



JOHN T. ROURKE

International Politics *on the* World Stage

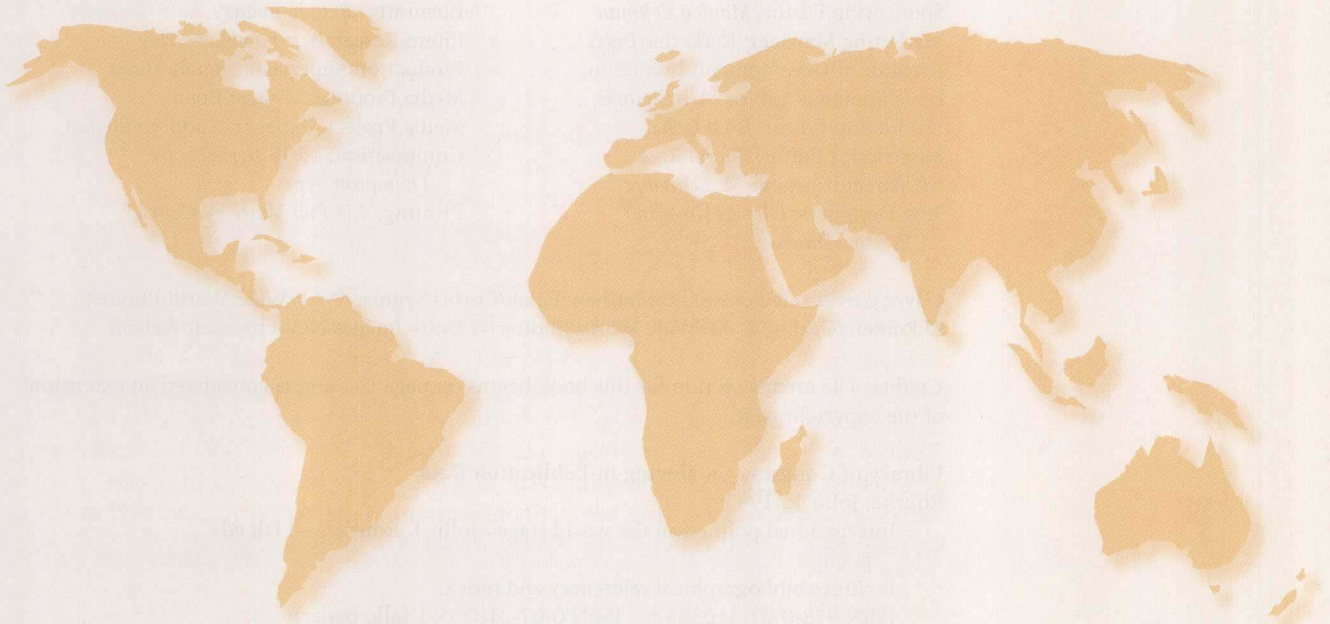
ELEVENTH EDITION

International Politics on the World Stage

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John T. Rourke

University of Connecticut



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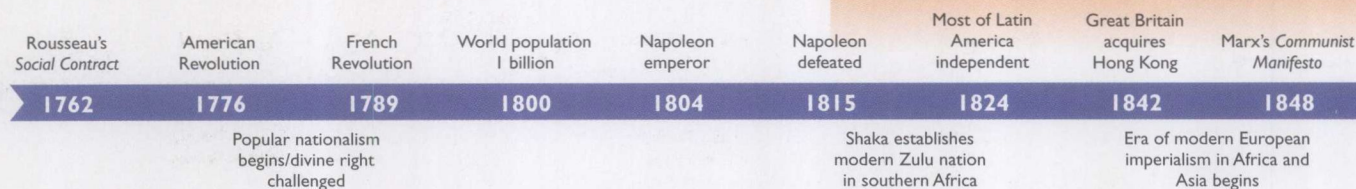
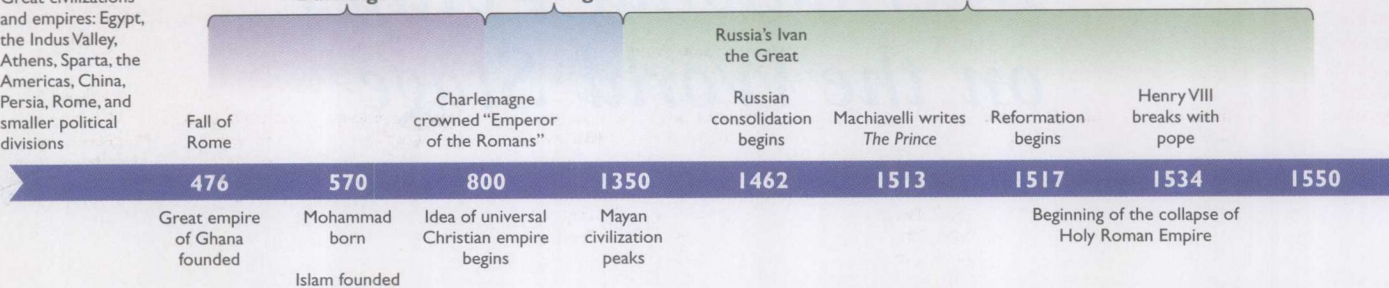
EVOLUTION OF THE WORLD POLITICAL SYSTEM

Great civilizations and empires: Egypt, the Indus Valley, Athens, Sparta, the Americas, China, Persia, Rome, and smaller political divisions

Dark Ages

Middle Ages

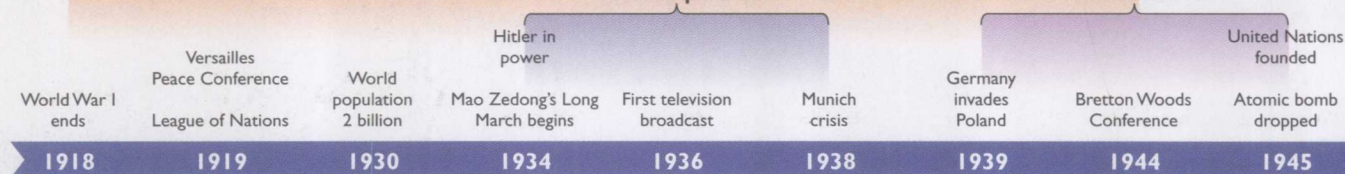
Renaissance



Multipolar System Declines

World Depression

World War II



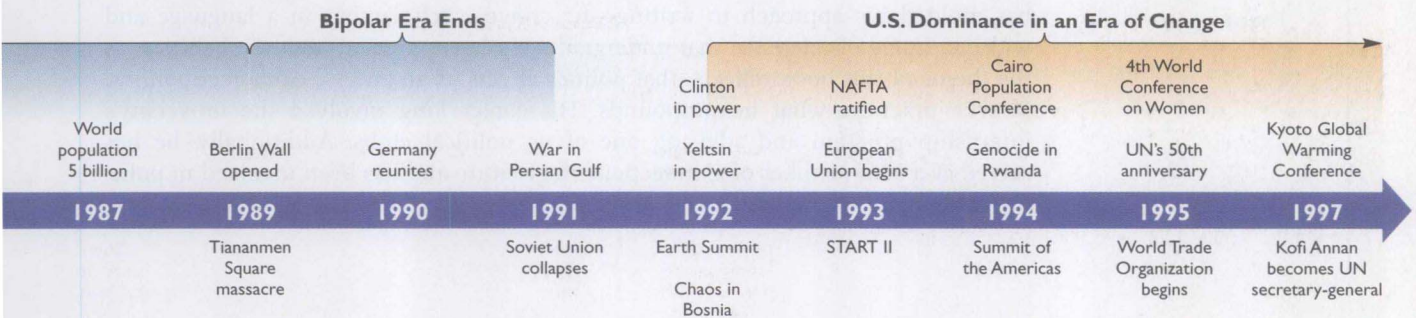
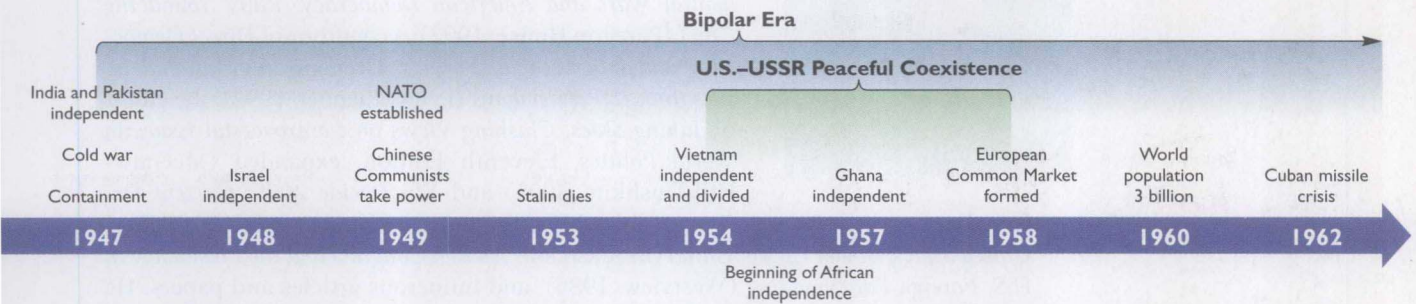
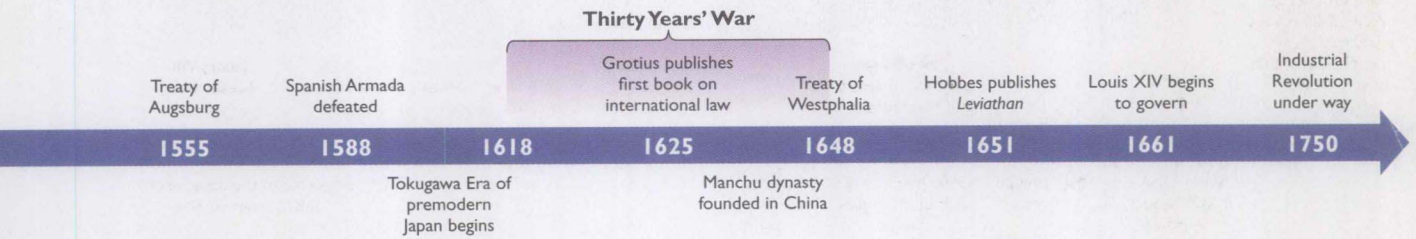
Bipolar Era

Bipolar System Declines



U.S. Dominance in an Era of Change







JOHN T. ROURKE, Ph.D., professor emeritus, is former head of the Department of Political Science at The University of Connecticut. He is a coauthor with Mark A. Boyer of *International Politics on the World Stage, Brief, Sixth Edition* (McGraw-Hill, 2006); the author of *Presidential Wars and American Democracy: Rally 'round the Chief* (Paragon House, 1993); a coauthor of *Direct Democracy and International Politics: Deciding International Issues through Referendums* (Lynne Rienner, 1992); the editor of *Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Controversial Issues in World Politics*, Eleventh Edition, expanded (McGraw-Hill/Dushkin, 2005) and *You Decide 2005: Current Debates in American Politics* (Longman, 2005); the author of *Making Foreign Policy: United States, Soviet Union, China* (Brooks/Cole, 1990), *Congress and the Presidency in U.S. Foreign Policymaking* (Westview, 1985), and numerous articles and papers. He continues to teach and especially enjoys introductory classes. His regard for students has molded his approach to writing—he conveys scholarship in a language and within a frame of reference that undergraduates can appreciate. Rourke believes, as the theme of this book reflects, that politics affects us all and we can affect politics. Rourke practices what he propounds. His career long involved the university's internship program and advising one of its political clubs. Additionally, he has served as a staff member of Connecticut's legislature and has been involved in political campaigns on the local, state, and national levels.

Preface

This Edition: Changes and Organization

Taking the view that our lives are inescapably affected by world politics, *International Politics on the World Stage*, Eleventh Edition, stresses the impact that world events and global interdependence have on your students' lives. In addition to highlighting this interconnection, the text points out how the events of current history relate to the theories of international politics that have been formulated 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 struggle of the United States in Iraq to achieve political victory by helping Iraqis build a democratic, unified country; the ongoing threat of terrorism; the looming threat of avian influenza; the genocidal horror in the Darfur region of Sudan; corruption in the UN's oil-for-food program; tensions with both Iran and North Korea over their alleged nuclear weapons programs; the increasing presence of China as a political, economic, and even military power; the impact on U.S. foreign policy of Condoleezza Rice, the first African American woman to serve as U.S. secretary of state; the defeat of the proposed European Union constitution by voters in both France and the Netherlands; and other recent events are all extensively detailed. It is also important to be as current as possible with the massive amount of changing data on 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 more I study global politics, the more I am impressed with the idea that the world is a primitive political society. 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 desire among states and their people to work together globally. Although it is still only a nascent desire, people have begun to realize that their fates are inextricably entwined with one another and with the political, economic, social, and environmental future of our planet. The organization of the text flows from this conception of the world as a primitive, but developing, political system. Therefore, the chapters not only analyze world division and conflict but also focus on cooperation both as a goal and in practice. Indeed, the organizational scheme reflects this text's view that the world is at a juncture echoing 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 introduction to the text discusses the importance of world politics and the methods, theories, and purposes of political science (chapter 1), the evolution of the world political system and its current instability (chapter 2), and the three levels of analysis that need to be studied simultaneously—the system, state, and individual levels (chapter 3).

Instructors who have used this text before will undoubtedly notice that what had been three chapters on the economic aspects of world politics in earlier editions has been consolidated here into two chapters (12 and 13). This change came about as a result of outside reviews of the text that McGraw-Hill and I sought. Most of the comments were gratifying and confirmed the strengths that distinguish this book since the first edition was published in 1986. But a number of reviewers commented that it was a bit long and had more chapters (16) than the usual academic semester had weeks (14 or 15). As far as where to tighten up, the consensus was that the three economic chapters (12, 13, and 14 of the tenth edition) provided greater detail than needed for a one-semester introductory course. I was not sure I agreed, and so I sent e-mail inquiries to a dozen or so instructors who were using the text at other colleges and universities. I asked them whether they favored keeping the three chapters as is or consolidating them. To my surprise, frankly, their overwhelming response was the same as that of the first set of reviewers. So, bowing to the greater wisdom, I consolidated the three chapters into two (12 and 13).

The remaining chapter organization of the book remains the same as in the tenth edition, although, again accepting suggestions of some reviewers, I moved material from one chapter to another to consolidate and avoid overlaps. For example, some material on human rights was moved from chapter 9 on international law, to the main chapter on human rights (chapter 14).

Beginning with chapter 4, 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.

Chapters 4 and 5 deal with two divergent political orientations. The traditional orientation is nationalism (chapter 4); the alternative orientation comprises transnational ideas, identifications, and processes (chapter 5). Alternative ways of organizing the world politically are the subject of the next two chapters, with chapter 6 focusing on the traditional political unit, the state, and chapter 7 taking up international organizations, with particular emphases on the European Union and the United Nations.

Then chapters 8 and 9 explore divergent approaches to the conduct of world politics. Chapter 8 covers the traditional approach, national diplomacy; chapter 9 examines the alternative road of international law and morality. This pair of chapters is followed by another pair that introduce two approaches to physical security in the world political system: national security (chapter 10) and international security and other alternative approaches (chapter 11).

The text then turns to international political economy. The commentary begins in chapter 12 with an overview of IPE theory and of global economic conditions and trends. The main thrust of chapter 12, however, is economic nationalism, the traditional approach to the international political economy. By contrast, chapter 13 focuses on an alternative approach, economic liberalism, as part of the greater phenomenon of globalization. Chapter 13 concludes by reviewing the arguments for and against economic nationalism and economic liberalism and asking its readers to evaluate the two approaches. The final two chapters look into the traditional and alternative approaches to global human rights and dignity (chapter 14) and the environment (chapter 15).

Writing Style and General Approach

The single greatest factor that prompted me over two decades ago to begin to write my own introductory text was the desire to use one that, in today's jargon, was "user friendly." Over the years, I have tried to accomplish that in a number of ways. One is to make my theoretical points in straightforward, "plain language," and then to illustrate them with an interesting and usually current example. Being up-to-date is a major goal of this book. Sometimes, heeding the advice of Mary Poppins that "a spoonful of sugar makes the medicine go down," I even take time to include a joke or tell a "story" (such as the travails of presidential foreign travel in chapter 8) that make a point in a light way. This is meant to show the student readers that international relations can be fascinating, even fun. A third thing that makes this book user friendly for students is the "road signs" to provide reference points and guidance during the journey through the text and semester. These road signs include an outline (a map, so to speak) to begin each chapter, lots of headings; an array of boldface glossary words, and judicious use of italicized phrases to highlight concepts and points. I am pleased to report that the feedback from instructors and from the occasional student who writes or e-mails me is that most students are delighted with the book's accessibility and readability.

Data and Graphics

This text presents students with an extensive array of tables, figures, photographs, maps, and other graphics to emphasize, expand, and give visual life to ideas. Each photograph is picked personally by me, and I have designed almost all the figures and tables, often making my own calculations to create them from the data. Another part of my approach is to present a significant amount of data to students so that they can see for themselves what the statistics indicate rather than accept my interpretations or those of any other scholar.

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 reference list/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 Student" section following 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, I have taken care to provide a detailed table of contents and index in order to facilitate the integration of this text with your syllabus. You will find, for example, that:

Economics is discussed, among other places, in chapters 1 (how it affects students), 2 (globalization), 12 (theory, general global conditions, and economic nationalism), 13 (economic liberalism), and 15 (sustainable development).

Terrorism is addressed in chapters 1, 5, 9, and 10.

Moral and humanitarian issues are taken up extensively in chapters 9 and 15 and also form an important part of the discussions of national interest, coercion, and economic challenges in, respectively, chapters 4, 10, and 13.

Supplements

Several supplements are available to assist both instructors and students in the use of this text. For instructors, the Instructor's Testing and Resource CD-ROM to accompany *International Politics on the World Stage* contains chapter outlines and objectives, sample lectures, discussion questions, and analytical exercises. The Test Bank provides approximately 1,500 multiple-choice and essay questions organized by chapter and degree of difficulty. A computerized version of the Test Bank and a PowerPoint slide presentation are also included. To get a copy of the Instructor's Testing and Resource CD-ROM, contact your local McGraw-Hill representative or McGraw-Hill Customer Service (1-800-338-3987) for details concerning availability.

Online Learning Center

Students and instructors will find additional resources at www.mhhe.com/rourke11. For students, the site offers free access to current course-specific articles by leading authorities in the field, daily news feeds from a variety of media outlets including the *New York Times*, interactive exercises including simulations, debates, research links, and chapter quizzes, and interactive maps to enhance the classroom and learning experience. The password-protected instructor's edition of the site also contains the Instructor's Manual and PowerPoint slides available for easy download. Contact your local McGraw-Hill representative or McGraw-Hill Customer Service (1-800-338-3987) for a username and password.

John T. Rourke

To the Student

The world, familiar to us and unknown.

—William 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 will introduce you to Maria Olivia da Silva of Astorga, Brazil, the world's oldest person. When she was born on February 28, 1880, Brazil was still ruled by an emperor, Pedro II, and Rutherford B. Hayes was the U.S. president. An emperor also ruled in China and a sultan headed the Ottoman Empire. Russia's czar, Germany's kaiser, and Austria-Hungary's emperor ruled much of Central Europe, and Queen Victoria reigned over the British Empire. Most of Africa and Asia were still colonies of European powers. The communist revolution in Russia occurred when she was 37; the Soviet Union disappeared when she was 111. For me, communism and the cold war were the totality of my historical experience; for da Silva they were mere interludes. For many who read this book they are not even memories, only matter learned about in history books.

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 da Silva was born people were basically earthbound. She was 23 when the first airplane flew, 62 when the first jet plane took off, 81 when Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin became the first human in space, and 89 when Neil Armstrong stepped on the Moon's surface. There are many other things to consider. Ms. da Silva 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 da Silva 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 da Silva 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 1880, when she was born, 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 da Silva has (and you might, given modern medical technology), then what will the world population be when you are 125 years old?

In this sense of contemplating the future by pondering the past, thinking about Maria Olivia da Silva is really more about tomorrow than about yesterday or even today. When I talk about her, my thoughts are on our 21st century more than on her 19th and 20th 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 behind a text. What is the author's approach? What are the author's orientations and biases? Does the text have one or more basic themes? How is the text organized? In this preface I have addressed these issues. I hope you'll read it.

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

There are many figures, tables, maps, and photographs in this book. Pay close attention to them. You will find that they graphically represent many of the ideas presented in the text and will help you understand them. But if you really want to know all about something, you will have to read a lot more than just this book and to involve yourself in more than just the course for which it has been assigned. To make it easier for you to do this, I have chosen an "in-text" reference system that gives you citations as you read. Thus (Tickner, 2005:6) refers to page 6 of the book or article written by (in this case, Professor J. Ann) Tickner in 2005, which is listed alphabetically in the references at the end of the book.

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 to advance your knowledge beyond the boundaries of this text. 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 onstage 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 or call them back! You are encouraged to join this correspondence by writing to me at the Department of Political Science U1024, University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT 06269-1024 or sending me an e-mail 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

It is a difficult task to keep this acknowledgment of those who have contributed to the text down to a reasonable length. There are many who have played an important part, and my debt to each of them is great. I have tried to make adjustments wherever possible. Some contributors have pointed out specific concerns about matters of fact or interpretation, and a number of corrections were made. On a larger scale, this edition's organizational changes; its greater coverage of constructivism, postmodernism, and other critical approaches; and several other shifts in coverage are responses in part to suggestions. Adding to the long list of those who have reviewed earlier editions and made this text better, I would like to also thank those who contributed to this edition:

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I also owe a debt to each author listed in the references of this and the previous editions. The work that these scholars have done on specific subjects forms the intellectual building blocks that are a significant part of the final structure of this, or any, worthwhile introductory textbook. This text is also evolutionary, and I want to continue to express my appreciation to all those who read and commented on the previous editions. Additionally, I also want to thank the colleagues who have taken the time at International Studies Association meetings or other conferences to give me the benefit of their views. I have even, on occasion, taken off my name tag and helped 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 at the door of the blankety-blank textbook. As we talked, he made some interesting, if pointed observations. It was also clear that he had not connected the author's name on the front of the book with his professor. Boy, was he surprised when it finally dawned on him that he was grumping about the book to its author!

I owe special thanks to Brian Urlacher of the University of Connecticut, who is responsible for revising the Instructor's Manual and Test Bank to accompany *International Politics on the World Stage*. Brian shouldered the task of preparing, revising, and updating this instructor's tool for the eleventh edition with the utmost care and good nature. Another exciting feature of this text is the supplementary material and exercises that can be found on the Online Learning Center. For this I thank Natalie Hudson of the University of Connecticut for her meticulous updates and polish.

Then there is the staff of McGraw-Hill. McGraw-Hill's political science editor, Monica Eckman, and director of development, Lisa Pinto, have encouraged me and supported me. More of a day-to-day mainstay is my general editor, Ava Suntokke. She has gently and expertly guided me through several editions, and I am continually delighted with her unusual combination of substantive expertise and editing expertise. Sheryl Rose, copyeditor, with her amazing eye for technical detail and substantive consistency, added to the process of ensuring accuracy. I also want to thank Brett Coker and the rest of the McGraw-Hill production staff and Thompson Type 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. Glenda King was the interior designer for the eleventh edition. Preston Thomas designed its striking cover. Thompson Type performed the difficult but crucial task of layout, arranging text and illustrations. Charles Vitelli drew the original cartoons in this book. He took my raw mental images and turned them into wonderful representations of the issues being discussed in the text. In the same area, Emma Ghiselli and Rennie Evans did an extraordinary job with the exacting art of creating the text's many figures and maps. 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 in the book. I owe a great debt to those who have created such a visually attractive, educationally effective package for my words.

To all of you:

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

—William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*