johannesburg, South Africa. The newest country, East Timor, was "born" on May 20, 2002; most of the world's leaders hailed the creation of the ICC in July 2002; and Switzerland joined the United Nations in the fall. All these and other recent events are extensively detailed. It is also important to be as current as possible with the massive amount 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.

The organizational scheme reflecting this text's view that the world is at a juncture brings to mind Robert Frost's poem, "Two Roads Diverged in a Wood." One road is the traditional way of sovereign states pursuing their self-interests in an often inequitable and conflict-filled world. The alternative, less-traveled-by path is the way of cooperation in a system in which states are less sovereign and international organizations play a wider and more authoritative role.

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, beginning with chapter 6, the two

roads theme organizes the remaining chapters of this edition, with usually alternating discussions of national conflict and international cooperation in successive chapters. In this way, equal attention can be given to the two roads without losing sight of the fact that they lead in divergent directions.

The substantial changes 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.

Data and Graphics Many new tables, figures, photographs, maps, and other graphics have been added to emphasize, expand, and give visual life to ideas. Full-color maps with geographical, historical, and statistical information that students should find especially relevant to the text's discussion are placed throughout the text. Also, significant revisions have been made to both the instructor's manual and to the extensive testbank, which are available from the publisher in both printed and computerized versions. These are further explained in the paragraph on Supplements on the next page.

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" 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 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 suggestions for further reading and do not necessarily mean that the cited author(s) propounded what is being said at the point of reference. Using this approach instead of the end-of-chapter placement gives inquisitive students immediate thoughts for additional reading.

For those instructors whose organization differs 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), 14 (general global conditions) and 15 (national economic competition), 16 (international economic cooperation), and 18 (sustainable development).

Terrorism is addressed in all or in parts of chapters 1, 7, 11, 12, and 13.

Moral and humanitarian issues are taken up extensively in chapters 11 and 17 and also form an important part of the discussions of national interest, coercion, and economic challenges in, respectively, chapters 6, 12, 16, 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 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 began as a realist, 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. Chapter 4 discusses the analysis of world politics from the level of the nation-state. 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 and 7, deals with two divergent political orientations. The traditional orientation is nationalism. The alternative orientation is made up of transnational ideas, identifications, and processes.

Part III, consisting of chapters 8 and 9, examines the alternative ways that the world can be organized politically. In this part, I alternate between national and international approaches, with discussions of the state in chapter 8 and international organizations in chapter 9.

Part IV, which includes chapters 10 and 11, explores divergent approaches to the conduct of world politics. Chapter 10 covers the traditional approach, national diplomacy; chapter 11 examines the alternative road of international law and morality.

Part V, consisting of chapters 12 and 13, introduces two approaches to physical security in the world political system: national security (chapter 12) and international security and other alternative approaches (chapter 13).

Part VI, chapters 14 through 16, describes in detail global economic conditions and trends (chapter 14), then turns to a chapter on national economic competition (chapter 15) and contrasts that with international economic cooperation (chapter 16).

Part VII looks into current conditions and ways to preserve and enhance human rights and dignity (chapter 17) and the environment (chapter 18).

Supplements There are several supplements that have been created to assist both instructors and students in the use of this text. The instructor's manual *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 1,800 multiple-choice and essay questions organized by chapter and degree of difficulty. These examination questions are also available on the Brownstone Diploma Testing computer disk. PowerPoint slides for each chapter are available at the Web site and offer the instructor an easy-to-use and effective visual aid in the classroom.

Online Learning Center With PowerWeb This is a new online site that offers online current course-specific articles by leading authorities in the field, daily news updates, weekly updates by content experts, interactive exercises, research links, and student study tips. This learning tool is free to students with a new copy of the text, at the text Web site, <http://www.dushkin.com/rourke>.



To the Student

The world, familiar to us and unknown.

Shakespeare, *Henry V*

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 of trying to convey the dramatic pace of change, I introduce you to Elizabeth “Ma Pampo” Israel in chapter 6. This amazing woman, who lives in Dominica, a Caribbean island country, was born in 1875, has lived in three different centuries, and is 127 years old as this book is being written. Among other things, Ma Pampo gives us a sense of how quickly the world is changing.

When she was born in 1875, Ulysses S. Grant was president of the United States. There was 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 less than 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 the long-range artillery piece.

The communist revolution in Russia occurred when she was 42; the Soviet Union disappeared when she was 116. For me, communism and the cold war were the totality of my historical experience; for Ms. Israel they were mere interludes.

If you think about events, trends, and technology in this way—in terms of what one person has seen and experienced—you can begin to grasp how fast they are moving. When Ma Pampo was born people were basically earthbound. She was 28 when the first airplane flew, 69 when the first jet plane took off, 86 when Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin became the first human in space, and 94 when Neil Armstrong stepped onto the Moon’s surface. There are many other things to consider. Ma Pampo is more than twice as old as atomic weapons; the world’s population has quadrupled during her life; 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 Ma Pampo 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 Ma Pampo 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 less than 1.5 billion in 1875, and if, during her life, we have added another 4.5 billion people, then how much time do we have to get the world population under control? If you live as long as Ma Pampo (and you might, given modern medical technology), then what will the world population be when you are 127 years old?

In this sense of contemplating the future by pondering the past, thinking about Ma Pampo is really more about tomorrow than about yesterday or even today. When I talk about her, my thoughts are on our twenty-first century more than on her nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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, the 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 and objectives at the beginning of each chapter. Before you read the chapter, pay attention to its outline and objectives. 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 (Hobbes, 2000: 171) refers to page 171 of the book or article written by (in this case, Professor Heidi) Hobbes in 2000, 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 page 600. 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 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. There is wisdom, then, in Shakespeare's advice in *All's Well that Ends Well* that, "Our remedies oft in ourselves do lie."

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 them back! You are encouraged to join this correspondence by writing to me. E-mail is probably easiest, and I am at: john.rourke@uconn.edu. 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



Over the earlier editions of this text, I have been glad not only to thank my faculty colleagues from around the country who have reviewed the last edition, but to list as well all those who contributed through their comments to previous editions. Alas, sheer space constraints no longer permit this. Still, I gratefully acknowledge those who contributed so much to the past editions. Also, beginning the list of reviewers anew, I wish to thank those faculty members from around the country who have taken the time to give their suggestions for the following editions. 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 have been made. On a larger scale, comments on the ever-changing staging and script of world drama leads me to constantly revise the structure of the book and the balance of its coverage in ways great and small. For these contributions, I would like to thank the following for their perspicacity:

Lance W. Bardsley <i>Santa Fe Community College</i>	Charles McCloy <i>Trident Technical College</i>
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Thomas Louis Masterson <i>Butte College</i>	
Joe Mac McKenzie <i>San Diego Mesa College</i>	

I also owe a debt to each author listed in the bibliography of this and the previous editions. The work that these scholars have done on specific subjects provides 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 called, wrote, or e-mailed me or 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 the staff at the publisher's 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 on that blankety-blank textbook. As we talked, he made some interesting observations. It was also clear that he had not connected the author's name on the front of the book with his professor. You can image how surprised, not to mention disconcerted, he was when it finally dawned on him that he was grumping about the book to its author!

I owe special thanks to Kimberly Weir of the University of Connecticut, who served as a research and editorial assistant during the preparation of this edition. Kimberly has proven to have an extraordinary ability to not only comment on my handling of the big University of Connecticut substantive topics but to also ferret out the smallest substantive and technical errors that bedevil all authors. For this attention to detail she has frequently earned one of my most laudatory margin comments, "good eye."

Michael Butler, University of Connecticut, is responsible for revising the instructor's manual, *Teaching and Testing From International Politics on the World Stage*. He shouldered the task of preparing, revising, and updating the test items for the ninth edition of the instructor's guide, as well as adding to the list of readings for each chapter in the text. I greatly appreciate his diligence.

Then there is the staff of McGraw-Hill/Dushkin. They have encouraged me and supported me. Ava Suntoke is my editor, and I am delighted with her expertise and patience. Robin Charney and Cynthia Goss's proofreading, and their amazing eye for technical detail and substantive consistency, added to the process of ensuring accuracy. I also want to thank the McGraw-Hill/Dushkin typesetters, Juliana Arbo and Jocelyn Proto, for their diligence and for not threatening my life through innumerable changes.

One of the things I like best about this edition is "its look." Pamela Carley has 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 and his able associates (Tom Goddard, and Eldis Lima) took my raw mental images and turned them into wonderful representations of the issues being discussed in the text. In the same area, Laura Levine did an extraordinary job with the exacting art of creating the text's many tables, figures, and maps, and Kristin Schwarz designed this edition's striking cover. I owe a great debt to those who have created such a visually attractive, educationally effective package for my words. Thanks are also due to Alice and Will Thiede of Carto-Graphics in Eau Claire, Wisconsin, for their standard of excellence in producing the maps that appear in the textbook. Another feature of this text is the accompanying Web site with supplementary material and exercises. For this I thank Jonathan Stowe, Marcuss Oslander, and Chris Santos.

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 computer for long periods of time and who sometimes insist that I shut it 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 X-generation culture for me.

To all of you:

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

Contents in Brief



Preface v

To the Student vii

Part I: Approaches to World Politics

Chapter 1: Thinking and Caring About World Politics 1

Chapter 2: The Evolution of World Politics 27

Chapter 3: System-Level Analysis 53

Chapter 4: State-Level Analysis 83

Chapter 5: Individual-Level Analysis 111

Part II: Two Roads: Divergent Political Orientations

Chapter 6: Nationalism: The Traditional Orientation 135

Chapter 7: Transnationalism: The Alternative Orientation 163

Part III: Two Roads: Divergent Organizational Structures

Chapter 8: National States: The Traditional Structure 196

Chapter 9: International Organization: The Alternative Structure 224

Part IV: Two Roads: Divergent Approaches To Conduct

Chapter 10: National Power and Diplomacy: The Traditional Approach 261

Chapter 11: International Law and Morality: The Alternative Approach 298

Part V: Pursuing Peace

Chapter 12: National Security: The Traditional Road 329

Chapter 13: International Security: The Alternative Road 369

Part VI: Pursuing Prosperity

Chapter 14: The International Economy: A Global Road Map 400

Chapter 15: National Economic Competition: The Traditional Road 428

Chapter 16: International Economic Cooperation: The Alternative Road 462

Part VII: Pursuing Preservation

Chapter 17: Preserving and Enhancing Human Rights and Dignity 495

Chapter 18: Preserving and Enhancing the Global Commons 529

An Epilogue to the Text/A Prologue to the Future 569

Explanatory Notes 571

Endnotes 575

Glossary 587

Abbreviations 600

References 603

Index 619

Contents



Preface v

To the Student vii



Maps:

1. Dependence on Trade 8
2. World Countries 30-31
3. The Colonization and Decolonization of Africa: 1878, 1914, 2002 33
4. NATO and the EU March East 69
5. Female Heads of State or Government Since 1950 120
6. Sovereign States: Duration of Independence 142
7. Five Hundred Years of Russian Expansion 149
8. Global Distribution of Minority Groups 151
9. Afghanistan: Ethnolinguistic Groups 156
10. The Gender Gap: Inequalities in Education and Employment 174
11. Countries With a Majority Muslim Population 185
12. Political Systems 212
13. International Trade Organizations 229
14. Membership and Organizational Structure of the European Union 237
15. The International Court of Justice (ICJ) 308
16. International Conflicts in the Post-World War II World 340-341
17. The Spread of Nuclear Weapons 379
18. United Nations Peacekeeping Missions 392
19. Gross National Product Per Capita 407
20. Exports of Primary Products 451
21. Mercosur 491
22. Human Development Index 507
23. World Ecological Regions 532-533
24. Population Growth Rate 542
25. Per Capita Water Availability 552



Part I: Approaches to World Politics

Chapter 1: Thinking and Caring About World Politics 1

The Importance of Studying World Politics 2

- World Politics and Your Finances 3
- World Politics and Your Living Space 10
- World Politics and Your Life 12
- Can We Make a Difference? 13

The World Tomorrow: Two Roads Diverge 16

- Realism and Idealism: Some Travel Notes on Two Roads 16
- The Nature of Politics: Realism and Idealism 17
- The Roles of Power and Justice: Realism and Idealism 19
- Prospects for Competition and Cooperation: Realism and Idealism 20
- Assessing Reality: Realism and Idealism 22

How to Study World Politics 23

- Political Scientists and World Politics 23
- What to Study: Levels of Analysis 25

Chapter Summary 25

Chapter 2: The Evolution of World Politics 27

The Evolving World System: Early Development 28

The Evolving World System: The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries 29

The Evolving World System: The Twentieth Century 34

The Twentieth Century: The Years to World War II 35

The Twentieth Century: The Cold War Begins and Ends 36

The Twenty-First Century Begins: Changes and Choices 39

Political Structure and Orientation: Changes and Choices 39

Security: Changes and Choices 42

International Economics: Changes and Choices 44

The Quality of Life: Changes and Choices 48

Chapter Summary 51

Chapter 3: System-Level Analysis 53

Structural Characteristics of the International System 54

The Organization of Authority 54

The Actors 55

Scope and Level of Interaction 63

Power Relationships in the International System 64

Number of System Poles 64

Concentration of Power 69

Power Changes: Causes and Effects 69

Economic Patterns in the Political System 77

Norms of Behavior in the International System 78

System-Level Analysis: Predicting Tomorrow 80

Chapter Summary 81

Chapter 4: State-Level Analysis 83

Understanding State-Level Analysis 84

Making Foreign Policy: Types of Government, Situations, and Policy 84

Types of Government 85

Types of Situations 89

Types of Policy 91

Making Foreign Policy: Political Culture 91

National Core 92

Favorable World Order 96

Projecting Values 97

Making Foreign Policy: Actors in the Process 97

Political Executives 98

Bureaucracies 99

Legislatures 101

Political Opposition 104

Interest Groups 104

The People 106

Chapter Summary 110

Chapter 5: Individual-Level Analysis 111

Individual-Level Analysis: Human Nature 112

Cognitive Factors 112

Psychological Factors 115

Biological Factors 115

Individual-Level Analysis: Organizational Behavior 120

Role Behavior 121

Group Decision-Making Behavior 122

Individual-Level Analysis: Idiosyncratic Behavior 124

Personality 125

Physical and Mental Health 126

Ego and Ambition 127

Political History and Personal Experiences 127

Perceptions 129

Chapter Summary 134



Part II: Two Roads: Divergent Political Orientations

Chapter 6: Nationalism: The Traditional Orientation 135

Understanding Nations, Nation-States, and Nationalism 137

Nations 137

Nation-States 139

Nationalism 139

The Evolution of Nationalism 140

The Rise of Nationalism 140

The Predicted Demise of Nationalism 141

Persistent Nationalism 142

Nationalism: Builder and Destroyer 143

The Beneficent Face of Nationalism 143

The Troubled Face of Nationalism 146

Nationalism and the Future 155

Self-Determination as a Goal 155

Nationalism: Will the Curtain Fall? 161

Chapter Summary 162

Chapter 7: Transnationalism: The Alternative Orientation 163

The Origins and Evolution of Transnationalism 164

Transnational Thought 164

Transnational Evolution 167

Transnational Interaction 169

Transnational Economics 169

Transnational Communications 170

Transnational Transportation 172

Transnational Organizations 172

The Transnational Women's Movement 173

The Transnational Women's Movement: Perspectives and Goals 175

The Transnational Women's Movement: Programs and Progress 177

Transnational Religion 180

Religion and World Politics 180

The Strength of Religious Fundamentalism 181

Islam and the World 184

Transnational Culture 189

The Spread of Common Culture 190

The Resistance to a Common Culture 193

Transnationalism Tomorrow 194

Chapter Summary 194



Part III: Two Roads: Divergent Organizational Structures

Chapter 8: National States: The Traditional Structure 196

The Nature and Origins of the State 197

The State Defined 197

The Origins of the State 203

The State as the Core Political Organization 208

Theories of Governance 209

State Governance and World Politics 212

National and Other Interests 216

States and the Future 219

The State: The Indictment 219

The State: The Defense 221

The State: The Verdict 222

Chapter Summary 222

Chapter 9: International Organization: The Alternative Structure 224

The Origins, Growth, and Roles of International Organization 225

The Origins of IGOs 226

The Growth of IGOs 227

Roles that IGOs Play 230

Regional IGOs: Focus on the European Union 234

The Origins and Evolution of the European Union 234

The Government of Europe: A Prototype 236

The Future of the EU 239

Global IGOs: Focus on the United Nations 242

IGO Organization and Related Issues 243

IGO Financing and Related Issues 251

IGO Activities and Related Issues 252

Evaluating IGOs and Their Future 258

Chapter Summary 259



Part IV: Two Roads: Divergent Approaches to Conduct

Chapter 10: National Power and Diplomacy: The Traditional Approach 261

National Power: The Foundation of National Diplomacy 263

The Nature of Power 263

The Elements of Power 267

The National Core 267

The National Infrastructure 273

The Nature of Diplomacy 275

The Functions of Diplomacy 276

The Diplomatic Setting 278

The Evolution of Diplomacy 281

Early Diplomacy 281

Modern Diplomacy 282

The Conduct of Diplomacy 289

Diplomacy as a Communications Process 289

The Rules of Effective Diplomacy 290

Options for Conducting Diplomacy 292

Chapter Summary 297

Chapter 11: International Law and Morality: The Alternative Approach 298

Fundamentals of International Law and Morality 299

- The Primitive Nature of International Law 299
- The Growth of International Law 300
- The Practice of International Law 300
- The Fundamentals of International Morality 301

The International Legal System 302

- The Philosophical Roots of Law 302
- How International Law Is Made 303
- Adherence to the Law 306
- Adjudication of the Law 308

Applying International Law and Morality 312

- Law and Human Rights: Cultural Perspectives 312
- Applying International Law and Morality in a Multicultural World 315
- Applying International Law and Morality to States 315
- Applying International Law and Morality to Individuals 321
- Law and Morality: Issues of Prudent Judgment and Application 325

The Future of International Law and Morality 327

Chapter Summary 327



Part V: Pursuing Peace

Chapter 12: National Security: The Traditional Road 329

War and World Politics 330

- War: The Human Record 330
- The Causes of War: Three Levels of Analysis 332

National Military Power 334

- Levels of Spending 334
- Weaponry: Quantity Versus Quality 335
- Military Morale and Leadership 336
- Military and Political Reputation 337
- Military Power: The Dangers of Overemphasis 338

Force as a Political Instrument 339

- Levels of Violence: From Intimidation to Attack 339
- The Effectiveness of Force 342
- The Changing Nature of War 343
- Classifying Wars 344

Unconventional Warfare 344

- Arms Transfers 345
- Special Operations 347
- Terrorism 348

Conventional Warfare 356

- Goals and Conduct 356
- Avoiding Unchecked Escalation 357

Weapons of Mass Destruction Warfare 358

- Biological Weapons 358
- Chemical Weapons 358
- The Potential for Nuclear War 359
- Nuclear Weapons, Deterrence, and Strategy 362

Chapter Summary 367

Chapter 13: International Security: The Alternative Road 369

Thinking About Security 370

A Tale of Insecurity 370

Seeking Security: Approaches and Standards of Evaluation 371

Limited Self-Defense Through Arms Control 373

Methods of Achieving Arms Control 374

The History of Arms Control 374

The Barriers to Arms Control 383

International Security Forces 388

International Security Forces: Theory and Practice 389

International Security and the Future 395

Abolition of War 397

Complete Disarmament 397

Pacifism 397

Chapter Summary 399



Part VI: Pursuing Prosperity

Chapter 14: The International Economy: A Global Road Map 400

Theories of International Political Economy 401

Economic Nationalism 401

Economic Internationalism 403

Economic Structuralism 404

Two Economic Worlds: North and South 405

Two Economic Worlds: Analyzing the Data 405

Two Economic Worlds: Human Conditions 408

The Growth and Extent of International Political Economy 409

Trade 409

International Investment 413

Monetary Relations 414

Globalization and Interdependence: Debating the Future 417

Chapter Summary 426

Chapter 15: National Economic Competition: The Traditional Road 428

National Economic Power: Assets and Utilization 429

National Economic Power 429

Methods of Manipulating Economic Interchange 433

Applying Economic Power 436

The North and International Political Economy 439

The National Economies of the North 439

National Economic Issues and Policies of the North 441

The South and International Political Economy 443

Development in the South: Status 443

Development in the South: Capital Needs 446

Development in the South: LDC Perspectives and Policies 454

The Future of National Economic Policy 459

Chapter Summary 460

Chapter 16: International Economic Cooperation: The Alternative Road 462

Global Economic Cooperation: Background 463

The Origins of Economic Cooperation 463