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WORLD POLITICS

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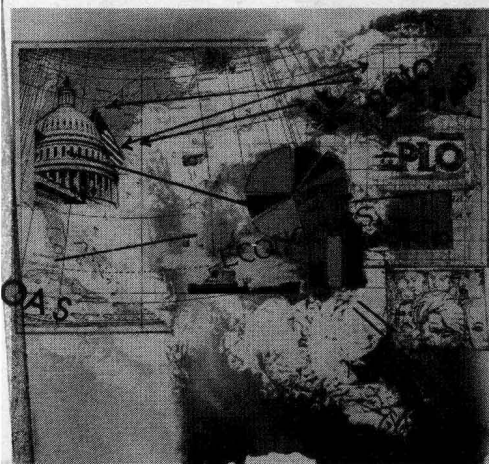
Suzanne P. Ogden

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Professor Ogden received her Ph.D. from Brown University and is currently an associate professor at Northeastern University in Boston. She is also an associate in research at the Fairbank Center for East Asian Research, Harvard University. Professor Ogden publishes widely in the field of Chinese politics and Chinese foreign policy. At Northeastern she teaches courses on international relations, Chinese politics, and Japanese politics. She is currently a member of the coordinating committee for the Center for International Politics and Administration at Northeastern University. She has travelled extensively in Europe, Asia, and Central America, and was the Academic Adviser to the British Political Internship program in London.

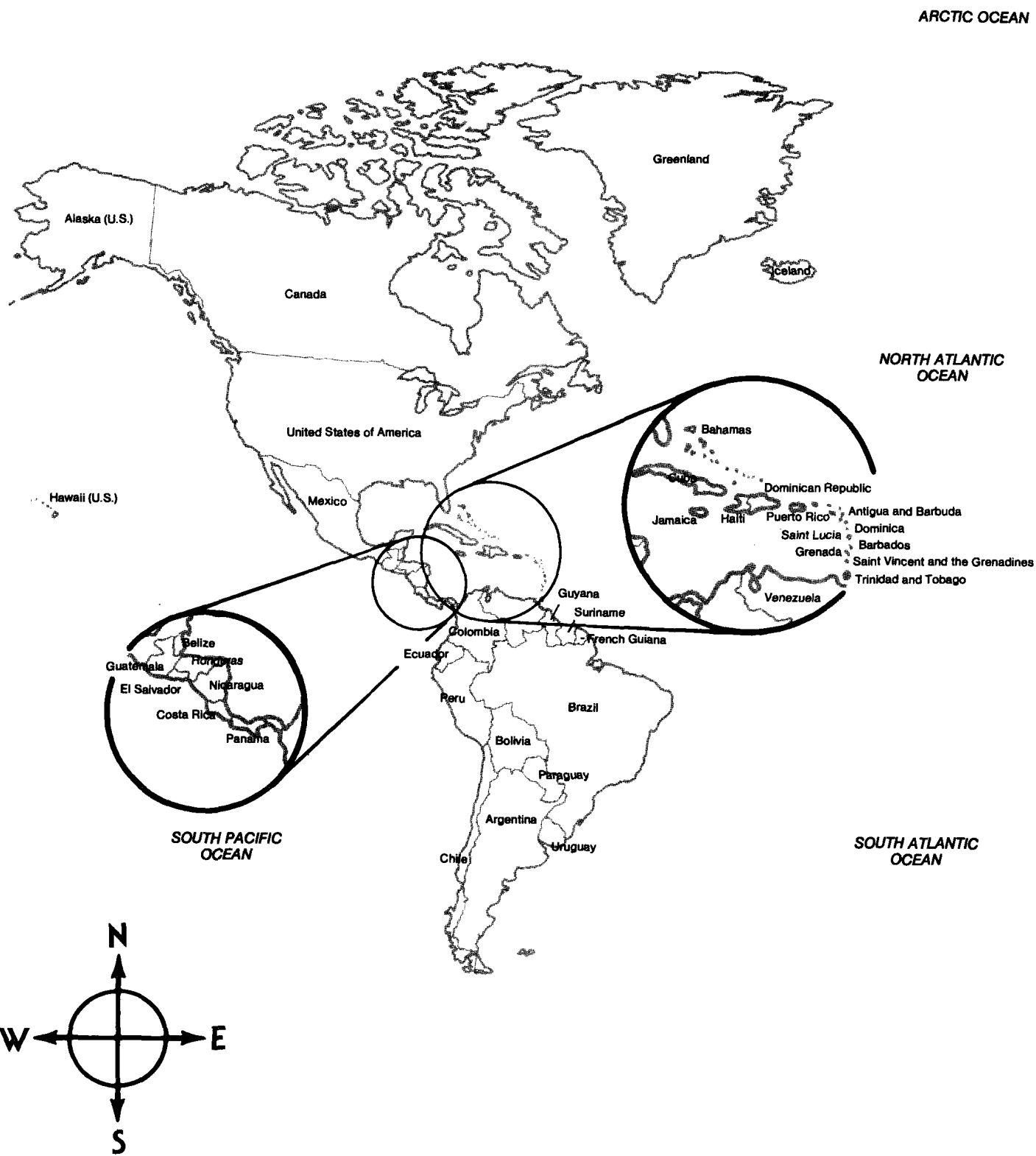
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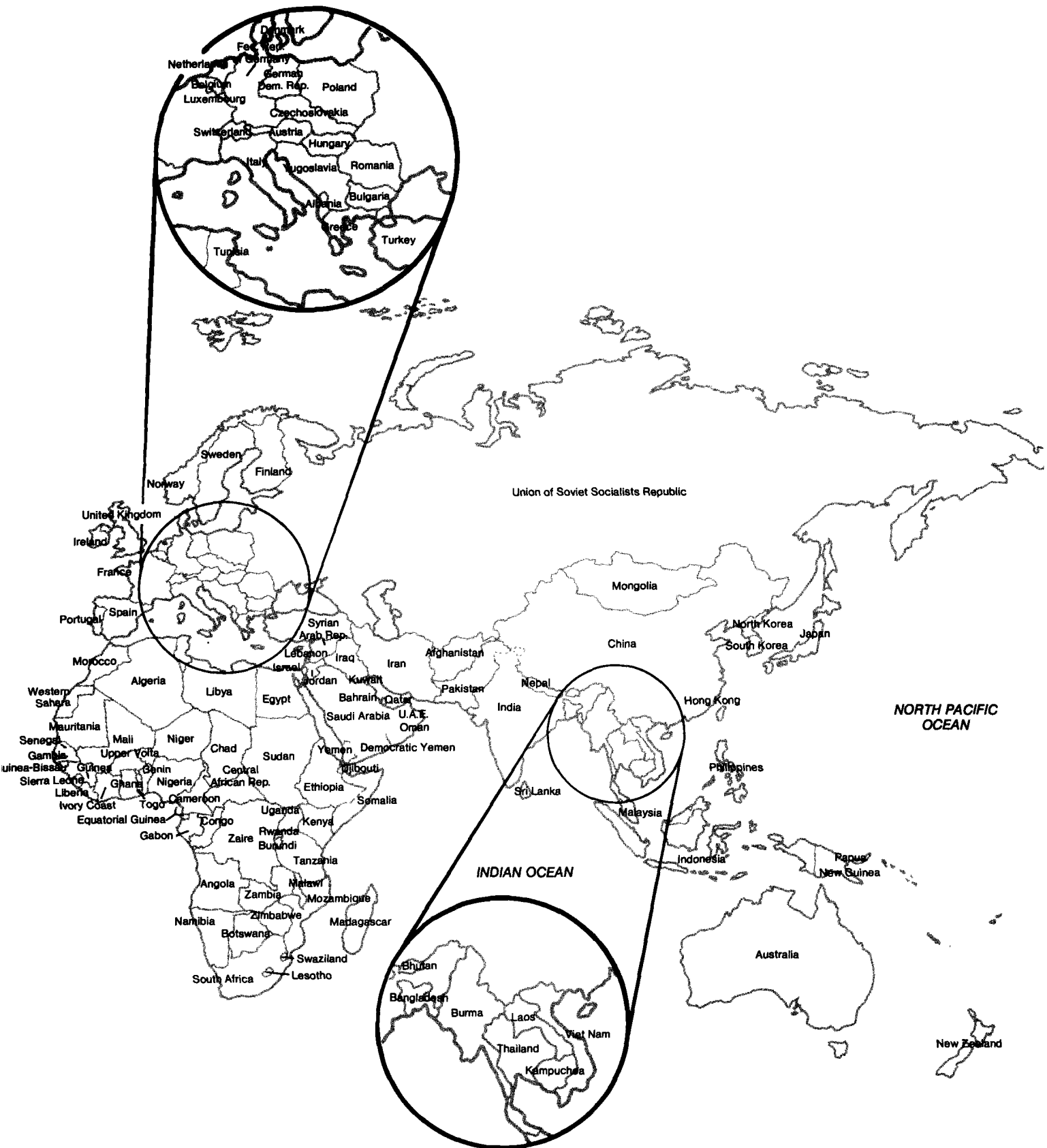
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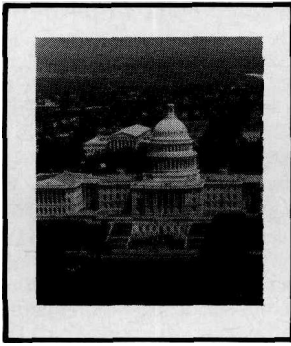


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This map has been developed to give you a graphic picture of where the countries of the world are located, the relationship they have with their region and neighbors, and their positions relative to the superpowers and power blocs. We have focused on certain areas to more clearly illustrate these crowded regions.



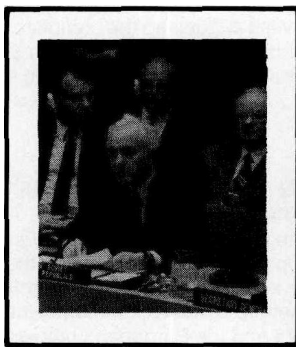




Unit 1

The United States as a Major World Power

Six selections review the dynamics of the role of the United States as a world power. Topics include American intervention, the arms race, disarmament, and human rights policy.

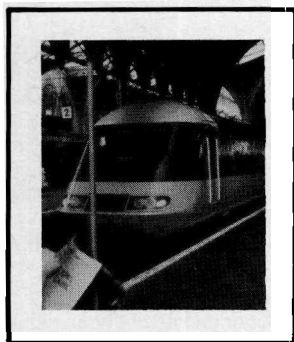


Unit 2

The Soviet Union

Seven articles discuss the present state of the Soviet Union's foreign policy, the intricacies of Kremlin politics, and some of Gorbachev's strategies.

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Overview	6
1. The Real National Interest, Alan Tonelson, <i>Foreign Policy</i> , Winter 1985-86.	8
Tonelson argues that the United States needs to relinquish its universalist mindset, which is based on abstract principles and an unrealistic belief in its limitless power. In its place, he says, the US should substitute a realistic and concrete definition of the <i>national interest</i> . Credibility would be enhanced by more specificity in <i>US foreign policy</i> , rather than by pretension of omnipotence and of the need to protect America's vital interests throughout the world.	
2. When to Intervene, Charles Krauthammer, <i>The New Republic</i> , May 6, 1985.	19
Krauthammer constructs a theory to justify <i>American intervention</i> in the post-colonial era. He argues that intervention for the purpose of promoting democracy is still an acceptable rationale, but it requires the additional justification of strategic necessity. America itself should define international morality without consulting allies or worrying about world public opinion. It should commit itself only to those places where its <i>national interests</i> are primary.	
3. The Busyness of American Foreign Policy, Ernest van den Haag, <i>Foreign Affairs</i> , Fall 1985.	22
Professor van den Haag writes that morality should not be confused with <i>America's national interests</i> . Therefore, the United States should not become involved in problems when no specifiable American concerns are at risk. He then examines the domino theory and isolationism in this context. He argues for prioritizing American interests and for defending them as often as possible by relying on others.	
4. US Human Rights Policy: From Principle to Practice, Michael H. Posner, <i>Harvard International Review</i> , March/April 1985.	30
The difficulty of supporting <i>human rights</i> as part of <i>American foreign policy</i> is to turn principles into practice. The <i>Reagan administration</i> "balances" human rights concerns against security, political, diplomatic, and economic interests. Congress and the administration need to develop a better approach if human rights are to become an integral part of United States foreign policy.	
5. Six Questions for the Reagan Doctrine: Next Stop, Angola, Stephen J. Solarz, <i>The New Republic</i> , December 2, 1985.	33
The <i>Reagan Doctrine</i> hopes to reverse Soviet gains in the spread of communism by supporting national liberation forces in Marxist-dominated <i>Third World</i> countries. United States Representative Solarz uses Angola as a case study to explain why the Reagan Doctrine, while appealing in theory, would appear unattractive in practice. In the case of Angola, as well as in Afghanistan, Cambodia, and Nicaragua, he makes the point that <i>American interests</i> are better served by not intervening.	
6. Some Observations on US Security Interests in Africa, Noel C. Koch, <i>CSIS Africa Notes</i> , November 19, 1985.	36
The author examines the <i>relationship</i> between the <i>United States and Africa</i> and concludes that America has not been significantly involved with Africa either through history, economic interest, political necessity, or a clear strategic imperative. Furthermore, he says, neither the US nor the USSR will, over the long-run, be able to attain a hegemonic position in Africa. Therefore, it is not in America's self-interest to rush in to help Africa fend off a Soviet threat.	
Overview	40
7. Kremlin Politics: An Inside Story of Three Soviet Leaders, Dusko Doder, <i>The Washington Post National Weekly Edition</i> , August 26, 1985.	42
The crucial transition in the <i>Soviet leadership</i> was not of Chernenko to Gorbachev but of Brezhnev to Andropov. Andropov's brief tenure in office, according to this correspondent, was the crucial watershed. Chernenko could not reverse it in his brief tenure. <i>Gorbachev</i> is now the Soviets' preeminent leader, but because of his preoccupation with improving the economy and reforming the political leadership, his views on <i>foreign policy</i> are not yet known.	



Unit 3

American Allies: Western Europe and Japan

Five selections review the current state of American allies, focusing on European socialism, unrest in Northern Ireland, and economic relations with Japan.

8. **Gorbachev's Strategy**, Jerry F. Hough, *Foreign Affairs*, Fall 1985. 49
Professor Hough argues that *Gorbachev's* primary problem is the technological backwardness of the *Soviet* economy, which threatens to drop the USSR to the level of South Korea or Brazil and undermines its *foreign policy*. His other major problem is reforming the central state apparatus.
9. **The Emergence of a Flexible Soviet Policy**, Steven Erlanger, *The Boston Globe*, November 7, 1985. 58
The Soviet Union under *Gorbachev* has embarked on an imaginative diplomatic offensive to limit the *Strategic Defense Initiative* and to open a dialogue with *Japan* and *Western Europe* in the hopes of attaining more trade and technological ties. Furthermore, *Soviet foreign policy* is aimed at using Western Europe to gain leverage with the United States. It addresses Western Europe's anxiety about war and offers the hope of more flexibility if superpower relations improve.
10. **The Revolutionary Road Runs Out**, Jerry Hough, *The Nation*, June 1, 1985. 60
The *Soviet Union's* current policy of less *intervention* in the *Third World* reflects its changed world perspective. According to the author, Soviet scholars on foreign affairs are pessimistic about the possibilities for revolution occurring in countries that have chosen the capitalist road of development. Thus the emerging Soviet perspective is that the USSR should cultivate *trade relations* with the large, industrializing countries of the Third World, such as India.
11. **Afghan War Finally Hits Soviets' Home Front**, U.S. News & World Report, December 16, 1985. 63
Moscow has taken a propaganda offensive on *Afghanistan*, opening up news coverage of the war in an effort to appeal to patriotic sentiment to support the *Soviet intervention*. International pressure on the Soviets to get out of Afghanistan has grown, but the Soviets cannot seem to find a face-saving way to exit from the quagmire. So, they are digging in.
12. **A Moscow View**, Dieter Schroder, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* as it appeared in *World Press Review*, January 1986. 65
Like Reagan, *Gorbachev* must tone down overly optimistic expectations for the future of *East-West relations* in the wake of Geneva euphoria. According to this West German writer in an excerpt from *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, the Soviets are still trying to force the Americans to abandon the *Strategic Defense Initiative*, since the only Soviet alternative is further development of offensive weapons. *Gorbachev* is using restraint in dealing with the issue and is willing to negotiate over an extended period.
13. **Gorbachev Offers to Scrap A-Arms by the Year 2000**, Serge Schmemmann, *The New York Times*, January 16, 1986. 66
Gorbachev announced a proposal for eliminating all *nuclear weapons* by the year 2000. The plan requires that the United States renounce its *Strategic Defense Initiative*. In a significant departure from earlier proposals, the Soviets suggested the complete elimination of Soviet and American medium-range missiles in Europe, but did not require that the French and British eliminate theirs until a later date.
- Overview 68
14. **How to Get Europe Moving Again**, Christopher Tugendhat, *International Affairs*, Summer 1985. 70
Since the continual need for negotiations to enlarge the *European Community* have ended with Spain and Portugal's entry, the member states may now consider such ideas as "European union." The writer emphasizes that members of the Community must see the concepts of the nation state and the European union as mutually enhancing rather than incompatible. The European council should be the institution which strikes the balance between national and Community powers.
15. **Real Progress in Northern Ireland: The Other Summit**, Thomas O. Melia, *The New Republic*, December 2, 1985. 76
The new agreement between *Ireland* and *Great Britain* establishes a political environment conducive to harmony between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland. This agreement comes against the background of a Protestant majority which refused to accommodate the interests of the Catholic minority. Its assumption is that religious differences need not mean political division.

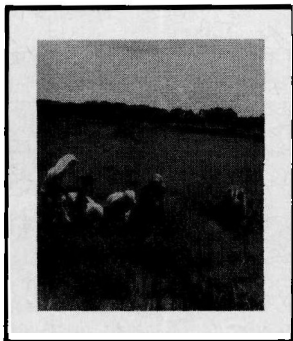


Unit 4

Socialist States: Allies and Adversaries of the USSR

Five articles consider the world's socialist states and their relationships with the Soviet Union by examining East Germany, China, and Hong Kong.

16. **New Paths for Socialism: Socialists Are Thinking Again,** 79
The Economist, December 21, 1985.
European socialists are rethinking the meaning of socialism and how to implement it in a way that truly serves economic democracy and efficiency, not bureaucracy and inhumanity. They are not abandoning their ideals but are growing more flexible about the means to achieve their objectives. Unionisation is still strong in *Western Europe*. What may be emerging is neo-socialism, not post-socialism.
17. **Don't Blame Japan Alone,** Karatsu Hajime, *Japan Echo*, 86
 Volume XI, Number 3, 1984.
 A Japanese author examines the *trade issues* between the *United States and Japan*. According to the author, the real reasons that Japanese imports do better than American made products are, first, quality control, and, second, America's refusal to accept blame for its own failures.
18. **The Japanese Phoenix,** W. Theo Roy, *International Journal on World Peace*, April-June 1985. 90
 The article reports that due to shifts in the world power balance, *Japan* is considering rearmament. This would enable Japan to defend itself without relying on the United States military. The author examines economic and political motives for rearmament and the sentiment of Japanese leaders and the people concerning the issue. He concludes that Japan should rearm sufficiently to give its defense credibility.
- Overview** 96
19. **Eastern Europe: A House Dividing?** An interview with 98
 Charles Gati, *Harvard International Review*, September/October 1984.
 The growing deviation from *Soviet policy* by the leaders of Hungary, Romania, and East Germany derives largely from their desire to survive politically and to meet the rising expectations in their own countries, maintains Gati. This deviation is made easier by the Soviets' unwillingness to continue to underwrite the economic difficulties they face by paying their debts to the West.
20. **The Politics of Division and Détente in East Germany,** 101
 Melvin Croan, *Current History*, November 1985.
 In spite of irreconcilable conflict between East and West *Germany* on the national question and East Germany's penchant for ideological orthodoxy, East Germany has defied the Soviet Union by making *détente* with West Germany the keystone of its internal political stability. The author traces the evolution of this policy back to the erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961.
21. **Point, Counterpoint: China Tries to Manipulate the** 107
Emerging US-Soviet Détente, Richard Nations, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, December 19, 1985.
 The dialogue between *China* and the Soviet Union is broadening gradually, with China posing fewer obstacles to improved relations. Apparently China is concerned about the possibility of superpower *détente*, since it fears that *détente* may mean diminished American concern and support for China's modernization.
22. **Assessing United States-China Relations,** Jia-Lin Zhang, 109
Current History, September 1985.
 A Chinese scholar gives the Chinese government's perspective on United States relations with Taiwan. The author argues that the United States government has been unsuccessful in its efforts to downgrade the importance of *China* to its strategic interests in Asia. The article stresses that improved Sino-Soviet relations will not affect Sino-American relations.
23. **Carrying Friendship Too Far,** *The New Republic*, November 25, 1985. 113
 According to this writer, the Sino-United States Agreement for Nuclear Cooperation will prove to be one of the greatest errors of the *Reagan administration*. Pressures from the American business community and hopes for further strategic ties with *China* fueled sentiment for the agreement with this most blatant proliferator of *nuclear* technology. The administration seems convinced that the Chinese are reforming their *proliferation* habits, but the evidence indicates otherwise.

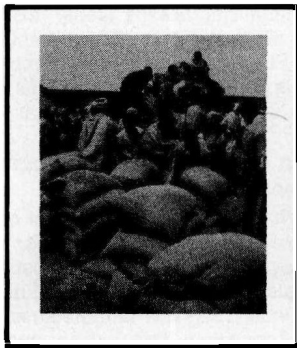


Unit 5

The Third World

Ten selections review the current state of the Third World by focusing on Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East.

- Overview** 116
- A. AFRICA**
- 24. Africa's Development Challenges**, Carol Lancaster, *Current History*, April 1985. 118
The author examines the difficulties sub-Saharan countries have encountered in dealing with economic and political problems. She concludes that the bulk of the responsibility for poor management of resources and policies which discourage economic growth rests with Africa itself. The steps Africa must take to recover from its current crisis are discussed.
- 25. South Africa: Why Constructive Engagement Failed**, Sanford J. Ungar and Peter Vale, *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1985/86. 124
Although the Reagan administration's policy of "constructive engagement" failed, the subsequent economic sanctions against the South African regime have been no more effective in promoting political and social change. The key role played by Chester Crocker in United States policies toward South Africa, the perspective of black South Africans on constructive engagement, and recent sanctions are examined. The authors offer suggestions for a more effective US policy.
- B. ASIA**
- 26. Southeast Asia Ten Years After the Vietnam War**, Tommy T.B. Koh, *USA Today*, November 1985. 134
The peace of the post-Vietnam War era was shattered by Vietnam's invasion and occupation of Cambodia in 1978, and by Laos' shift to a Communist party government. The author describes the ASEAN countries' strategy for ending Vietnam's occupation of Cambodia. He castigates the US for failing to aid Cambodia's "freedom-fighters," analyzes the importance of ASEAN to the US, and offers a strategy for the normalization of US relations with Vietnam.
- 27. The View from Hanoi**, Vo Dong Giang, with an introduction by Richard Falk, *World Policy Journal*, Winter 1985-86. 138
Falk writes that Vietnam is an example of a "geopolitical victim"—a country on which great suffering has been inflicted for strategic and symbolic purposes. Vietnam's efforts to accommodate the United States on the MIA issue indicate that, in spite of the bitter legacy of the war, Vietnam now seeks a normalization of relations with the US. Normalization would offer diplomatic and economic options to Vietnam, which is otherwise dependent on what the Soviets offer.
- 28. Consent to Concession**, Emily Lau, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, December 12, 1985. 147
Britain has conceded to China a right to reject any political reforms in Hong Kong during its transition period from a British colony to territory under Chinese sovereignty in 1997. According to the Chinese, any reforms must conform to the Basic Law which Peking has not yet written. Hong Kong Chinese are worried that, rather than true elections, they will have "election by nomination"—Peking style.
- C. CENTRAL AMERICA**
- 29. Department Releases Report on Sandinista Intervention in Central America**, *Department of State Bulletin*, November 1985. 149
According to the report, the primary issue in Central America is not the legality of outside support for irregular forces fighting their governments, but whether such a use of force is illegal aggression or legal collective self-defense. Facts show that Nicaragua is guilty of illegal aggression, which preceded the response of lawful self-defense by the US and those forces it supports. Nicaragua, not the US, has undermined a successful conclusion to the Contadora negotiations.



Unit 6

The International Political Economy: Aid, Investment, Trade, and Finance

Five articles examine the international political economy. Topics include the IMF (International Monetary Fund), exploitation of the developing countries, impacts of international aid on recipient nations, and debt management.

30. **A Catalyst for Moderation**, Jeffrey Wolk, *Harvard International Review*, November 1985. 152
The four Contadora states are concerned about US policy in *Central America* and are seeking a negotiated solution to conflicts there. According to the author, the Contadora countries consider *US military intervention* in Central America more of a threat to their own stability than the continued viability of the leftist regime in Nicaragua. While facing an uphill battle, the Contadora process leaves open the possibility of modernization of Central America.
- D. **THE MIDDLE EAST**
31. **Strategic Dissensus**, Harry J. Shaw, *Foreign Policy*, Winter 1985-86. 155
The author explores the ramifications of what he calls the "strategic partnership myth" surrounding US-Israeli relations. Not only can *Israel* be of limited use to the US as a partner in the *Middle East*, but such a view of Israel as a partner also deepens problems within Israel itself and between the US and the Arab states. The concept of partnership plays into the hands of those Israeli leaders who have objectives other than a concern for US interests in the Middle East.
32. **"Death to America" in Lebanon**, Daniel Pipes, *Middle East Insight*, March/April 1985. 163
Professor Pipes examines America's new adversary in the *Middle East*: the radical fundamentalist Shi'i Muslim. Obsessed with the US even after its exodus from Iran, it has organized radical fundamentalist groups elsewhere. Its greatest success has been in *Lebanon*, where anarchic conditions permitted fundamentalists to pursue their goal of ending Western cultural influence in the Middle East. They see *terrorism* as the best tool for forcing the US to leave the Middle East.
33. **Lebanon in the Context of Regional Politics: Palestinian and Syrian Involvement in the Lebanese Crisis**, Rashid I. Khalidi, *Third World Quarterly*, July 1985. 170
The author analyzes the circumstances surrounding the intervention of the PLO and Syria in *Lebanon* which have led to their continued presence there while all other major actors have left. Ultimately he points to the conflicts among Lebanese factions as the major condition permitting the successful intervention of the PLO and Syria, but not of the others.
- Overview 178
34. **How to Save the Third World**, Jeffrey Sachs, *The New Republic*, October 28, 1985. 180
Sachs maintains that most of the criticism of the *IMF* for its inability to resolve the *debt crisis* in developing countries is unfair. Most of the blame should fall on the governments of the developing debtor states who used their foreign loans improperly. While the IMF intervened in 1982 with policies of "conditionality," it is primarily the policies of the debtor countries which have acted against a successful solution. Only economic growth, combined with austerity, will reduce budget deficits.
35. **J. de Larosi re Reviews Problems of Indebted Developing Countries**, J. De Larosi re, *IMF Survey*, November 25, 1985. 183
The Director of the IMF examines the *debt crisis* in developing countries. He argues that internal economic policies must be reformed in a way that is compatible with development, or indebtedness will remain chronic, regardless of how much money the IMF lends. The IMF policy of making loans conditional upon internal reforms in debtor countries is already showing signs of success. The IMF will continue to ensure adequate financing for indebted countries which undertake IMF mandated reforms.
36. **Truth in Trading**, Bernard K. Gordon, *Foreign Policy*, Winter 1985-86. 189
Professor Gordon examines the myths generating the present attitude in the United States of a "*trade crisis*." He argues that the attention on US imports to the neglect of its exports underlies the emphasis on the alleged trade deficit and the demands for a new trade policy, especially with *Japan*. The United States, rather than falling back on protectionist policies, should concentrate on selling more to Japan.

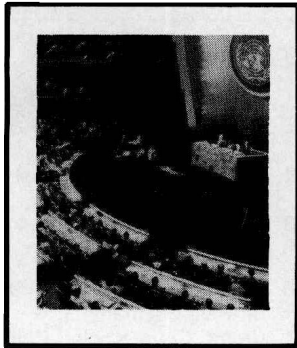


Unit 7

The Arms Race, Arms Control, and Disarmament

Seven selections discuss the current state of the arms race and deterrence by considering President Reagan's "Star Wars" scenario, the future of nuclear weapons, strategic deterrence, the use of chemicals in war, and nuclear winter.

37. **Famine, Development, and Foreign Aid**, Nick Eberstadt, *Commentary*, March 1985. 196
According to the author, the US should distinguish among the problems confronting poor countries. Of the three separate objectives of *American foreign-aid* programs, military aid, for the purpose of global defense strategy, is not truly a Third World policy, but humanitarian and developmental aid are.
38. **Countertrade: An Illusory Solution**, Jacques de Miramon, *OECD Observer*, May 1985. 203
Countertrade, based on barter, is spreading in importance as a percentage of world trade. The author believes this practice will be detrimental to *international trading* and will reintroduce bilateralism in trading. He advocates that OECD countries discourage countertrade, especially with Third World countries, as it will be harmful to both sides.
- Overview 208
39. **Space: The Final Frontier**, SANE pamphlet, 1985. 210
The *Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)*, or Star Wars program, is, in the opinion of SANE, incapable of providing even a near-perfect defense system. To protect us, this system must work perfectly the first time. However, the system is highly vulnerable to countermeasures, notably decoys. Other drawbacks are the expense of the SDI and the danger it presents to the *Antiballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty*.
40. **Star Wars and Outer Space Law**, Daniel Arbess, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, October 1985. 213
The *Reagan administration* has tried to draw fine distinctions between the language of the *Antiballistic Missile Treaty (ABM)* and its *Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)*. However, SDI will violate the Treaty's provisions. To make SDI legally acceptable, it must convince the Soviets that defense is preferable to offense as the means of deterrence, and it must do so within the existing legal regime in outer space.
41. **Nuclear Crisis and Human Frailty**, Lincoln P. Bloomfield, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, October 1985. 217
Professor Bloomfield argues that the human component of crisis management may be the critical factor in a *nuclear crisis*. The information load generated by such a crisis would put almost intolerable stress on those individuals responsible for rational decision making. Studies indicate that individuals are far more susceptible to making errors under stressful conditions than under normal ones. The author suggests ways to diminish the possibility of human error during a nuclear crisis.
42. **Seeing Eye to Eye**, Florence Graves, *Common Cause*, July/August 1985. 222
This specialist on successful negotiations suggests that in the strategic arena, the United States should search for areas in which it serves their own self-interest to negotiate. The key point is to assume that the Soviets will also act in their own self-interest to prevent an accidental *nuclear war*. Thus she recommends negotiating for two crisis control centers (in Moscow and in Washington) which would operate to prevent an unintended conflict or sudden escalation of a crisis.
43. **NPT: The Logic of Inequality**, Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Foreign Policy*, Summer 1985. 226
Professor Nye highlights two key factors in forty years of *nuclear weaponry*: (1) many states have chosen not to acquire nuclear weapons; and (2) nuclear proliferation has not been nearly as widespread as predicted. If the argument is correct that the *Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)* regime is unequal, hence discriminatory, then it is doomed. However, Nye believes that self-interest and prudence will ensure the continuance of the NPT regime, in spite of its inequality.



Unit 8

International Organization and International Law

Four articles discuss the importance of international law on world peace as affected by international organization.

44. **Proliferating Poison**, Don Oberdorfer, *The Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, September 23, 1985. 230
Restraint on the use or development of *chemical weapons* is in danger of collapsing. Fear is growing that another Iraqi poison gas attack will trigger a poison gas response by the Iranians, making it the first time since World War I that both parties have used chemical weapons. Controlling chemical weapon proliferation is far more difficult than controlling nuclear weapon proliferation because they are not "species threatening" and are far easier and cheaper to manufacture.
45. **A Soviet View of Nuclear Winter**, Sergei Kapitza, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, October 1985. 233
This Russian physicist evaluates the risks of *nuclear war*. Nuclear war will have global consequences, which will lead to a "nuclear winter." He urges avoiding a planetary catastrophe by seeking a common security. The Soviet government recognizes that nuclear weapons can no longer serve as instruments of war in its "no-first-use" pledge. The earth, he says, has grown too small for a nuclear war.
- Overview** 236
46. **The United Nations After Forty Years**, Richard Falk, *The Nation*, September 21, 1985. 238
According to Professor Falk, the *United Nations* was founded in a climate of ambivalence, especially on the part of the major powers who looked beyond the United Nations for preservation of their national interests. Nevertheless, the UN has helped to create a better world, particularly by acting as a world forum for discussion of disputes and diplomacy, and by identifying world problems that all states could work together to eliminate.
47. **The UN: A Not So Dangerous Place?** Michael Clough, *CSIS Africa Notes*, July 24, 1985. 242
The author refutes the notion that the *United Nations* has become "a dangerous place" for the United States. An analysis of the State Department's report on which countries' voting records are in most disagreement with the United States record indicates that they have misconstrued the data. Thus to tie bilateral aid to UN voting records would be a serious mistake. Furthermore, the Soviets' scorecard is better only because it follows the voting decisions of the Third World, and not vice versa.
48. **Two Cheers for Multilateralism**, Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Foreign Policy*, Fall 1985. 251
The authors argue that the continued support of *international regimes*, rules, and organizations which provide a global framework for international relations, is in the best interest of the United States. The *Reagan administration*, which originally opposed international regimes in favor of unilateralism, is now supportive of them.
49. **Interstate Cooperation on Human Rights**, V. Chkhikvadze, *International Affairs*, November 1985. 260
This Soviet scholar argues that certain imperialist states try to divert the *United Nations* from its proper role in the *human rights* arena in order to concern it with human rights issues that are entirely within the internal jurisdiction of states. The proper role of the UN is to address gross violations of human rights resulting from wars of aggression and from the rule of racist and military-dictatorial governments.
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To The Reader

In publishing ANNUAL EDITIONS we recognize the enormous role played by the magazines, newspapers, and journals of the *public press* in providing current, first-rate educational information in a broad spectrum of interest areas. Within the articles, the best scientists, practitioners, researchers, and commentators draw issues into new perspective as accepted theories and viewpoints are called into account by new events, recent discoveries change old facts, and fresh debate breaks out over important controversies.

Many of the articles resulting from this enormous editorial effort are appropriate for students, researchers, and professionals seeking accurate, current material to help bridge the gap between principles and theories and the real world. These articles, however, become more useful for study when those of lasting value are carefully collected, organized, indexed, and reproduced in a low-cost format, which provides easy and permanent access when the material is needed. That is the role played by *Annual Editions*. Under the direction of each volume's *Editor*, who is an expert in the subject area, and with the guidance of an *Advisory Board*, we seek each year to provide in each ANNUAL EDITION a current, well-balanced, carefully selected collection of the best of the public press for your study and enjoyment. We think you'll find this volume useful, and we hope you'll take a moment to let us know what you think.


Annual Editions: World Politics 86/87 is aimed at filling a void in materials for learning about world politics and foreign policy. Among the dozens of textbooks and anthologies available today, this accessible compilation of readings brings together major, current problems concerning relations among nations in an easily understandable language to which readers can relate.

The articles are chosen for those who are new to the study of world politics. The objective of this compilation is to stimulate interest in learning to understand issues that often seem foreign, remote, and irrelevant, but which actually have profound consequences for economic well-being, security, and even survival.

International relations can be viewed as a constant flow of actions and reactions that produce new situations calling for further actions. The readings in this volume convey the complexities and the interdependence of international relations confronting the world at this time. The interdependence of relationships means that events as far away as Zimbabwe, Japan, Poland, South Africa, and Latin America affect the United States, just as America's actions, and inactions, have significant repercussions for other states. International events proceed at such a rapid pace, however, that often what is said about international affairs today may be outdated tomorrow. This collection of articles about international events provides the most up-to-date commentaries available.

This seventh edition of *World Politics 86/87* is divided into eight units. The first five units are directed toward the major actors in the world: the United States, the Soviet Union, Western Europe, Japan, Eastern Europe, China, and the Third World. In the Third World unit, the focus is on those countries which have drawn considerable international attention in the past year. After presenting the major actors and analyses of their current foreign policy issues and concerns, the book turns to three broad areas of concern to international relations: the international political economy; the arms race, arms control, and disarmament; and international organization and international law. In each unit, a variety of political perspectives are offered to make readers more aware of the complexities of the problems in international relations, and to stimulate them to consider alternative perspectives on seemingly straight-forward issues.

I wish to thank my colleagues and previous users of *Annual Editions: World Politics* who have taken time to comment on the collection of articles. Please continue to provide feedback to guide the annual revision of this anthology by filling out the article rating form on the last page of this book.



Suzanne P. Ogden
Editor

Topic Guide

This topic guide suggests how the selections in this book relate to topics of traditional concern to world politics students and professionals. It is very useful in locating articles which relate to each other for reading and research. The guide is arranged alphabetically according to topic. Articles may, of course, treat topics that do not appear in the topic guide. In turn, entries in the topic guide do not necessarily constitute a comprehensive listing of all the contents of each selection.

TOPIC AREA	TREATED AS AN ISSUE IN:	TOPIC AREA	TREATED AS AN ISSUE IN:
Afghanistan	11. Afghan War Finally Hits Soviets' Home Front	Chemical Weapons	44. Proliferating Poisons
Africa	5. Six Questions for the Reagan Doctrine: Next Stop, Angola 6. Some Observations on US Security Interests in Africa 24. Africa's Development Challenges	China	21. Point, Counterpoint: China Tries to Manipulate the Emerging US-Soviet Détente 22. Assessing United States-China Relations 23. Carrying Friendship Too Far 28. Consent to Concession
American Foreign Aid	37. Famine, Development, and Foreign Aid	Détente	20. The Politics of Division and Détente in East Germany 21. Point, Counterpoint: China Tries to Manipulate the Emerging US-Soviet Détente
American Foreign Policy	1. The Real National Interest 4. US Human Rights Policy 25. South Africa: Why Constructive Engagement Failed	Eastern Europe	19. Eastern Europe: A House Dividing 20. The Politics of Division and Détente in East Germany
American Intervention	1. The Real National Interest 2. When to Intervene 3. The Busyness of American Foreign Policy 5. Six Questions for the Reagan Doctrine: Next Stop, Angola 30. A Catalyst for Moderation	East-West Relations	12. A Moscow View
American National Interest	1. The Real National Interest 2. When to Intervene 3. The Busyness of American Foreign Policy 5. Six Questions for the Reagan Doctrine: Next Stop, Angola	European Community	14. How to Get Europe Moving Again
Arms Control and Disarmament	12. A Moscow View 13. Gorbachev Offers to Scrap A-Arms 23. Carrying Friendship Too Far 43. NPT: The Logic of Inequality	European Socialism	16. New Paths for Socialism
Central America	29. Department Releases Report on Sandinista Intervention in Central America 30. Interstate Cooperation on Human Rights	Germany	20. The Politics of Division and Détente in East Germany
		Gorbachev	7. Kremlin Politics 8. Gorbachev's Strategy 9. The Emergence of a Flexible Soviet Policy 12. A Moscow View 13. Gorbachev Offers to Scrap A-Arms
		Great Britain	15. Real Progress in Northern Ireland: The Other Summit
		Hong Kong	28. Consent to Concession
		Human Rights	4. US Human Rights Policy 49. Interstate Cooperation on Human Rights

TOPIC AREA	TREATED AS AN ISSUE IN:	TOPIC AREA	TREATED AS AN ISSUE IN:
IMF (International Monetary Fund)	34. How to Save the Third World 35. J. de Larosiere Reviews Problems of Indebted Developing Countries	South Africa	25. South Africa: Why Constructive Engagement Failed
International Regimes	48. Two Cheers for Multilateralism	Southeast Asia	26. Southeast Asia Ten Years After the Vietnam War 27. The View from Hanoi
International Trade and Finance	10. The Revolutionary Road Runs Out 17. Don't Blame Japan Alone 36. Truth in Trading 38. Countertrade	Soviet Foreign Policy	7. Kremlin Politics 8. Gorbachev's Strategy 9. The Emergence of a Flexible Soviet Policy 10. The Revolutionary Road Runs Out 19. Eastern Europe: A House Dividing
Ireland	15. Real Progress in Northern Ireland: The Other Summit	Soviet Intervention	10. The Revolutionary Road Runs Out 11. Afghan War Finally Hits Soviets' Home Front
Israel	31. Strategic Dissensus	Strategic Defense Initiative (Star Wars)	9. The Emergence of a Flexible Soviet Policy 12. A Moscow View 13. Gorbachev Offers to Scrap A-Arms 39. Space: The Final Frontier 40. Star Wars and Outer Space Law
Japan	9. The Emergence of a Flexible Soviet Policy 17. Don't Blame Japan Alone 18. The Japanese Phoenix 36. Truth in Trading	Terrorism	32. "Death to America" in Lebanon
Lebanon	32. "Death to America" in Lebanon 33. Lebanon in the Context of Regional Politics	Third World	5. Six Questions for the Reagan Doctrine: Next Stop, Angola 10. The Revolutionary Road Runs Out 34. How to Save the Third World 35. J. de Larosiere Reviews Problems of Indebted Developing Countries
Middle East	31. Strategic Dissensus 32. "Death to America" in Lebanon 33. Lebanon in the Context of Regional Politics	Trade	See International Trade and Finance
Nuclear Crisis/ Nuclear War	41. Nuclear Crisis and Human Frailty 42. Seeing Eye to Eye 45. A Soviet View of Nuclear Winter	United Nations	46. The United Nations After Forty Years 47. The UN: A Not So Dangerous Place? 49. Interstate Cooperation of Human Rights
Nuclear Proliferation/ Nuclear Weapons	See Arms Control and Disarmament	Vietnam	26. Southeast Asia Ten Years After the Vietnam War 27. The View from Hanoi
Reagan	4. US Human Rights Policy 5. Six Questions for the Reagan Doctrine: Next Stop, Angola 23. Carrying Friendship Too Far 25. South Africa: Why Constructive Engagement Failed 40. Star Wars and Outer Space Law 48. Two Cheers for Multilateralism	Western Europe	9. The Emergence of a Flexible Soviet Policy 16. New Paths for Socialism

The United States as a Major World Power

In many respects, the United States has recently seen its national interest advanced worldwide. The reasons for this bear examination. America is arrogant in assuming that when other states' actions advance America's national interest, or at least do not challenge it, it should be credited to America's foreign policy. While this may be true in some cases, in others it is an erroneous assumption that may lead to the misdirection of US foreign policy. In a world of complex interdependence, and a world in which the power configuration is diffuse, one state cannot direct the action of other states at will.

The Soviet Union's recent stance on arms control and its diminished support for revolution abroad, for example, may have less to do with America's foreign policy than with internal political and economic pressures on the Soviet leadership. Further, it is possible that the Soviets are not reacting to US policy initiatives, but rather generating their own initiatives to which the US is responding. Regardless of how one interprets the pitfalls in Gorbachev's disarmament proposals, therefore, the fact that he is even willing to propose them may, on the one hand, reflect his assessment that this is the only sensible alternative for the Soviets to pursue in light of Reagan's insistence on continuing the arms race with his Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) or may, on the other hand, reflect Gorbachev's assessment of what would contribute most to his consolidation of power at home. While we can hardly dismiss US foreign policy as irrelevant to what the Soviets do, we cannot blindly conclude that Reagan's tough line on foreign policy produced a Soviet foreign policy more congenial to America's national interest.

The sudden turn for the better in United States-Vietnamese relations is another case in point. It is difficult to separate the influence of intensive American negotiations and the allure of potential American aid from the passage of time since the Vietnam war as key elements affecting Vietnam's attempt to satisfy US demands on American soldiers missing in action.

In addition, it is virtually impossible to determine how the unique personality, experience, and character of a policy formulator in another state will merge together to shape his or her response to United States foreign policy and to American foreign policy makers. Reagan, for example, may be viewed by foreign policy formulators in others states as a tough president who stands tall, as a rigid and ideological leader, or as a mere buffoon.

Regardless of how much credit America can take for what happens in the world, America's key allies and adversaries seem to confirm the direction of American foreign policy, especially in the European theater. Compared to the 1970s, America's relationships with its major allies are stable. The European peace movement, which was opposed to the emplacement of American nuclear missiles in Western Europe, appears to have lost its momentum. There is less divisiveness with NATO, and fewer attempts by the Europeans to blame the US for its economic

difficulties. Although Canada and the United States have problems, such as acid rain, cooperation dominates the relationship. Japan too seems to be accommodating America's concerns about Japan's defense and economic aggressiveness to fend off the Congress' "Japan bashing" tactics, even if they are not adequately dispelling concerns about the trade imbalance. However, there is less than total accord between the US and its major allies concerning South Africa, Middle East terrorism, and SDI. Whether such disagreements could fundamentally challenge American leadership is unclear.

The United States has reduced its major adversaries (measured by their power) to one—the Soviet Union. Even that relationship is at its best point in years. China, once a major enemy, can hardly be put into the enemy category since the US is willing to sign a nuclear sharing agreement with it, Sino-American trade is growing, and Taiwan is, for the time being, not even an issue on the Sino-American agenda. This is not to deny some of the negative American inputs on the international level, such as the damage to the law of the sea regime and to the concept of civil aviation rights (by way of commandeering an Egyptian airliner on its way to Italy following the Achille Loro hijacking). While the interest of the *international* system may have been hurt by such American actions, however, America's own *national* interests have not necessarily been harmed.

Taking the international system as the level of analysis, the United States still appears to have made considerable headway. American efforts through the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank to cope with the issue of massive indebtedness and debt restructuring have started to bear fruit in spite of some casualties. And the willingness on the part of the US to grapple seriously with its own balance of payments problems, as well as to bring down the value of the American dollar, has brought with it more willingness on the part of the international community to listen to the US on international economic and financial matters.

The willingness to follow America's leadership diminishes, however, when international morality and moral issues are the basis for United States foreign policy actions. Regardless of America's heartfelt commitment, many states interpret US moral positions as a mere cloak for the pursuit of America's national interest. Thus, while the US appears to have the support of its major allies on key international issues, it has far less support for its use of power in pursuit of America's national interest, disguised as moral objectives, in such places as Central America. Further, there are many smaller states in the international system which act as if America's military might has little relevance to their policies. In fact, in recent developments in international affairs, certain countries, particularly those in the Middle East, have given less than their undivided attention to what the United States thinks and does. While the US is the primary supporter of the state of Israel, and while the effect of weapons provided by the United States may be undeterminable in who wins military conflicts in the Middle East, it is striking just how peripheral

I am indebted to my Northeastern University colleague, David Dickson, for his comments on an earlier draft of this overview.