



# AT ISSUE

POLITICS IN THE  
WORLD ARENA

FIFTH EDITION

STEVEN L. SPIEGEL



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in the  
World Arena**

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**Steven L. Spiegel**

**University of California, Los Angeles**

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# Preface

The fifth edition of *At Issue*, like the previous four, seeks to provide a selection of the most useful and interesting articles on the major political, economic, and social issues in current international affairs—among them, racial and ethnic conflict, the balance of power, alternative superpower intervention strategies, the possibility of world order, and the crisis of foreign policy-making institutions. My aim is to give students a general sense of the complexities and dynamics of present-day world politics while providing background information on specific issues. Though my concern is not focused exclusively on the problems encountered by Americans in formulating and conducting foreign policy, this volume is generally oriented toward the world problems which affect the United States. The book is designed for use in American foreign policy courses, as well as courses in world politics.

As books on politics in the world arena become dated very quickly, each new edition of *At Issue* has retained fewer than a half dozen readings from the previous edition. The new articles presented here have been chosen from more than 500 essays examined in an extensive investigation of the major journals and periodicals which cover international affairs. The preferences and reactions of my students were seriously considered and affected the final selection. Among the criteria examined were readability, the variety and range of both the problems addressed and the ideological and national views represented, and the likelihood of continuing relevance in the face of probable changes in events.

I am grateful to many people who have given me advice and assistance in the preparation of this fifth edition. I am especially

indebted to dozens of colleagues around the country who have used the first four editions and have generously taken the time to make suggestions for improving the book. From its beginning, this volume has been a collaborative effort with my students in world politics and American foreign policy courses at UCLA. Their encouragement and vigorous participation have made the project an exciting one.

Jennifer Morrison coordinated the review of materials and their synthesis with exceptional enthusiasm and devotion. She somehow managed the complex tasks of administrative supervision and intellectual exploration, while always remaining undaunted by crisis and equal to new problems that were constantly arising.

Many critics claim that today's undergraduate and graduate students are only interested in career and personal gain. On this project, however, I was fortunate indeed to be assisted by an extraordinary group, many of whom spent hours and even days searching and re-examining libraries' shelves to fill gaps in a partially completed manuscript. Sylvia Torres spent a summer home from Harvard during the initial perusals when the possibilities seemed unlimited. Bimal I. Ghandi combined definite views with tolerant understanding in seeking articles he favored. Henry J. Kerner could always be counted on to accomplish the tasks assigned and to read his articles incisively and carefully. Through the turmoil, Tracy E. Loomis was quietly ready to engage in a wide variety of clerical and research tasks as the deadline rapidly approached. Julia Storberg read tons of articles until late at night as we weighed alternatives and confronted difficult decisions. Jay K. Footlik contributed to the reading, devoted countless hours, prepared the final copy, and remained stoically committed as we sent him off to distant libraries to find missing pieces. Jill Anne Peasley was always prepared to assist with helpful tasks when needed. Robin Lofton, April de Lauren, and Katja Weber were conscientious and extremely helpful at various stages of manuscript development. Jim Rapath and Sue White also contributed their time and effort. I am deeply grateful for their willingness to weather the frustrations of a task made more difficult by the growing fluidity of international affairs.

As always, my wife Fredi provided invaluable consultation and inspiration. When the multitude of articles seemed beyond comprehension, she offered the encouragement that made it possible to conclude the task in an expeditious and orderly manner. I again wish to thank Mira, Nina, and Avi for keeping out of the piles of papers and heaps of magazines that cluttered the house while this edition was being prepared.

The subjects discussed in this volume represent some of the most important questions now facing the world's leaders, and many of the articles present grim alternatives and disturbing analyses. In my opinion, humor, or at least an appreciation of irony, sometimes seems to be

the only possible response to the vicissitudes of world politics, and I trust that the occasional touch of humor in this volume will not be mistaken for levity. Above all, I hope that the reader's experience with this book will help create a study of international politics which is both enjoyable and intellectually rewarding.

Steven L. Spiegel

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## PROLOGUE

The purpose of this volume is threefold: to gain an improved understanding of the dynamics of current world politics; to identify the crucial developments in international politics with which American foreign policy must deal; and to explore the major issues that will require careful and painful decisions on the part of policy makers in the years ahead. The readings in *At Issue* are designed to provide material for discussion and debate in the hope that they might contribute to a new American approach toward the rest of the world. Such an approach should be devoted less to ideological abstractions and simple contrasts between weakness and strength or internationalism and isolationism, and inclined more toward a recognition and respect of the distinct cultures in which the peoples of the world exist.

The book is divided into four parts. The first, "The Conflict of Peoples," examines the nature and causes of current conflicts between great and small nations, between the satisfied and dissatisfied. Current Soviet and American intervention policies are examined. The role of religious and ethnic differences in conflict is stressed, but the effects of economic gaps between the rich and poor nations and of conflicting great-power aims are considered as well. We also examine the turmoil in the Third World, which has led to a growing crisis between North and South and to a diverse set of responses to the affluent West on the part of parties that feel disadvantaged—responses that range from revolution to the strategy of terrorism, to economic challenges raised by countries that are dependent on the export of a single commodity.

The second part, "The Burden of the Strong," concentrates on the relations between the major powers. We assess the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union; the effect of China and its domestic politics on the global balance of power; the role of both the Western European states and Japan as allies of the United States, and their potentially increased importance in the world power balance; and the future of great-power relations within Europe and Asia. We also

consider the role of armaments—especially nuclear weapons—in the balance of power between the United States and the Soviet Union and between less powerful nations that are members of the international system.

The third part, "The Crisis of Institutions," deals with the problems that plague political institutions on all levels of global society. The role of the United Nations and the future of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) are considered. Will the United Nations wither, or will it revive and play an effective role in an increasingly complex international environment? Has OPEC passed its prime? Is there a future for the type of resource-oriented international institution that OPEC represents? Will the revolution that OPEC seemed to create in international politics in the 1970's turn out to be ephemeral? The third part also focuses on the nation-state, paying special attention to the United States. We explore conflicting philosophies about the content of foreign policy and about organizational constraints and bureaucratic procedures that, some claim, cause governments to act in seemingly irrational ways.

Finally, in the fourth part, "The Problems of a Changing World Economy," we pay special attention to developments in world economic patterns, population growth, the food supply, and new areas of high technology, and to their possible effects on rich and poor nations alike. As new technologies developed, enabling people of different cultures to come into closer contact through faster means of travel and communication, many observers hoped for a comparable increase in international understanding and cooperation. Reality, however, has moved in another direction as various groups have used improved communications for destructive ends. The transistor radio has become a means of whipping the masses into frenzied hatred, the jet airplane an instrument of destruction and a tool of terrorists, the oil well a symbol of exploitation and blackmail, and the computer a source of international competition and conflict.

Placing all of these subjects in perspective, it is ironic indeed that at a time when the superpowers have reached a virtual nuclear standoff, the number of people killed in local upheavals has increased at an accelerating rate. The atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki killed or wounded approximately 220,000 Japanese; but as many as 3 million people were killed in the 1971 war for independence in Bangladesh, more than 2 million died in the unsuccessful effort to establish an independent state of Biafra, 4 to 5 million people perished in Indochina during the prolonged and continuing civil strife in that area, and the Iran-Iraq war in the 1980's has thus far produced over a million casualties. On the one hand, the nuclear balance of terror has made the great powers cautious; on the other, however, weaker states

and groups have improved their capacity to engage in traditional but nonetheless enormously destructive types of conflict.

It is evident that future challenges to American foreign policy will be severe, and debates over how to deal with the problems raised by recent crises are growing. There are pronounced differences between those who see relations between the industrial and Third World states as critical to world politics and those who still believe that the confrontation between communist and capitalist states is central. There are debates in the United States about how to handle producer-consumer relations of the type epitomized by OPEC and the oil-importing nations. There are divergent perspectives about the future role of high technology and about whether America should lean toward protectionism or toward free trade policies. There are disputes about the proper approach to the Soviet Union on such issues as arms control and human rights, uncertainty over the appropriate role of strategic defense in nuclear deterrence, disagreements about the significance of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, conflicts over the meaning of Soviet actions in Eastern Europe, arguments about future policy directions in Western Europe, deep and bitter conflicts over the strategic and moral factors at the heart of alternatives in Central America and South Africa, and debates about proper directions toward the Middle East on such issues as the Iran-Iraq war and the Palestinian question. There are those who would redefine the needs of national security and transfer expenditures from defense to the domestic arena, while at the same time others believe that defense spending must be increased if the Soviet threat is to be thwarted. There are those who believe that a viable future can emerge only through increasing interdependence, while others assert that only military deterrence can provide the basic structure for a balance of world power. As international politics becomes increasingly complex and frustrating, the diversity of methods for dealing with specific problems increases. The observer is often perplexed by the resulting multitude of analyses and prescribed solutions.

In this edition we focus on these debates in an effort to comprehend both the dilemmas raised by current international conditions and the range of solutions that has been offered to deal with them. No one explanation or answer can be all-encompassing. Yet an examination of particular points of view can begin to lead us toward unraveling the political complexities of the modern world and provide a guide for judging the successes and failures of any government that may be in power.



## **PART ONE**

# **The Conflict of Peoples**

The first part of this volume concentrates on conflicts between peoples: disputes between nations or groups in close proximity who are thrust into conflict by economic, ideological, social, or ethnic divergence; and disputes between strong and weak powers over differences in military strength and wealth. Each article focuses on deeply held attitudes that people have toward other people and, at the same time, each offers a different perspective on the origins of international conflicts.

The opening section addresses the problem of great-power intervention in the affairs of weaker states. The discussion focuses on the United States and the Soviet Union. In the first two articles Ted Galen Carpenter and Charles Krauthammer provide diametrically contrasting views of the appropriate role of the United States in the Third World. Carpenter favors a restrained, "conciliatory non-interventionist posture toward the Third World," a policy of "benign detachment," as the best means of protecting America's interests and reputation. Krauthammer attacks this "realist" perspective maintained by Carpenter and several other authors. He identifies instead with the Reagan Doctrine, which claims a higher moral ground by supporting anti-communist and even anti-radical revolution in a variety of countries around the world, from Afghanistan to Nicaragua. These two articles provide the essence of the 1980's foreign policy debate in the United States over the appropriate approach Washington should take toward intervention and relations with the Third World.

The debate in the Kremlin over the proper course of Soviet policy is obviously more obtuse to outsiders. Francis Fukuyama analyzes the reassessment that he believes has been undertaken by the Soviet elite

toward its policy with the Third World. Fukuyama argues that Soviet policy is in a period of consolidation—reinforcement of positions in countries that already have client regimes, but a reluctance to assume new commitments and the expenditure of new resources.

Any discussion of Soviet intervention policy also necessarily includes a consideration of Eastern Europe. Vojtech Mastny addresses the dynamics and vicissitudes of Soviet control in the light of the region's growing instability and heterogeneity. He believes the Soviet Union has been "increasingly ill-equipped and reluctant to act effectively" in the area. For example, he shows how the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 to crush a reformist communist movement has resulted in ideological, political and economic stagnation in that country. He also deals with the continuing consequences of the Polish crisis. On December 13, 1981, the Polish military, at the behest of the Polish Communist party and the Soviet Union, suddenly moved to suppress the Solidarity labor movement led by Lech Walesa. These dramatic events and many quieter developments have gradually led to the ferment Mastny identifies.

In the second section we examine one of the major reasons why both the United States and the Soviet Union have had such great difficulty controlling states that are weaker than themselves: the rise of indigenous ethnic and religious nationalism. In the modern world these forces have generated important political forces both within and between states. Despite the seeming popularity of Marxist doctrine throughout the world, ethnicity and religious identification have, in fact, become stronger bases for loyalty than has class. Thus, we are faced with a paradoxical situation in which recent technological improvements in communication and transportation—changes that should lead to "unification"—coincide with a period of "fragmentation" in which people tend to identify with entities that are different from and often smaller than their nation-state. Instead of causing cooperative impulses, the new world "disorder" has frequently led to intensified conflict.

The two articles in this section highlight the difficulty of trying to fit developing states into European models of political activity and organization. Both essays challenge established explanations for the political instability occurring in the Middle East and Africa. Xan Smiley, in "Misunderstanding Africa," explains the pervasive impact of tribalism on the politics of an area in which nation-states were superimposed on colonial frontiers that had cut across actual tribal divisions. Smiley challenges both liberal and Marxist preconceptions about what is required to end black Africa's cycle of dependence and inferiority.

From the impact of ethnic differences on political practice, we turn to the effect of religious belief. Daniel Pipes examines the impact of Islamic fundamentalism on the politics of the Muslim world. He distinguishes between conservative and radical fundamentalists, and proceeds to

explain the political implications of their contrasting attitudes toward both the East and the West. Pipes stresses that although fundamentalists have as great or even greater differences with the Soviet Union as with the United States, America's greater attractiveness leads them to treat it as the primary adversary.

The Pipes and Smiley articles should lead the reader to an understanding of the need to take account of two dimensions in international politics that are often ignored. In the third section we turn to more traditional and better-known issues: the gap between "have" and "have-not" countries and the more familiar problems of exploitation, inequality, economic development, and perceived ethnic discrimination. The complaint of most Third World countries was voiced by the late President Houari Boumedienne of Algeria in a speech delivered to the United Nations General Assembly in April 1974: "The will to gain and cling to their position of dominance over world resources has been the guiding principle in the behavior of the major imperialist powers of the world."

In this section the accuracy of Boumedienne's statement is examined from a number of conflicting perspectives. First, Ivan L. Head offers a point of view sympathetic to the Boumedienne position, arguing that the Northern nations have consistently refused to accept their dependence on the South "in economic, environmental, military and political terms" and therefore to rectify the structural inequities that exist between them. He discusses Southern contributions to the North (for example, as critical markets for exports and the sale of arms, or as sources of a favorable balance of trade) and calls upon the North to share power more equitably in the making of international decisions affecting important economic and financial issues.

Foreign aid is one means of transferring resources to the less developed world. Nick Eberstadt traces the specific evolution of American foreign aid policy, though there are implications inherent in his analysis for the Western world as a whole. Eberstadt believes that American policy as it has come to be practiced often affects "the poor and the unprotected" adversely. He argues that American foreign aid has progressively become a matter of direct budgetary assistance to weaker governments. Because of this misplaced objective, many recipients may well be worse off after receiving American aid.

K. P. Saksena confronts precisely the problems raised by Head and Eberstadt. Because the industrialized countries are not transferring wealth on a large scale to developing countries and because aid may be ineffective, he advocates greater cooperation among the weaker states themselves. He admits that this action may be a second-best alternative to the restructuring of the international economic order and to North-South cooperation. Yet, he believes that collective self-reliance is the only way that the less developed countries will begin to stem the



continued deterioration of their global economic position. This article, like the two preceding it, should establish a framework of analysis that goes beyond the usual characterizations of North-South relations as being ruled by guns, greed, or guilt.

From an analysis of the relations between "haves" and "have-nots," which understandably focuses on economic questions, we move to an examination of the actual turmoil occurring in the Third World. In this section we concentrate particularly on the question of revolution.

The first two articles assume diametrically opposite positions toward the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua and the counterrevolution led by the *contras*. To David Horowitz, the Sandinistas are the students of Fidel Castro, oppressors who are closely tied to the Soviet Union and international communism. He believes that both in Cuba and in Nicaragua revolutions with democratic potential were stolen by communist oppressors. On the other hand, Aryeh Neier weighs the impact of the Sandinista's revolution on the country and compares the human rights record of both the Sandinistas and the *contras*. In 1986 the Administration persuaded the Congress to fund an additional \$100 million in military assistance to the *contras*. Even beforehand Neier was convinced that it had still not produced an "intellectually and morally persuasive argument" for sponsoring the war.

The United States, like many other countries, has also been directly affected by the consequences of another major revolution, the events in Iran since 1978. Shaul Bakhash attempts to explain developments in the Islamic Republic created by the Ayatollah Khomeini. His article is actually an extensive review of a book on the Iranian revolution by R. K. Ramazani, *Revolutionary Iran: Challenge and Response in the Middle East*. Through this vehicle Bakhash is able to assess the misconceptions of the revolution by the Reagan administration. These failings contributed to the disastrous sale of arms in 1985 and 1986. The President or his aides hoped to gain freedom for the hostages, establish the basis for dealing with so-called Iranian moderates, and allow for the circuitous transfer of funds to the *contras* around the stipulations of Congress.

A focus on actions by the revolutionary Iranian government leads to another question. Is the use of terrorism another instrument employed by revolutionaries or is it a criminal act? In the 1980's this question has become a critical theme in the conduct of international politics. Walter Laqueur, in his comprehensive discourse on the subject, attempts to place the issue in perspective: its relative practical and political importance, its historical significance, the most effective means of combating the threat. Thus, by the end of the section, the role of revolutions in contemporary international politics can be viewed from a variety of dimensions.