

# **International Politics on the World Stage**

Seventh Edition

**John T. Rourke**

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**John T. Rourke**

*University of Connecticut*

***Dushkin/McGraw-Hill***

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For John S. L. Holland

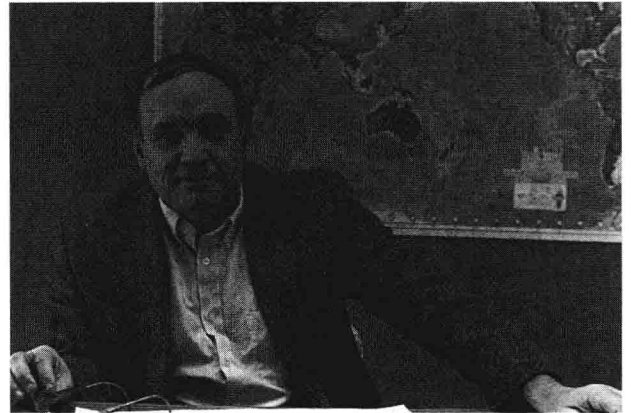
Editor, counselor, birder, and friend extraordinaire

Thanks, good friend . . . , for thy much goodness.

Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*

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**John T. Rourke, Ph.D.**, is a professor and head of the Department of Political Science at The University of Connecticut. He is a coauthor with Mark A. Boyer of *World Politics: International Politics on the World Stage, Brief, Second Edition*, (Dushkin/McGraw-Hill, 1998); 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*, Eighth Edition (Dushkin/McGraw-Hill, 1998), 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 enjoys teaching introductory classes, and he does so each semester at the university's Storrs and Hartford campuses. His regard for the students has molded his approach of conveying 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 affect us all, and we can affect politics. Rourke practices what he propounds; he is involved in the university's internship program, advises one of its political clubs, has served as a staff member of Connecticut's legislature, and has been involved in political campaigns on the local, state, and national levels.

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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*, Seventh 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 conclusion of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and the counterpoint of nuclear weapons tests by India and Pakistan; the violence in Kosovo Province; the Kyoto Treaty to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and the Rome treaty to establish the International Criminal Court; the spreading of the Asian "economic flu" to Russia, Latin America, and beyond; 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 to emphasize, expand, and give visual life to ideas. A full-color insert, the Atlas of World Politics, contains 14 maps with geographical, historical, and statistical information that students should find especially relevant to the text's discussion. Also, significant revisions have been made to both the instructor's manual and to the extensive testbank, which are available from the publisher in both printed and computerized versions. These are further explained in the paragraph on Supplements on the next page.

**Research, Citations, Bibliography, and Suggested Readings** One of the aims of this text is to bring together a representative sampling of the latest research in international relations. Scholarly articles, so often ignored in survey texts, are particularly emphasized. This research is documented by extensive references using the "in-text" style and by a significant bibliography. In addition to recognizing my intellectual debt to a host of scholars, the references and bibliography also serve as a reading list for students, as explained to them in the "To the Students" section of this preface. As such, references are often meant to serve as suggestions for further reading and do not necessarily mean that the cited author(s) propounded what is being said at the point of reference. Using this approach instead of the end-of-chapter placement gives inquisitive students immediate thoughts for additional reading.

For those instructors whose organization differs from mine, care has been given to the table of contents and to the index in order to facilitate integrating the text with your syllabus. You will find, for example, that:

**Economics** is discussed in chapter 1 (how it affects students), 9 (as a basis of power), 14 (general global conditions) and 15 (national economic competition), 16 (international economic cooperation), and 18 (sustainable development). **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, 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 orientations 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 18).

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. New to this edition is a Web site at [www.dushkin.com/rourke/](http://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. Power-Point slides for each chapter are available and offer the instructor an easy-to-use and effective visual aid in the classroom. An additional teaching aid is a set of 14 full-color transparencies of the Atlas maps.

## *To the Student*

*The world, familiar to us and unknown.*

Shakespeare, *Henry V*

The world is changing at breathtaking speed! That reality is one of the most important things for you to understand about international politics. Yet I have found that most undergraduate students, having been born into this era of warp-speed change, consider it normal. It is not. Recorded history dates back over 30 centuries. A great deal of what we will discuss in this text has happened in the last century, even within your lifetime. But truly understanding this rate of change—maybe *feeling* the rate of change is a better way to put it—is hard without perspective.

As a way of trying to convey the dramatic pace of change, I will introduce you to Sarah Clark Knauss in chapter 6. This amazing woman, who lives in Allentown, Pennsylvania, was born in 1880 and will be 119 at the time these words are printed. Among other things, Ms. Knauss gives us a sense of how quickly the world is changing.

When she was born in 1880, Rutherford B. Hayes was president of the United States. There was an emperor in China, an Ottoman Empire ruled by a sultan, a czar in Russia, a kaiser in Germany, and an emperor in Austria-Hungary who ruled much of Central Europe. Most of Africa and Asia were still colonies of European powers. There were less than 1.5 billion people in the world; only birds (and insects and bats) could use wings to fly, and the world's most ferocious weapons were the Gatling gun and the long-range artillery piece.

The communist revolution in Russia occurred when she was 39; the Soviet Union disappeared when she was 112. For me, communism and the cold war were the totality of my historical experience; for Ms. Knauss 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 Ms. Knauss was born people were basically earthbound. She was 23 when the first airplane flew, 64 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 onto the Moon's surface. There are many other things to consider. Ms. Knauss 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 Ms. Knauss 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 Ms. Knauss 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 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 Ms. Knauss (and you might, given modern medical technology), then what will the world population be when you are 119 years old?

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

**Using this Text** The text that follows is my attempt to introduce you to the complex and compelling study of international politics. Prefaces are often given scant attention, but they can be a valuable learning tool for you. They let you in on the author's conceptions, the mental pictures of a text. What is the author's approach? What are the author's orientations and biases? Does the text have one or more basic themes? How is the text organized? In this preface I have addressed these issues. I hope you'll read it.

In writing this text I have tried to use straightforward prose and have assumed that students who take this course know little about international politics. To help you further, I have included an outline 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 (Elman, 1997:171) refers to page 171 of the book or article written by (in this case, Professor Miriam Fendius) Elman in 1997, which is listed alphabetically in the references and bibliography.

I have also noted studies that helped me think about and organize various topics and those that might be informative to you. I encourage you to utilize the references and bibliography to advance your knowledge beyond the boundaries of this text. You will find a list of the abbreviations that I have used throughout the book on pages li–lii. 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 Dushkin/McGraw-Hill, 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.

John T. Rourke

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A difficult task is to keep this acknowledgment of those who have contributed 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, the increased coverage of economics and the chapter on the biosphere are responses in part to suggestions. I would like to thank the following for their perspicacity in this and previous editions:

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I also owe a debt to each author listed in the bibliography of this and the previous editions. The work that these scholars have done on specific subjects is 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 confounded textbook. As we talked, he made some interesting observations. It was also clear that he had not connected the author's name on the front of the book with his professor. 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 James P. Allan of the University of Connecticut, who is responsible for revising the instructor's manual, *Teaching and Testing from International Politics on the World Stage*. James shouldered the task of preparing, revising, and updating the test items for the seventh edition of the instructor's guide as well as adding to the list of additional readings for each chapter in the text. Thanks are also due to Alice and Will Thiede of Carto-Graphics in Eau Claire, Wisconsin, for their standard of excellence in producing the map insert, the Atlas of World Politics.

Then there is the staff of Dushkin/McGraw-Hill. They have encouraged me and supported me. This is the first edition I have done with my new editor, Ava Suntok, and I am delighted with her expertise. Diane Barker's and Robin Charney's proofreading, with their amazing eye for technical detail and substantive consistency, added to the process of ensuring accuracy. I also want to thank the Dushkin/McGraw-Hill typesetters, Juliana Arbo and Jane Jaegersen, for their diligence and for not threatening my life through innumerable changes.

One of the things I like best about this edition is "its look." Pamela Carley has assembled photographs and editorial cartoons that bring powerful visual life to the concepts I express in words. Charles Vitelli not only performed the difficult, but crucial, task of arranging text and illustrations; he drew the original cartoons in this book. He took my raw mental images and turned them into wonderful representations of the issues being discussed in the text. In the same area, Laura Levine did an extraordinary job with the exacting art of creating the text's many tables, figures, and maps, and Lara Johnson designed this edition's striking cover. I owe a great debt to those who have created such a visually attractive, educationally effective package for my words. A new and exciting feature of the look of this text is the supplementary material and exercises that can be found on the Web site. For this I thank Jonathan Stowe.

Finally, anyone who has written will recognize that it is an intensely personal, as well as professional, experience. I am fortunate to have people around me who understand when I am seemingly glued to my computer for long periods of time and who sometimes insist that I shut it off. My son and friend John Michael helps me endure the ups and downs of the New York Giants and UConn athletic teams, shares the frustrations of fishing, and occasionally tries to interpret X-generation culture for me.

To all of you:

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

Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*

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## PART I

### APPROACHES TO WORLD POLITICS

#### CHAPTER 1

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