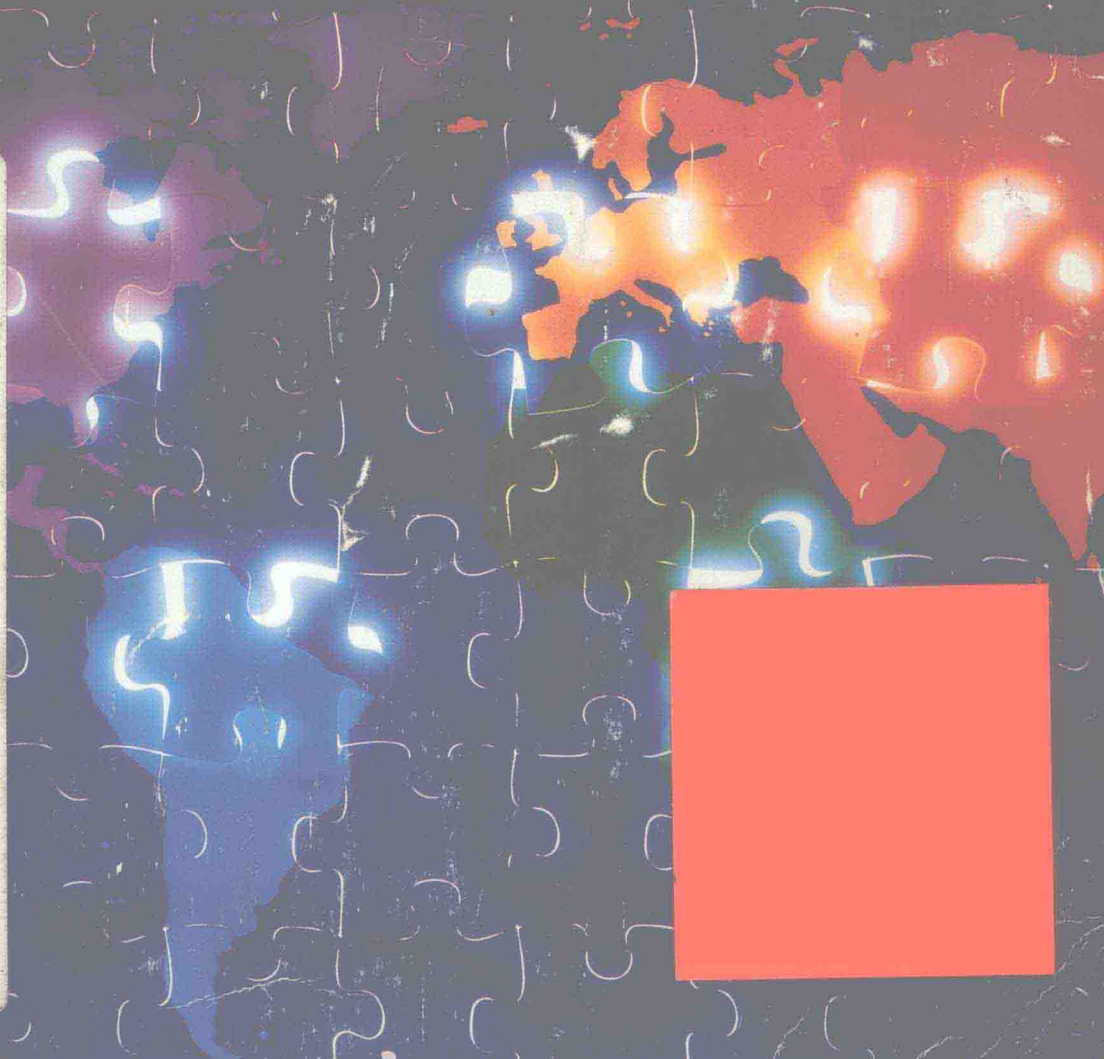
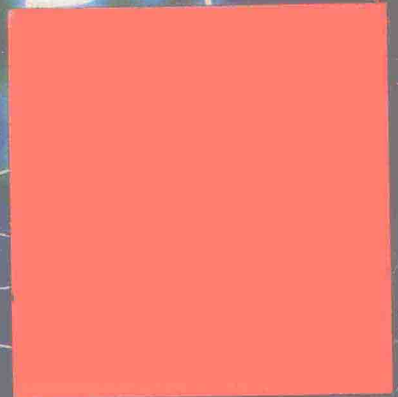


Richard W. Mansbach

The GLOBAL PUZZLE

ISSUES AND ACTORS IN WORLD POLITICS

Second Edition



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Iowa State University

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1. Nationalities in the Former Yugoslavia Prior to the Eruption of Civil War (1990) 12
2. History and the South Slavs 28
3. The Politics of Classical Greece 35
4. The Chinese Imperial System 36
5. Medieval and Modern Islam 40
6. The Holy Roman Empire of Medieval Europe with Major Vassals, ca. 1200 44
7. Africa: State Frontiers vs. Tribal Identities 76
8. Victims of Major Civil Strife Since 1945 79
9. Narcopolitics: A Transnational Issue 92
10. Russians in the NearAbroad 131
11. The Globalization of Auto Production 208
12. International Organizations: A Sample 246
13. The Ottoman Empire at Its Height, 1566 258
14. Ethnicity and the Middle East 264
15. The Complexity of Alignments in Middle East Politics 270
16. War and Changing Boundaries in the Middle East 272
17. Dangerous Transfers: The Traffic in Nuclear and Missile Technology 394
18. Classification of Economies by Income and Region 424
19. The Changing Faces of Germany 475
20. Annual Renewable Water Sources 512



Figures and Tables

1. The Power Relationship 69
2. Ratios of Military to Combined Education and Health Spending, 1990-1991 71
3. Bloodiest Civil Wars Since 1945 78
4. Major Ethnic, National, and Religious Tensions 80
5. Restricted Model of State-Centered Politics 89
6. Expanded Model of International and Domestic Policy Links 90
7. U.S. Foreign Trade as a Percentage of GNP 94
8. U.S. Direct Investment Abroad, Foreign Direct Investment in the U.S. as a Percentage of U.S. GNP 95
9. Parts and Wholes: Domestic Pressures and Global Consequences 138
10. Characteristics of a Political System: Key Concepts 142
11. Prisoner's Dilemma 146
12. The Disarmament Game 148
13. Top Twenty-Five Countries 1993 159
14. The Billiard Model 175
15. The World's Top Fifty Economic Entities 206
16. International Terrorist Incidents, 1968-1994 214
17. Average Number of International Terrorist Incidents by Region, 1988-1994 215
18. The United Nations System 227
19. U.S. and Soviet Union Percentage Agreement with the Majority 231
20. U.N. Peacekeeping and Observer Team Operations, 1948-1994 234
21. U.N. Secretariat Expenditures 241
22. Which Country Pays Most? 242
23. Functionalism in Action: Specialized Agencies Affiliated with the United Nations 248
24. Petroleum Production and Reserves (table) 286
25. Petroleum Production and Reserves (figure) 287
26. Chicken 297

27. Frequency of International Wars 325
28. Frequency of Civil Wars, 1816–1977 326
29. The Bloodiest Interstate Wars Between 1816 and 1988 328
30. Wars Since 1945 329
31. World Military Expenditures 353
32. Military Expenditure by Region, 1983 and 1993 354
33. Military Expenditures: Shares and Growth (in percentages) 355
34. Leading U.S. Defense Contractors and Their Corporate Sales Rank for Fiscal Year 1992 359
35. Effects of Bomb 377
36. Major Arms-Control Agreements 382
37. Reduction in Strategic Warheads Under START I and II 388
38. Regional Shares of the World Arms Import Market 399
39. Leading Arms Importers 400
40. Largest Defense Companies, 1994 401
41. Trade in Goods and Services as a Proportion of GNP 415
42. Per Capita GNP for Developing and Developed Worlds 422
43. HDI Ranking 427
44. Trends in Infant Mortality 428
45. Trends in Life Expectancy 429
46. World Export Shares of Technology-Intensive Products, 1970–1986 448
47. The Shape of American Decline 448
48. American Share of World Manufacturing Production 449
49. Leading States and Major Power Resources 449
50. Glaring Across the Pacific 468
51. World Population Growth 500
52. Estimated Regional Population Densities, 2000 502
53. Estimated Population Growth of Selected Countries, 1987–2025 502
54. World Carbon Emissions from Fossil Fuel Burning, 1950–1994 520
55. National Sources of Carbon Dioxide 521
56. Gender-Disparity-Adjusted HDI 540
57. Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) 544
58. A Growing Tide of Refugees 566



The dramatic changes that have transformed global politics in recent years, especially the end of the Cold War, and the failure of our theoretical lenses to keep pace with them have persuaded me to write this text. If we steep new generations of students in old ideas, we will prepare them for a world that has disappeared. Most scholars and practitioners continue to rely on a power-politics approach to international relations. “Sovereign states,” “military power,” and “national interest” are key features of that approach, and they are ill suited and perhaps even dangerous in the new world.

Key Themes

The Global Puzzle is intentionally thematic. Its key themes are (1) global politics consists of a variety of issues that may be linked but have their own features; (2) the cast of global actors is large and constantly changing and includes state and nonstate actors; (3) the cooperative and social features of global politics have received insufficient attention in the literature; (4) contemporary global issues have important historical and, often, non-Western roots; and (5) such issues increasingly transcend the capacity of single states to cope with them. Although relations between such parties as Rwandan tribal groups, Hindus and Muslims, or Somali warlords feature conflict and violence, most of global politics is actually stable and cooperative.

Whether conflictual or cooperative, actors’ relationships cannot be understood without some acquaintance with the history of the regions in which they take place. Too many texts view global politics as mainly consisting of a small number of territorial states. In contrast to this vision of the world inherited from an earlier generation of Europeans, this text focuses on a rich galaxy of actors. Giant corporations like Sony and Texaco, terrorist groups like the Abu Nidal faction, international organizations like OPEC, and even private organizations like Amnesty International play important supporting roles in the dramas of global politics.

Organization and Content

The text consists of four parts. The first, “How We Got Here,” introduces students to some of the changes the world has experienced in recent years, emphasizing the historical roots of the state system, challenges to that system, and the onset and end of the Cold War. In the process, they present comparative theoretical prisms through which to view the dramas of the real world. The section also introduces students to the key concepts that the text uses to

make sense of global politics—political systems, power, actors, and issues. The first chapter (“A World Turned Upside Down”) describes the world before and after the Cold War and examines many of the key changes that global politics has undergone in recent years. The second chapter (“The Richness of Historical Experience”) emphasizes the critical role of the past in understanding the present and future, illustrating this by looking briefly at ancient Greece, imperial China, medieval Islam, and medieval Europe. Chapter Three (“The Rise and Decline of the State”) examines the emergence and evolution of the territorial state, as well as challenges to it, and Chapter 4 (“Toward a New World: The Exit of the Cold War”) examines how alternative theoretical lenses explain the outbreak and resolution of the Cold War.

Part II, “Where Are We Going?” consists of four chapters that collectively examine several perspectives one may take to explain global politics and the universe of actors that play a role in our global drama. Chapter Five (“The Global System”) looks at the “big picture” of the global system, and examines the role its structure plays in shaping human behavior, especially the importance of resource and attitude distribution. Chapter 6 (“The Janus Face of Issues—Foreign Policy”) illustrates how the barriers between international and domestic politics are falling and examines a variety of ways to explain foreign policy. The following chapter (“Beyond the Nation-State? A World of Many Actors”) examines the variety of actors other than states, that have prominent roles in global politics, especially international organizations. Chapter 8, the last in this section, (“Actors and Issues: The Middle East Case”) uses the case of the Middle East and its crosscutting and tangled relationship to illustrate how focusing on issues and actors paints a more complex and richer portrait of global politics.

The five chapters in Part III, “Cooperation and Conflict: A Changing Balance,” move beyond the theoretical perspectives of the previous sections to examine the mix of conflict and cooperation in global politics. Chapter 9 (“Going It Alone or Working Together in Global Politics?”) focuses on the implications of anarchy in global politics, arguing that even in the absence of world government, informal rules, international law, and international regimes foster cooperation and provide the bases for global society. Chapters 10 and 11 (“Force in World Politics: A Changing Role” and “The Special Case of Nuclear Weapons”) discuss the changing role of military force in global politics. The final chapters in this section (“International Political Economy: Where Economics and Politics Meet”) and (“Friendly Economic Adversaries: United States, Japan, and Europe”) focus on the growing role of economic factors in global politics, and, by examining relations among the United States, Japan, and the European Union, on the pressure the global economy exerts on actors to coordinate goals and policies.

The final section of the book, “The Search for Solutions,” examines issues that are overwhelming sovereign states or in which states themselves are a big part of the problem. Chapter 14 (“The State and the Species: Environmental Dilemmas”) looks at a series of environmental issues such as the population explosion that threaten everyone’s survival, and Chapter 15 (“The State Versus

the Individual: Human Rights in the Global Arena”) examines the relationship between the state and individual citizens in the context of human-rights abuses. The final chapter (“Solving the Puzzle: Alternate Futures”) ends the book by depicting two dramatically different scenarios for the future—one an optimistic vision of growing global cooperation and the other a bleak vision of intensifying conflict within and among states.

New To This Edition

Those familiar with the first edition of *The Global Puzzle* will recognize that extensive changes have been made in the organization of materials. As a result of reorganization and tightening, the original introduction and seventeen chapters have become sixteen chapters that will make it easier to use in a typical semester. The problem of securing collective goods—a key theme in the book—is now presented in the first chapter rather than awaiting chapter 15 as in the first edition. This theme, along with the issue cycle that has been moved up to chapter 4, is thus available for analyzing the remainder of the book. Historical materials about the evolution of the sovereign state and the onset and end of the Cold War have been brought together and moved toward the beginning of the book in chapters 3 and 4 respectively. In addition, much of old chapters 3 and 4—“The Puzzle of Power” and “Issues and Actors in World Politics”—have been given a historical context by integrating them into the story told in new chapter 3, “The State and the Tradition of Power Politics.” In this way the student is introduced to additional historical and substantive materials to facilitate understanding the more abstract material on the global system and its structure in chapter 5. This change also aids in clarifying the book’s theme that we have entered an era of what James Rosenau calls “postinternational politics.”

The logic of the book’s second part has also been clarified by making old chapter 5, “Beyond the Nation-State? A World of Many Actors,” become chapter 7. As a result, Part Two starts from the most comprehensive level of analysis, the global system, and moves on to the actors in that system—the state and its foreign policy and international and nonstate actors. These levels and the book’s overall theoretical emphasis on a world of multiple issues and actors are illustrated and explored in chapter 8 on the Middle East (formerly chapter 14). In contrast to the first edition, the dynamics of global politics appear later in the book. In addition, old chapters 10 and 13 that deal with economic issues have been brought closer together as chapters 12 and 13.

All chapters have been brought up to date and include the most recent available data. The book has been strengthened by the addition of sections on Failed States (chapter 3), (post-Cold War) U.S.-Russian frictions (chapter 4), International Law (chapter 9), Postmodern War (chapter 10), Gender and Human rights (chapter 15), and Trade versus Human rights: The China case.

Visual and Pedagogical Aids

To assist students understand the complexities of global politics, the text employs a variety of visual and pedagogical aids. The extensive use of maps, for example, not only locates peoples in a conventional sense but also reflects the changing global distribution of phenomena like population and conflict, and

illustrates how different approaches point to different features of the world. A variety of tables and figures provides students with contemporary data that reinforce and illustrate substantive points such as the extent of environmental damage suffered by the planet. Photographs and cartoons with instructive captions bring to life some of the people and issues described in the text. Substantive footnoting provides students with the background to key issues and with additional sources to consult if they wish to do so. Finally, lists of key terms at the end of chapters and a glossary at the end of the text assure that students understand the basic concepts in the text.

Text Supplements

An accompanying Instructor's Resource Manual will make it easier for instructors to use this text effectively. To facilitate preparation of lectures it includes chapter summaries and detailed lecture outlines. It also includes a number of illustrative syllabi that suggest how the text can be used in both introductory and more advanced settings. These syllabi contain additional suggested readings as well as suggested activities that I have found useful. The manual also contains sample essay and multiple choice questions for exams; and these are also available on disk. Additionally, a set of transparencies contains maps and other visual aids from the text.

Acknowledgments

As the second edition of this book nears completion, it still remains unclear whether the end of the long nightmare of Cold War will usher in a dawn of peace and progress or a new night of nationalist violence and ecological decay. Atrocities in Bosnia, Liberia, and Rwanda conjure up images of fascist barbarism. Yet, there are contrary clues—a decline in China's birthrate, an international rescue operation in Somalia, and the spread of democracy in Russia. Perhaps it has always been like this, evidence of atavism and progress side by side. We approach the twenty-first century, as our ancestors approached earlier centuries, with a mix of hope and fear.

Sadly, we still understand little about the forces that shape global politics and thus our prospects for survival. Ignorance, even more than malice, explains our failure to realize our best aspirations; and, as the pace of change accelerates, our ability to understand the world around us likely will lag still further behind events. Must we despair at fathoming global politics and so surrender control of our destinies? The answer is "no" if we turn away from obsolete theories and seek new perspectives that can illuminate what is important. It is no less critical in global politics than in other fields of human endeavor to throw off old ways of thinking that have become stale and worn. Recognizing that our fates are linked, we must find new ways to look at old phenomena and fashion new lenses to help us see what is genuinely new.

My thanks go to many colleagues and students whose advice and assistance over the years have informed this book. Thanks go, too, to those at Houghton Mifflin who have been so generous with their time and effort including Jean Woy, Paul A. Smith, Fran Gay, Clint Crockett, Charline Lake, Jennifer Waddell, Florence Cadran, and Merrill Peterson and to those who, in reviewing this man-

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In sum, neither sentimental optimism nor paralytic despair will serve our ends. It takes courage to confront the daunting issues of global politics that threaten our survival not merely as individuals but as a species. Let us show that courage so that our children and our children's children can say that we did what we could to make their lives better than ours. It is for this reason I dedicate this book to my daughter Rachael Alexandra.

Richard W. Mansbach



Preface xvii

PART ONE: HOW WE GOT HERE 1

1. A World Turned Upside Down 2

The Old World 4

The New World 11

Goals and Issues 19

The Variety of Issues 19

The New World and Collective Goods 20

Plan for *The Global Puzzle* 22

2. The Richness of Historical Experience 25

Why Study History? 25

Assumptions Critical to Understanding Global Politics 29

Classical Greece, Imperial China, and Theocratic Islam 33

Politics in Classical Greece 33

China's Imperial System 34

Rise and Decline of an Islamic Empire 39

Medieval Europe to Westphalia: Birth of the State System 42

Statelessness of Medieval Europe 42

Territorial States in Europe 46

The Halcyon Era of the Sovereign State and the Balance of Power 46

Europe's Classical Balance of Power 51

Prerequisites for the Balance of Power 53

Conclusion 57

3. The State and The Tradition of Power Politics 59

The Power-Politics Tradition 59

Thucydides 60

Machiavelli 61

Twentieth-Century Realism 62

The Puzzle of Power 65

Defining Power 66

Types of Power 69

Costs of Power 70

The Decline of Sovereignty 71

Strong, Weak, and Failed States 73

Somalia as a Failed State 74

All States Are Sovereign, But Some More So Than Others 75

The National Interest 82

The Transnational Challenge to the State 85

Technology and Diminishing Independence 85

Mobilization of the Masses and Growing Global Society 86

Transnational Relations 88

The Meaning of Interdependence 91

Conclusion 95

4. Toward a New World: Onset and Exit of the Cold War 98

The Issue Cycle 99

Genesis 99

Crisis 100

Ritualization 101

Resolution 102

The Issue Cycle and the Cold War 102

Stage 1: Genesis of the Cold War 102

Interpreting the Genesis of the Cold War 110

Stage 2: The Cold War as Crisis 112

Stage 3: Ritualization of the Cold War 115

Stage 4: Resolving the Cold War 119

Interpreting the End 123

U.S.-Russian Relations After the Cold War 126

Russia and Reform 127

U.S.-Russian Frictions 129

Conclusion 133

PART TWO: WHERE ARE WE GOING? 135

5. The Global System 136

- Attributes of the Global System 137
 - System Defined: Parts and Wholes* 137
 - Actors, Issues, and Systems* 139
 - Growing Interdependence of the Global Political System* 140
- Structural Properties of Global Systems 143
 - Anarchy and Absence of Trust* 144
 - Neorealism* 147
 - The Importance of Distribution* 150
- Distribution of Resources in Global Politics 153
 - Tangible and Intangible Resources* 153
 - Putting Resources to Work* 155
 - Geographic Location* 156
 - Size and Development* 157
 - Capability and Status in Global Politics* 160
- Distribution of Attitudes in Global Politics 163
 - Identities* 163
 - Expectations* 166
 - Beliefs* 166
 - Goals* 168
- Conclusion 169

6. Issues with a Janus Face: Foreign Policy 171

- What Is Foreign Policy? 171
- Foreign Policy and the State-Centric Tradition 174
 - States, Billiard Balls, and Global Politics* 174
 - State-Centric Theory and the Rational-Actor Model* 176
- Decision-Making Approaches to Foreign Policy 177
 - Internal Processes and Foreign Policy* 177
 - Individuals and Foreign Policy* 179
 - Evaluating the Decision-Making Approach* 181
- Bureaucratic and Organizational Models of Foreign Policy 182
 - The Bureaucratic-Politics Model* 183
 - The Organizational-Process Model* 187
 - Evaluating the Models* 188
- Foreign Policy and Transnational Politics 191
 - International Organizations and Foreign Policy* 191
 - Nonstate Actors and Foreign Policy* 193

Foreign-Policy Analysis and the Persian Gulf War	194
<i>Persian Gulf War: The Background</i>	194
<i>The State-Centric Perspective</i>	196
<i>The Decision-Making Perspective</i>	197
<i>Organizational and Bureaucratic Perspectives</i>	198
<i>The Transnational Perspective</i>	200
Conclusion	200

7. Beyond the Nation-State? A World of Many Actors 202

The Variety of Global Actors	203
Transnational Corporations	204
<i>Global Reach of the TNC</i>	207
<i>TNC Influence Worldwide</i>	209
<i>TNCs and Developing Countries: Union Carbide and ITT</i>	209
<i>Global Political Influence of TNCs</i>	211
Terrorists	212
<i>The Global Expanse of International Terrorism</i>	213
<i>Motives and Tactics of Terrorists</i>	215
Ethnic and Tribal Actors	217
Global Intergovernmental Organizations	218
The Seeds of International Organization	219
<i>Kant, Rousseau, and Woodrow Wilson</i>	219
<i>Functionalism and Neofunctionalism</i>	221
The League of Nations	223
<i>The League: Origins and Characteristics</i>	223
<i>Evaluating the League's Effectiveness</i>	224
The United Nations	226
<i>The United Nations Begins</i>	226
<i>U.N. Effectiveness in Maintaining Peace and Security</i>	230
<i>U.N. Prospects</i>	237
Regional Intergovernmental Organizations	244
Functionalism in Action	245
<i>The Functional Side of IGOs and NGOs</i>	249
<i>Regional Organizations and Neofunctionalism</i>	250
Conclusion	252

8. Actors and Issues: The Middle East Case 254

Historical Overview	255
<i>The Arabs and Islam</i>	255
<i>Background to Jewish Nationalism</i>	259
Actors	261

<i>Political Parties</i>	261
<i>Religious Actors</i>	262
<i>Ethnic "Nations"</i>	263
<i>Terrorists</i>	265
<i>Transnational Corporations</i>	266
<i>International Organizations</i>	267
<i>Individuals</i>	268
Issues Between Arabs and Israelis	271
<i>"From War to War"</i>	271
<i>The Arab-Israeli-Palestinian Issues</i>	275
Arab Against Arab	281
<i>Pan-Arabism</i>	281
<i>Iran and Iraq</i>	281
<i>"Modernizers" Versus "Traditionalists"</i>	282
<i>Religious Cleavages</i>	283
<i>Oil as an Issue</i>	285
Conclusion	289

PART THREE: COOPERATION AND CONFLICT: A CHANGING BALANCE 291

9. Going It Alone or Working Together in Global Politics? 292

A World of Conflict and Cooperation	292
<i>Mixed Motives</i>	293
<i>Linked Fates and the Metaphor of Games</i>	294
The Conflictful Side of Global Politics	296
<i>Consequences of Assuming the Worst</i>	296
<i>Japanese-U.S. Relations Before World War II: "Chicken" and the Conflict Spiral</i>	298
Social Side of Global Politics	301
<i>Reciprocity</i>	302
<i>Weight of the Past and Future</i>	303
Learning by Doing	306
<i>Learning the Hard Way: The 1930s</i>	306
<i>Learning to Cooperate: The Cold War Ends</i>	306
Global Norms and Rules of the Game	309
International Law	312
<i>International Law and the State System</i>	312
<i>International Law and Individuals: The Nuremberg Precedent</i>	314
International Regimes	317

Types of Regimes 317

Nuclear Proliferation and the Environment 320

Conclusion 322

10. Force in Global Politics: A Changing Role 324

The Nature of War 325

Frequency of War: The Historical Record 325

War Since 1945 327

Causes of War 329

Individuals and Aggression 330

Societies, Governments, and War 333

Systemic Theories of War 335

Changing Technology and the Evolution of War 337

Arms, Politics, and the End of Chivalry 338

War in Eighteenth-Century Europe 338

Napoleonic Revolution in Warfare 339

Technology and World War I 341

Technology and World War II 345

Postmodern War 347

Liberia 349

Rwanda 351

Sri Lanka 352

Costs and Consequences of Military Security 352

Trends in Military Expenditure and Force Levels 352

The Military in Politics 355

Militarizing Society: The U.S. Experience 357

Defense Conversion 360

Conclusion 361

11. The Special Case of Nuclear Weapons 363

Needed: A New Military Strategy 364

A Munich-Pearl Harbor Complex 366

The Doctrine of Massive Retaliation 367

America's Nuclear Monopoly Ends 368

Deterrence in Theory and Practice 369

First Strike, Second Strike, and Nuclear Deterrence 370

Maintaining Successful Deterrence 370

Extended Deterrence, Counterforce, and Nuclear Weapons 371

Problems in Nuclear Deterrence 372

Stability and Vulnerability 372

Destructiveness, Accuracy, and Stability 374

Nuclear Deterrence: Conceptual and Ethical Concerns 376