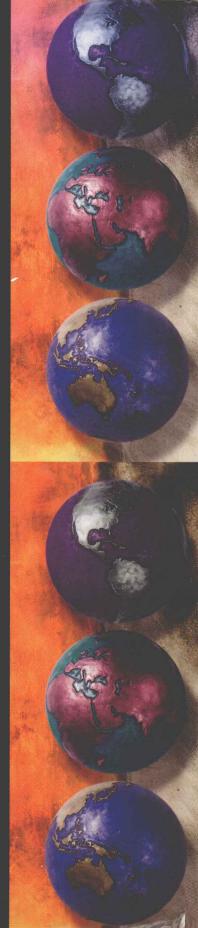
# International Politics on the World Stage



OF A NEW COPY

**Eighth Edition** 

John T. Rourke



# International Politics on the World Stage



**Eighth Edition** 

John T. Rourke
University of Connecticut

McGraw-Hill/Dushkin

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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*, Eighth 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 end of the Yeltsin years and the beginning of the Putin presidency in Russia; the rejection of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty by the U.S. Senate; the advent of the euro as the currency of the European Union; the failure at the second Camp David meeting on the Middle East to repeat the success of the first meeting in 1979; the violence in Sierra Leone and East Timor; 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 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, for the first time in full color, to emphasize, expand, and give visual

life to ideas. Full-color maps with geographical, historical, and statistical information, which 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), 15 (national economic competition), 16 (international economic cooperation), and 18 (sustainable development). **Arms and force** are addressed in all or in parts of chapters 1, 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, and 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. 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 MicroTest III computer disk. The text Web site may be found at www.dushkin.com/rourke/. It features additional study and assessment tools, some of which are interactive, to enhance the classroom and learning experience of students. The Web site also provides links to other sources. PowerPoint slides for each chapter are available and offer the instructor an easy-to-use and effective visual aid in the classroom.

**PowerWeb** This is a new online feature. It 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. The package is available free to students with a new copy of the text, at http://www.dushkin.com/rourke.



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 will introduce you to Mohammed El-Wasimy of Egypt and Elizabeth "Ma Pampo" Israel of Dominica. These amazing individuals are thought to have been born in 1875, have lived in three dif-

ferent centuries, and turned 125 during the first year of the new millennium. Among other things, they give us a sense of how quickly the world is changing.

When they were born, Ulysses Grant was president of the United States. Queen Victoria ruled the British Empire, which included both Egypt and Dominica. 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 fairly short-range artillery piece.

The communist revolution in Russia occurred when the two modern Methuselahs were 44; the Soviet Union disappeared when they were 116. For me, communism and the cold war were the totality of my historical experience; for Mohammed El-Wasimy and Ma Pampo 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 the two centenarians were born, people were basically earthbound. El-Wasimy and Israel were 28 when the first airplane flew, 69 when the first jet plane took off, 89 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. The two very senior citizens are more than twice as old as atomic weapons; the world's population has quadrupled during their lives; the two are 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 El-Wasimy and Israel were 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 the two seemingly ancient people 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, and if, during their lives, 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 El-Wasimy and Israel have (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 El-Wasimy and Israel is really more about tomorrow than about yesterday or even today. When I talk about them, my thoughts are on our twenty-first century more than on their 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 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 pre-

sented 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. References to more journalistic sources, such as newspapers, are dealt with through footnotes. You may notice that the older notes have page references, while the newer ones do not. That is because the sources of these periodicals are increasingly on the Internet, where page numbers are not available. I do list the specific URL for these citations, but the address will have usually disappeared within a few days.

I have also noted studies that helped me think about and organize various topics and those that might be informative to you. I encourage you to utilize the references and bibliography to advance your knowledge beyond the boundaries of this text. You will find a list of the abbreviations that I have used throughout the book on pages 583–584. 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 or call them back! You are encouraged to join this correspondence by writing to me in care of McGraw-Hill/Dushkin, Sluice Dock, Guilford, Connecticut, 06437. This book, just like the world, can be made better, but its improvement depends heavily on whether or not you are concerned enough to think and act.

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# CHAPTER 1

# THINKING AND CARING ABOUT WORLD POLITICS

An honest tale speeds best being plainly told.

Shakespeare, Richard III

Be not too tame neither, but let your own discretion be your tutor: suit the action to the word, the word to the action.

Shakespeare, Hamlet

We will have to repent in this generation not merely for the vitriolic words and actions of the bad people, but for the appalling silence of the good people.

Martin Luther King Jr., "Letter from Birmingham Jail"

THE IMPORTANCE OF STUDYING WORLD POLITICS We must be more than an audience, more even than actors. We must be authors of the history of our age.

U.S. secretary of state Madeleine K. Albright, Senate confirmation hearings, 1997

## THE WORLD TOMORROW: TWO ROADS DIVERGE

### CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

After completing this chapter, you should be able to:

- Explain the interconnection of all the actors in the international system and the effects that events taking place in one country have on other countries.
- Describe some of the effects of world politics on individuals.
- Describe how the world is interconnected economically.
- Analyze how world politics affects the way countries distribute their economic resources.
- Consider how global problems and challenges, such as population increases, pollution, and resource depletion, affect individuals and their living space.
- Discuss the role of political cooperation as a response to environmental degradation.
- Consider how individuals can make a difference in world politics.
- Summarize realist beliefs and assess their impact on the world political system.
- Understand the tenets and goals of idealism as a present and future force in world politics.
- Identify the analytical orientations of political scientists.
- · Identify the goals and research methods of political scientists.
- Understand the three levels of analysis used in the study of world politics.

How to Study World Politics

CHAPTER SUMMARY

All the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players," William Shakespeare (1564–1616) wrote in As You Like It. The Bard of Avon was a wise political commentator as well as a literary giant (Alulis & Sullivan, 1996). Shakespeare's lines are used here because they help convey the drama of world politics. The characters are different, of course, with Canada, China, Germany, Japan, Russia, and the United States replacing those of his time and imagination. Beyond that, though, there are remarkable parallels between international relations and the master's plays. Both are cosmic and complex. The characters are sometimes heroic; at other times they are petty. The action is always dramatic and often tragic. As with any good play, the audience was drawn into the action at The Globe, the London theater where Shakespeare staged his works. Similarly, the global theater of international politics draws us in. Indeed, we are seated on the stage, no matter how remote the action may seem or how much we may want to ignore it. Like it or not, we and the world are stuck with each other. The progress of the play, whether it continues its long run or closes early, is something we will all enjoy or endure.

Another quotation from Shakespeare—this time from *Macbeth*—is also worth pondering. Macbeth despairs that life "struts and frets his hour upon the stage" in a tale "full of sound and fury." Again the playwright hits the mark! The global drama has a cast of national actors (countries) that are often at odds with one another. It is true that many examples of cooperation and humanity can be found in them. But they are also full of ambition, self-serving righteousness, and greed, and it is a rare day when some of the countries are not in open conflict. And even when they are not threatening one another, they are forever calculating what is good for themselves and taking action based on their national interests.

## THE IMPORTANCE OF STUDYING WORLD POLITICS

The last line from Macbeth's soliloquy is where this text and Shakespeare part company. The Bard pessimistically pronounces the action of life as "signifying nothing." That thought has a certain fatalistic appeal that allows us to ignore our responsibility. "What the hell," we can say, "why bother with a complicated subject about faraway places that have little to do with me?"

Many people take this "why bother" approach and normally pay little or no attention to world events and issues. A study of the political views of Americans found that only 20 percent of them say they follow foreign news. While it is true that this lack of attention for global events is evident in virtually all countries, Americans' lack of information is particularly startling for a relatively well-educated populace with easy access to an impressive array of broadcast, print, and other news sources. One survey asked four factual questions of people in eight countries, as detailed in Figure 1.1. The result after averaging the percentage of correct responses to the four questions is that Germans scored more than twice as well as Americans, and the percentage of correct responses by Americans was higher than only those from Mexico (where only about 60 percent of children get as far as high school). With regard to the specific questions, the average German answered all four correctly; most French and Italians could answer three; a majority of the British and Canadians got two questions right; the average Spaniard could correctly answer just one question; and the average American and Mexican were unable to answer any of the four correctly.

Is this widespread lack of information about or interest in world events justifiable? The answer is no! This text does not often try to tell you what to think or do. But one message is stressed here: The world drama is important and deserves our careful attention. We are more than mere observers. We are all on the stage along with

MAP World Countries, pp. 28–29