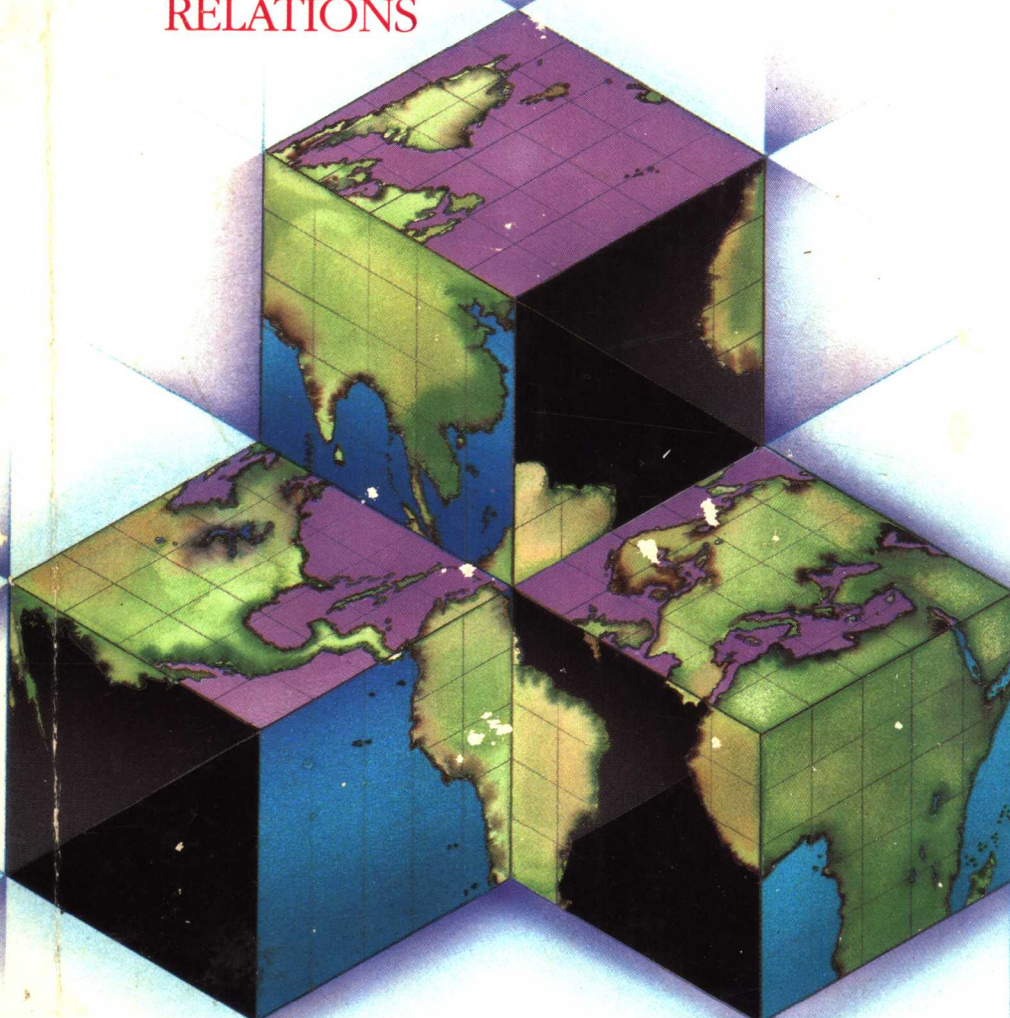


INTERDEPENDENCE

AN
INTRODUCTION
TO
INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS



HOYT PURVIS

INTERDEPENDENCE

AN
INTRODUCTION
TO
INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS

HOYT PURVIS
University of Arkansas

HBJ

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers

Fort Worth Philadelphia San Diego New York Orlando Austin San Antonio
Toronto Montreal London Sydney Tokyo

Acquisitions Editors: Drake Bush and David Tatom
Manuscript Editor: Julia Ross
Senior Project Editor: Kay Kaylor
Designer: Don Fujimoto
Art Editor: Louise Sandy
Production Manager: Mandy Van Dusen

Copyright © 1992 by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

Requests for permission to make copies of any part of the work should be mailed to: Permissions Department, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 8th Floor, Orlando, Florida 32887.

ISBN: 0-15-500005-5

Library of Congress Catalog Number: 92-70090

Printed in the United States of America

2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 039 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2

PREFACE

The increasing linkages that connect the world's peoples and nations make the study of international relations, and the understanding of those linkages, more important than ever. The emergence of the global economy, the impact of communications and technology, and the sweeping changes affecting the world as we move toward the beginning of the twenty-first century bring new dimensions and new issues to world affairs and to the study of international relations.

Interdependence: An Introduction to International Relations gives major emphasis to those new dimensions and issues while stressing the fundamental concepts and principles in international relations. It covers the dramatic and significant developments that have altered the world's political landscape in recent years, but also gives thorough treatment to the historic factors influencing world politics and to the traditional characteristics of international affairs.

The growing interdependence among nations is a theme that resonates throughout this book. As it focuses on the factors that draw peoples and nations together, it also gives attention to the issues that cause or may cause division in the contemporary world.

Part I provides both the foundation and the framework for viewing, understanding, and analyzing world affairs. Part II examines in some detail the major issues confronting the world and those likely to be important in the years ahead, and uses these issues to elaborate on points made in Part I. Particular attention is given to such issues as the environment; population; weapons proliferation; North-South relations; regionalization and the international political economy; ethnic/nationalist factors in international relations; and the growing significance of communications and technology, including the powerful role the media can play in international politics.

Throughout *Interdependence*, illustrative examples and brief studies explain and amplify main points and themes, including key concepts and theories.

An important feature is a series of profiles of individual leaders. Also, city portraits of Berlin and Mexico City illustrate some historic, contemporary, and continuing issues in world affairs. The profiles emphasize the importance individual leaders can have in international relations and, along with the city portraits, strengthen the basic points covered in the proximate chapters. The profile essays deal with the character, style, ideas/policies, and historical significance of the individuals and their countries. In a broad sense, the model for these profiles was a series written by Walter Bagehot in the nineteenth century about British leaders

and statesmen. While it is immodest to suggest a comparison to Bagehot, it would be improper not to pay tribute to the example he provided.

Among the other features of this textbook are a number of maps, with detailed captions, and other illustrations designed to assist readers and complement the text. Key terms and concepts are defined in context throughout the book and are included in a comprehensive glossary at the end of the book. An overall bibliography and suggestions for further reading at the end of most profiles are also provided.

Anyone who tries to simplify international relations is not doing the subject proper justice and risks ignoring the subtleties and great variety of forces that influence the interplay among nations. However, I have attempted to make *Interdependence* as practical as possible, stressing basic points in a "real world" context and discussing the complex issues that confront the world in a clear and comprehensive manner.

We are living in a time of extraordinary change and new directions in world affairs, and, considering the regularity with which such change has been occurring, it would be impossible for any book on international relations to be up-to-the-minute, even if that were desirable. However, this textbook does take into account not only the landmark changes in Europe, as symbolized by the fall of the Berlin Wall and the unification of Germany, but also the collapse of Soviet communism, the 1991 Persian Gulf War and related events, and the seemingly contradictory trends of integration and disintegration at work in the world of the 1990s. These developments and analyses of their significance are incorporated throughout the book, leading up to the consideration in the concluding chapter of the future world order and of international issues for the twenty-first century.

This book is the product of many years of study, teaching, and involvement in international relations. My own interest in the subject began to intensify when, while an undergraduate at the University of Texas, I participated in a student exchange program at the University of Chile. Graduate study in France served to strengthen my interest. It was further intensified during my years of working, teaching, and writing in the field of international relations. I have been fortunate enough to travel to almost all of the countries discussed in this book and to spend lengthy periods in Africa, Asia, Europe, and Latin America.

The actual work on this book was done in a variety of locales. As befits a book on international relations, I worked in Germany, Costa Rica, Panama, and Britain. Additionally, sojourns in various parts of the United States have also been helpful. Time spent in Austin; Washington; Phoenix; San Francisco; and at Blue Mountain Lake, New York, was valuable in various ways. While I benefited from these brief changes of venue, I did most of the work at home in Fayetteville, Arkansas.

Appreciation and acknowledgment should go to numerous individuals and institutions, far too many to mention here.

In addition to my home base, the Fulbright Institute of International Relations at the University of Arkansas, institutions that have been supportive include the Foreign Ministry of the German Federal Republic; the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (German Academic Exchange Service); and the Instituto Centroamericano de Asuntos Internacionales (Central American Institute for International Affairs) in San Jose, Costa Rica. Special appreciation also goes to Harriet Barlow and the staff of the Blue Mountain Center.

Any acknowledgments must also include an expression of gratitude to J. William Fulbright and Robert C. Byrd for the opportunities they provided me in my years as a United States Senate staff member, and to my staff colleagues during those years. The experience I had working on international issues was invaluable.

I have also benefited from the many colleagues I have worked with over the years and from my students, who are a constant source of education. Specifically, in terms of the work on this book, I express appreciation to friends and colleagues Donald R. Kelley, Margaret Scranton, Kathy Hirsch, and Raymond Eichmann for their comments on sections of the manuscript. Additionally, I appreciate the helpful suggestions of the reviewers, notably Richard H. Foster of Idaho State University and James W. Peterson of Valdosta State College.

A number of individuals at Harcourt Brace Jovanovich deserve acknowledgment for their assistance, particularly Drake Bush, the editor with whom I originally discussed this book and who helped guide it to completion. Others at HBJ who were helpful in various ways include Don Fujimoto, Kay Kaylor, Julia Ross, Louise Sandy, David Tatom, and Mandy Van Dusen.

Special thanks go to everyone at the Fulbright Institute for all of the help and support I have received while working on this project. I am deeply indebted to Elizabeth (Betty) Skinner for her extremely valuable assistance in preparing this manuscript, and to Sivagami Natesan.

I also want to express special appreciation to Ellen Gilchrist for her interest and encouragement.

Finally, this book is dedicated to my daughters, Pamela and Camille. It is their generation that will be the primary audience for this book, and it will, I hope, significantly strengthen their generation's interest in and understanding of the world in which we live.

HOYT PURVIS

CONTENTS

Preface v

Part I Dimensions of the Contemporary World

Chapter One Linkage and Power in an Interdependent World 3

Nation-States and Interconnections 6
The Example of Lebanon 7
Terrorism and Arms Sales 10
Chain Linkage 10
National Interests and Interdependence 13
The Triangular Relationship: Shifting Power and Perceptions 16
Power, Conflict, and Interconnections 19
Notes 21

Chapter Two The Framework of International Relations 22

The Peace of Westphalia and the State System 23
Vienna and the Balance of Power 23
Versailles and the League of Nations 24
The United Nations 25
United Nations Structure and Functions 26
The United Nations and a Changing World 28
The Cold War 31
Rebuilding Europe 36
Containment 37
Conflict in Korea 39
United States-Soviet Rivalry 40
The Evolving Framework 40
A New Era? 41
Notes 43

Chapter Three Concepts, Theories, and Analysis in International Relations 45

Realism and Power 45
Balance of Power and Alliances 47
Realism and Idealism/Moralism 49
Legal and Moral Concepts 51
Geopolitics 53
Alternative Perspectives and Methods of Analysis 56
Nationalism and Internationalism 58
The United States, Panama, and the Canal: Significant Issues 59

The New Treaties	63
Power, Politics, and New Possibilities	65
Notes	65

Profile: Charles De Gaulle 67

Chapter Four National Perspectives, Politics, and Policies on the World Scene 74

Domestic and Global Politics	75
National/International Leaders	77
The Soviet/Russian Experience and Viewpoint	78
The American Perspective	80
Different and Similar Experiences	82
Enemies and the Enemy Image	83
Neighboring Positions and Perspectives	85
Greece versus Turkey	86
Domestic and Foreign Factors	87
Mutual Preoccupation and Distorted Views	88
National Perspectives and Domestic Context	89
Notes	92

Profile: Ronald Reagan 94

Chapter Five Diplomacy and Negotiations 102

The Art and Practice of Diplomacy	103
Modern Diplomacy	105
Ambassadors and Embassies	106
Embassies As Symbols	110
Embassy Activities	111
Diplomatic and Negotiating Styles	112
The Treaty Process	114
Economic Summits	117
Sherpas and Preliminaries	117
Soviet Diplomacy	118
Summitry and Personal Diplomacy	119
Crisis Diplomacy	123
Coercive Diplomacy	126
Changing Pattern	127
Notes	128

Profile: Henry Kissinger 130

Part II Global Issues and Concerns

Chapter Six Arms, Arms Control, and Security in the Nuclear World 139

- Vital Interests and National Security 140
- War and Its Causes 142
- The Nuclear Rivalry 144
- Nuclear Doctrine and Deterrence 146
- Strategic Arms Limitations 148
- Negotiating Salt II 150
- Sidetracking Salt II: Politics and Geopolitics 151
- Nuclear Competition and Strategic Concepts 153
- Reagan—Limited War and the Nuclear Balance 155
- The Roundabout Return to Arms Control 156
- INF and SDI 157
- Force Reduction, START, and Continuing Issues 160
- Chronology of the Arms Race and Arms Control 162
- Notes 165

Profile: Mikhail Gorbachev 167

City Portrait: Berlin 175

Chapter Seven International Flashpoints and Conditions for Conflict 180

- Third-World Dependence and Interdependence 181
- Volatile Regions 182
- The Middle East and Persian Gulf 183
- Central America 193
- Southern Africa 200
- Sanctions 207
- Opposition and Change in South Africa 209
- Ingredients for Conflict 210
- Old and New Sources of Conflict 212
- Notes 213

Profile: Fidel Castro 215

Chapter Eight Global Security Issues 223

- Nuclear Proliferation 224
- Chemical and Biological Weapons 229
- Arms Trade and Diffusion of Military Technology 232
- Terrorism 238
- New Challenges in International Security 241
- Broadening Security Issues 245
- Notes 245

Chapter Nine International Economics: Structure and Power	247
The United States and the International Economic Structure	248
Evolution of the International Economy	251
Major Economic Powers	251
Japan	253
The European Community and Germany	258
Germany As a Power	262
Notes	267

Profile: Margaret Thatcher 268

Chapter Ten International Economics: Progress and Challenges	274
Third-World Challenges	274
Newly Industrializing Countries	279
Middle-Income Nations: Development vs. Debt	284
Low-Income Economies: The Fourth World	288
Aid: Bilateral and Multilateral	291
International Assistance and Economic Institutions	295
Conclusion	297
Notes	298

Profile: Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, and China 300

Chapter Eleven Food, Population, and the Environment	307
Feeding the World	308
Food and Power	312
Famine and Food As a Weapon	314
The Population Factor	318
Environmental Issues	327
Nationalism and the Global Environment	332
Notes	334

Profile: Gandhi and India 336

City Portrait: Mexico City 343

Chapter Twelve Communications and Technology	347
Media Channels	347
Media Diplomacy	350
Prime-Time Revolution	352
China and Media Misinterpretation	354
Characteristics of the Media Role	356
Differing Perspectives and Informational Geopolitics	358

Government Services: Information/Propaganda	365
Communications Crosscurrents	367
International Communications Issues and Cooperation	369
Technology and International Relations	370
Notes	373

**Chapter Thirteen Future World Order and International Issues for the
Twenty-First Century 375**

The Shape of a New Order?	376
Integration and Disintegration	383
Security and Power	385
Economics and International Trends	390
A Changing Age and a Changing Agenda	396
Progress and the Challenges Ahead	399
Notes	400

Glossary 403

Bibliography 413

Index 419

Dimensions of the Contemporary World

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction: Linkage and Power in an Interdependent World

In the age of intercontinental nuclear weapons, the issues of war and peace, which are at the center of international relations, should be matters of concern to citizens of every nation. Much of the world's technological capability and a substantial portion of the world's resources are channeled into the development and production of increasingly sophisticated and powerful weapons and for other security-related purposes.

Critical as these issues are, many of the world's citizens may be more concerned with problems or conflicts that are much more immediate and tangible to them than the threat of nuclear war. The problems may be food shortages or even famine, or overcrowded or inadequate living conditions. Problems such as these may be exacerbated by or contribute to the political, ethnic, and religious conflicts that plague various regions of the world.

It may not be readily apparent to those who are caught up in these predicaments, but these conflicts and problems are often influenced by events in or actions by other nations, and, in turn, these issues almost always have international implications. For example, Vietnam, Nicaragua, and Afghanistan are all countries that have been torn by struggles which had international as well as domestic dimensions.

The reality in today's world is, as a former president of Mexico succinctly stated, "Everything is part of everything else."

This is true not only with problems, with conflict and turmoil, but with progress, with economic development and commerce.

The interconnections among the world's nations and peoples are in-

creasingly obvious but frequently overlooked, even when they have very direct effects. There are many examples of these interconnections:

- A farmer in Iowa or the Canadian plains grows wheat that eventually is used for bread in Russia.
- Workers in a Japanese-owned plant in Mexico make television sets which are sold in the United States.
- A Venezuelan watches an American-made movie, dubbed in Spanish, on a video recorder manufactured in Korea.
- A Frenchman at a sidewalk cafe in Paris drinks coffee or cocoa that came from crops in the Ivory Coast or Brazil.
- Using a computer made in Germany, an Italian government worker communicates with her colleagues at the European Economic Community (Common Market) headquarters in Brussels.
- A Philippine airline, using American-made planes, transports a Chinese official to London to discuss selling clothes made in China to British stores.
- Oil from Saudi Arabia is used for the fuel which enables a Dutch ship captain to drive his Japanese car to the port of Rotterdam so he can sail his cargo ship of electronic equipment and chemicals to Greece and North Africa and return with a load of bauxite, lignite, or iron ore.
- A customer interested in doing business with the world's largest companies might order clothes from a United States firm—the largest apparel maker is Levi Strauss—but the materials could well come from Japan, which has the three top textile makers. Planning a dinner party? The food and beverages could come from United States companies, but Unilever, a British-Dutch company, produces Lipton Tea and Ragu spaghetti sauce, Nestle (Swiss) makes chocolates, and Grand Metropolitan, another British company, owns Pillsbury and Burger King. For music at the party, Yamaha (Japan) is the world's largest piano company.
- A study of the components of a European Ford Escort car, assembled in either Britain or Germany, indicated that parts could come from as many as 15 different countries, including, for example, cylinder head from Italy, heater hose from Austria, speedometer from Switzerland, brakes from France, fan belt from Denmark, tires from Belgium, and starter from Japan.

Obviously, these are merely a few examples of the international connections.

Consider also factors and real and potential developments such as these:

- Following the disaster at the nuclear power plant in Chernobyl in the Soviet Union, radiation emissions reached a number of countries, offering a dramatic demonstration of how meaningless national boundaries are in such circumstances. It was also a vivid reminder of the devastating effects that even a small nuclear weapon could have.
- Many Third World (sometimes called less-developed or developing) countries borrowed large amounts from Western financial institutions to finance development projects in their countries. When there was an international economic downturn, many of the Third World nations could not meet their repayment obligations. Not only did this cause problems for those who made the loans, but, because of the debt problem, Third World nations reduced their purchases of products from the industrialized countries. Since debtor nations had to devote nearly all of their export earnings to servicing debt (paying interest), they were unable to continue importing goods from abroad. Overall, the debt problem affected citizens of many nations. In the United States, not only did it affect many in banking and finance but it also had an impact on many others whose livelihood was tied to exports, including farmers and a variety of manufacturers.
- Terrorists hijack an airliner in a location or for a cause that may seem relatively obscure to those who are victimized, or to the millions around the world who watch news of the events on television, including live, on-the-spot coverage from the airport where the airliner and its passengers are held. Because of the technological capabilities of modern communication, news of such events can have an almost instantaneous impact in many nations.
- Arms are sold by one nation to another, and the recipient nation then uses them against a third nation, which is an ally of the nation that originally sold the weapons.
- The datelines of the news stories that make headlines shift from one region to another, sometimes reading like destinations on a round-the-world flight itinerary. Ethiopia, Argentina, Iran, Korea, New Zealand, Uganda, Poland, Iraq, and Sweden have all been the subjects of major news stories in recent years.
- The Middle East and Persian Gulf region has 60 percent of the world's oil reserves, but only 4 percent of the world's population. Many countries outside the region—Japan being a notable example—are heavily dependent on Middle Eastern oil. On the other hand, many of the oil-exporting countries rely on imports for much of their food.
- Airborne pollutants from industrial plants are easily carried beyond national boundary lines; for example, "acid rain" (or acid deposition) has been a subject of friction between the United States and Canada. Toxic waste after a chemical fire in Switzerland resulted in major problems

downstream on the Rhine river in Germany and the Netherlands. A slogan used by some environmentalists, “Everyone lives downstream,” has a definite ring of truth in today’s world.

- A group of refugees from Sri Lanka, who had fled their country because they claimed they were being persecuted, arrived in Canada after being transported on a West German ship. There have been a number of instances of “boat people” escaping oppression or political turmoil in various countries. In recent years the United States has drawn political refugees from many countries, including Vietnam, Cambodia, Cuba, and El Salvador.
- Ethnic and religious conflicts can spill across national borders. In past centuries there were major religious wars. Late in the twentieth century, there were still conflicts, for example, between Muslims and Hindus in Asia or between Sunni and Shiite Muslims in the Near East.

Six nations have confirmed that they have successfully exploded nuclear devices—the United States (1945), the Soviet Union (1949), Britain (1952), France (1960), the People’s Republic of China (1964), and India (1974). Others—including Israel, South Africa, and Pakistan—are believed to have nuclear capability or the ability to attain it. Still other countries would like to acquire nuclear weapons or may attempt to cross the nuclear threshold. The proliferation of nuclear weapons makes international relations less predictable and almost certainly more dangerous. The acquisition of nuclear weapons by unstable regimes could add a new and perilous dimension to international relations.

In a number of ways the nations of the world are increasingly linked together. Technological breakthroughs, such as satellite communications, point toward further diminution of barriers between nations. However, despite these transnational influences, divisions persist within and among nations, and localized conflicts can rapidly escalate and draw in other nations. Studies have indicated that wars waged to regain lost territory and revolutions undertaken by ethnic minorities in the interest of self-determination have accounted for 70 percent of all international conflicts. Military spending and the development and acquisition of weapons has continued unabated, and the total annual expenditure of all countries for weapons has climbed toward the \$1 trillion mark.

NATION-STATES AND INTERCONNECTIONS

Regional groupings are becoming more important in world affairs, especially in an economic sense, and some of the trends discussed earlier in this chapter are rendering national boundaries less meaningful than in the past. Nonetheless, the nation-state system provides the basis for the structure and organization of the contemporary world. And, as will be discussed in following chapters, nationalism is one of the most powerful