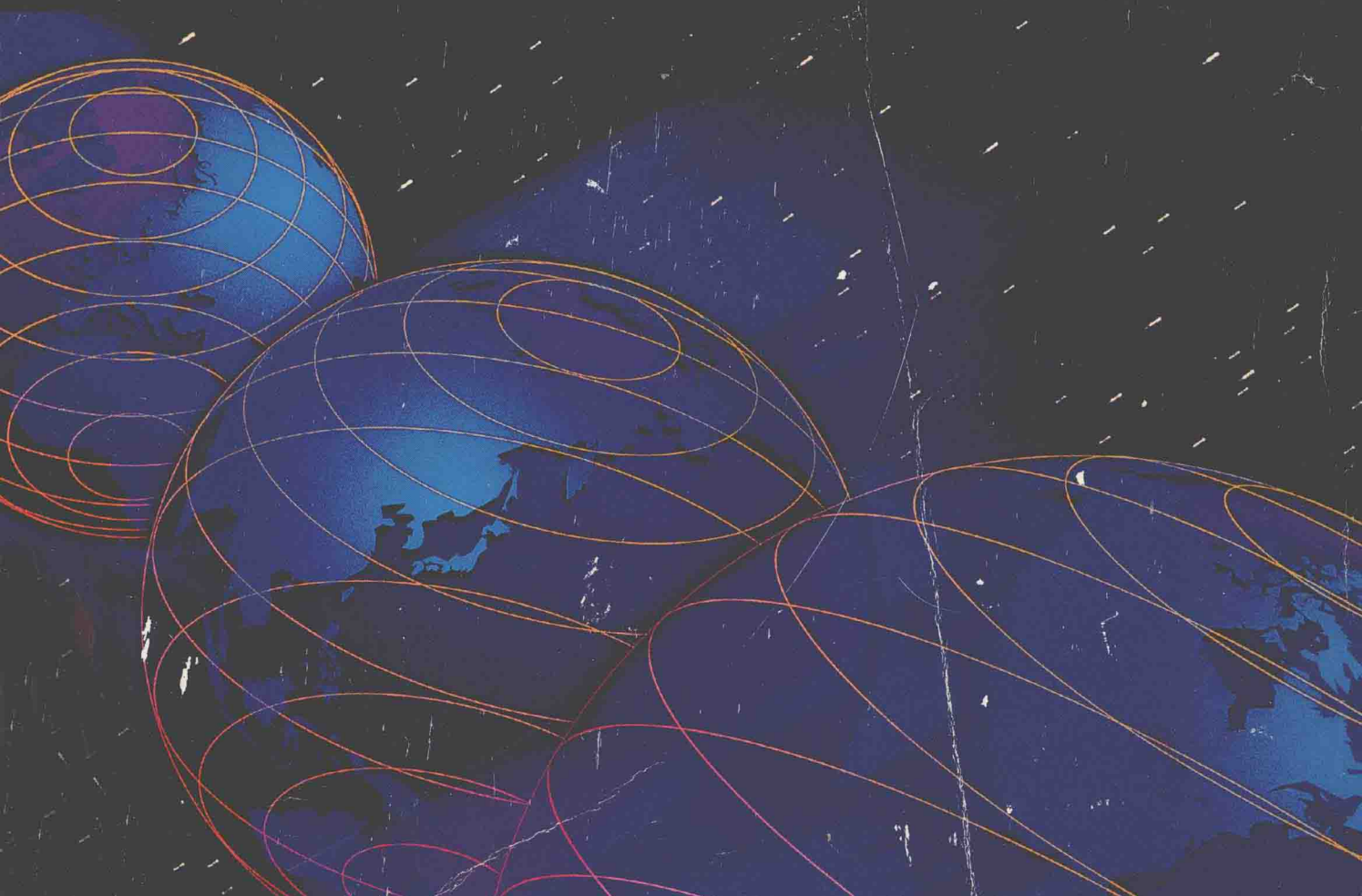


5th EDITION

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

on the WORLD STAGE

JOHN T. ROURKE



INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

on the WORLD STAGE

5th EDITION

JOHN T. ROURKE

University of Connecticut



Dushkin Publishing Group/Brown & Benchmark Publishers

Guilford, Connecticut

For everyone at DPG in Guilford.

Of each of you, I can truly say:

Here is a dear, a true industrious friend.

Shakespeare, *Henry IV, Part I*



This book is printed
on recycled paper

Copyright © 1989, 1991, 1993, 1995 by Dushkin Publishing Group/
Brown & Benchmark Publishers. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be
reproduced, stored, or transmitted in any form or by any means, mechanical, electronic,
photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without prior written permission of the copyright
holder except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles and reviews.

Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 94-68214

International Standard Book Number (ISBN) 1-56134-382-X

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

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*, Fifth 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 includes pointing 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 an emphasis on being current, to engage the students, without being journalistic. The continuing political and economic travails of Russia; the ongoing tragedy in the Balkans and the new tragedy in Rwanda; the increased use of UN peacekeeping forces and the debate over creating a more powerful, peacemaking UN capability; the growth and increased integration of the European Union; the resolution of almost all of the countries of the Western Hemisphere to create a Free Trade Agreement of the Americas by the year 2005; the completion of the latest round of General Agreement on Tariff and Trade Talks and the establishment of the World Trade Organization; the collapse of Mexico's peso and the international rescue effort; the UN Conference on Population and Development in Cairo and its role in bringing women together in a single setting where they could focus on their common, transnational concerns; 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.

New to this edition is an organizational scheme that reflects this text's view that there are two opposing forces shaping the world today: conflict (disintegration) and cooperation (integration). 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 chapter 6 introduces the realist and idealist orientations as a preface to the remaining chapters of this edition, which alternate between discussions of national conflict and international cooperation. In this way, equal attention can be given to the two trends without losing sight of the fact that they are operating simultaneously.

The substantial changes I have made 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 organizations differ 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), 15 and 16 (developed and less developed countries), 17 (cooperation), and 18 (sustainable development).

Arms and force are addressed in all or in parts of chapters 1, 9, 10, 13, and 14.

Moral and humanitarian issues are taken up extensively in chapters 8, 10, and 18 and also form an important part of the discussions of national interest, coercion, and economic challenges in, respectively, chapters 6, 13, 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 (and even more extensively in chapter 6) 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 take a realist approach, 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, 7, and 8, deals with some of the basic orientations that affect foreign policy making, including individual, national, and global interests; nationalism; and transnational ideas, ideology, and morality.

Part III, consisting of chapters 9 through 12, examines the alternative ways that the world drama is and can be played out. In this part, I alternate between national and international approaches, with discussions of national power, international law, national diplomacy, and international organizations.

Part IV, consisting of chapters 13 and 14, introduces two approaches to physical security in the world political system: national security (chapter 13) and international security and other alternative approaches (chapter 14).

Part V, chapters 15 through 18, describes in detail the economic disparity between the North and the South and the challenges faced by both; it concludes with two chapters that look at many of the economic and the social and ecological problems that we and our world face and the ways we are beginning to cooperate in an attempt to solve them.

Supplements There are several supplements that have been created to assist both instructors and students in the use of this text. The instructor's resource guide, *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 1,900 multiple-choice and essay questions organized by chapter and degree of difficulty. These examination questions are also available on MicroTest III computer disc. An additional teaching aid in this edition is 14 full-color transparencies of the Atlas maps. A new student aid in the fifth edition is *World Politics and You: A Student Study Companion to International Politics on the World Stage*, 5th Edition, by James Harf (The Ohio State University).

To the Student

The world, familiar to us and unknown.

Shakespeare, *Henry V*

Meeting Mamu 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 to try to convey the dramatic pace of change, when I teach introduction to international relations I have found myself using Vivian Lau as a ref-



The international system and its relations are changing at an unprecedented speed. There has, for example, been more technological change in the last century than in the rest of history combined. This photograph features Vivian “Mamu” Lau, who was born in 1892, at her 103rd birthday party in January 1995 with me. Mamu remembers the Wright brothers taking to the air in 1903; she also saw Neil Armstrong step onto the Moon in 1969. During her life the Soviet Union came and went. Warfare went from repeating rifles to nuclear weapons. She is older than most countries. Try to imagine what the world will be like as the world nears the twenty-second century if you live as long as Mamu has.

erence point. She is an amazing woman. Known affectionately to those around her as Mamu, she celebrated her one-hundredth birthday in January 1992.

I visited Mamu Lau on her centennial birthday and recently saw her after her 103rd birthday. Talking to her about what the world was like when she was a girl, what it was like when she was the age of most of the students who use this book, and how the world has changed during her lifetime leaves me almost incredulous. My intellect can tick off the events that she has witnessed; my emotional sense of history and of the passage of time finds it hard to accept that so much has occurred in just one lifetime.

When Mamu Lau was born in 1892, Benjamin Harrison was president of the United States. Just six months before, Canada’s first prime minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, had died in office. There was in 1892 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 only about 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.

Talking to Mamu is like being transported back into history. She grew up in New York City and can remember when the site of the landmark New York City Library on 42nd Street was a reservoir. Mamu remembers the Spanish-American War and a little song that went, “Spain, Spain, Spain; Shame, Shame, Shame; You sank the Maine, Maine, Maine.” Orville and Wilbur Wright did not get off the ground until Mamu Lau was 11 years old. When, on her 100th birthday, I commented on the disappearance of the communist Soviet Union, she replied: “You know, I remember when that Lenin fellow came in. I didn’t think they [the communists] would last.” For me, communism and the cold war were the totality of my historical experience; for Mamu Lau they were mere interludes. She was 26 when Lenin and the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia and 99 when the Soviet hammer-and-sickle flag was lowered for the last time from atop the Kremlin’s spires in Moscow.

Indeed, I have found myself using Mamu as something of a standard unit of measurement, as in (for example), “The United Nations was founded less than a half-Mamu ago.” If you think about events, trends, and technology in this way—in terms of what one person has seen and experienced—then you can begin to grasp how fast they are moving. When Mamu was born people were basically earthbound. She was 11 when the first airplane flew, 52 when the first jet plane took off, 69 when Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin became the first human in space, and 77 when Neil Armstrong stepped onto the Moon’s surface. There are many other things to think about. Atomic weapons are less than a half-Mamu old; the world’s population has almost quadrupled during a single Mamu; 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 Mamu Lau 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 Mamu Lau 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 1.5 billion in 1892, and if, during Mamu's life, we have added another 4 billion people, then how much time do we have to get the world population under control? If you live as long as Mamu has (and you might, given modern medical technology), then what will the world population be when you are 100 years old?

In this sense of contemplating the future by pondering the past, thinking about Mamu Lau is really more about tomorrow than about yesterday or even today. When I talk about her, my thoughts are on your 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, his or her 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 (Sylvester, 1994:18) refers to page 18 of the book or article written by (in this case, Professor Christine) Sylvester in 1994, 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 lv–lvi. 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.

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 The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc., 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

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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:

Louay Abdulla	Willie Curtis
Kent State University	Saint Cloud State University
Emmanuel Anise	Adeed Dawisha
University of Pittsburgh	George Mason University
Lucian Ashworth	Mark E. Denham
Dalhousie University, Canada	University of Toledo
Valerie Assetto	David Dickson
Colorado State University	Northeastern University
Carol Baumann	Roxanne Doty
University of Wisconsin,	Arizona State University
Milwaukee	James D. Edwards
Valentine Belfiglio	DeAnza College
Texas Women's University	Nader Entessar
Shama Bole	Spring Hill College
University of Illinois, Chicago	William R. Feeney
William K. Callam	Southern Illinois University at
Daytona Beach Community	Edwardsville
College	Richard Finnegan
Miranda A. Carlton-Carew	Stonehill College
University of Arizona	Leonard L. Gambrell
Jules S. Chan	University of Wisconsin at Eau
University of Wisconsin at Eau	Claire
Claire	Mark Gasiorowski
Robert B. Charlick	Louisiana State University
Cleveland State University	Dennis Gordon
Sue Ellen Charlton	Santa Clara University
Colorado State University	Charles F. Gruber
Edward Chaszar	Marshall University
Indiana University of Pennsylvania	Elizabeth Crump Hanson
J. Garry Clifford	University of Connecticut
University of Connecticut	Jim Harf
Richard Oliver Collin	The Ohio State University
Coastal Carolina College	

Acknowledgments

- Clinton G. Hewan
Northern Kentucky University
- Diddy R. M. Hitchins
University of Alaska at Anchorage
- Peter G. Howse
American River College
- Asad Husain
Northeastern Illinois University
- Zohair Husain
University of South Alabama
- John Jacobsohn
West Virginia University
- Sanqiang Jian
Kent State University
- Sarah W. Keidan
Oakland Community College
- Zho Keyean
Dalhousie University
- Manfred Landecker
Southern Illinois State University,
Carbondale
- Martha Lee
University of Windsor
- Henry Louis
Kansas City Kansas Community
College
- Susan MacFarland
Wesleyan College
- Dan Madar
Brock University
- Stephen Manning
Wittenberg University
- Sister Elaine Martin
Neumann College
- T. David Mason
Mississippi State University
- Jim Meernik
University of North Texas
- Mary Memedova
Pima College
- Peter P. T. Merani
Towson State University
- Marian Miller
University of Akron
- Miroslav Nincic
University of California, Davis
- David L. Nixon
Oklahoma State University, Main
Campus
- Susan Northcutt
University of South Florida
- Tim Omman
University of Washington
- Jeffrey R. Orenstein
Kent State University
- Francois Pazhwak
George Mason University
- Rene Peritz
Slippery Rock University
- Robert A. Poirier
Northern Arizona University
- Helen Purkitt
U.S. Naval Academy
- Luba Racanska
St. John's University
- Richard G. Randall
American River College at
Sacramento
- Donald R. Ranish
Antelope Valley College
- Mohammed Rashiduzzman
Glassboro State College
- Nathaniel Richmond
Utica College of Syracuse
University
- Hans P. Ridder
California State University, Long
Beach
- Ken Ross
Adrian College
- Dan C. Sanford
Whitworth College
- Roshani Shay
Western Oregon State College
- Narasingha P. Sil
Western Oregon State College
- Michael Sonnleitner
Portland Community College
- James G. Stanley
Kent State University
- Peter J. Stavrakis
University of Vermont
- John A. Sullivan
Jacksonville University
- Charles S. Taber
State University of New York at
Stony Brook
- Mary Ann Tetreault
Old Dominion University
- Willard Paul Tice
Oklahoma City University
- James A. Turner
Rampart High School
- Richard D. Vanderberg
University of Alberta

Primo Vanicelli
 University of Massachusetts,
 Boston
 Dick Verheyen
 Loyola Marymount University
 Shirley Washington
 Ohio University, Athens

Shue Tuck Wong
 Simon Fraser University
 Thomas Zant
 Forest Park Community College
 Thaddeus Zolty
 Central Michigan University

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 are 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 staff the Dushkin 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 the three people responsible for revising the instructor's resource guide, *Teaching and Testing from International Politics on the World Stage*. G. Dale Greenawald of the University of Northern Colorado provided the analytical exercises and devised and prepared a variety of innovative features found in earlier editions of this guide. These include a lecture outline keyed to the chapter objectives and an extensive set of activities and discussion questions for both classroom and out-of-class settings. Virginia Haufler of the University of Maryland furnished a comprehensive, current, and authoritative set of additional readings for each chapter in the text. Andrew J. Taylor shouldered the task of preparing, revising, and updating the test items for the fifth edition of the instructor's guide. Thanks are also due to Peter F. Trumbore of the University of Connecticut, and to Laurie M. Romanik, who had the daunting task of creating the index for this text, and 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 The Dushkin Publishing Group. They have encouraged me and supported me. I remain fortunate to have the very experienced and very talented John Holland as my editor. John has been ably assisted by Dorothy Fink. Dorothy has an amazing eye for detail, a keen sense of what is and what is not readable prose, and an adept diplomatic touch to convince me that her corrections are necessary and proper. Jan Jamilkowski and Diane Barker's proofreading added to the process of ensuring accuracy. I also want to thank the DPG typesetters, Libra Ann Cusack and Juliana Arbo.

One of the things I like best about this edition is the excellent illustrations it contains. Pamela Carley and Elizabeth Hansen have 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, Lara Johnson did an extraordinary job with the exacting art of creating the text's many tables, figures, and maps. To Harry Rinehart I owe a debt of gratitude for designing another edition.

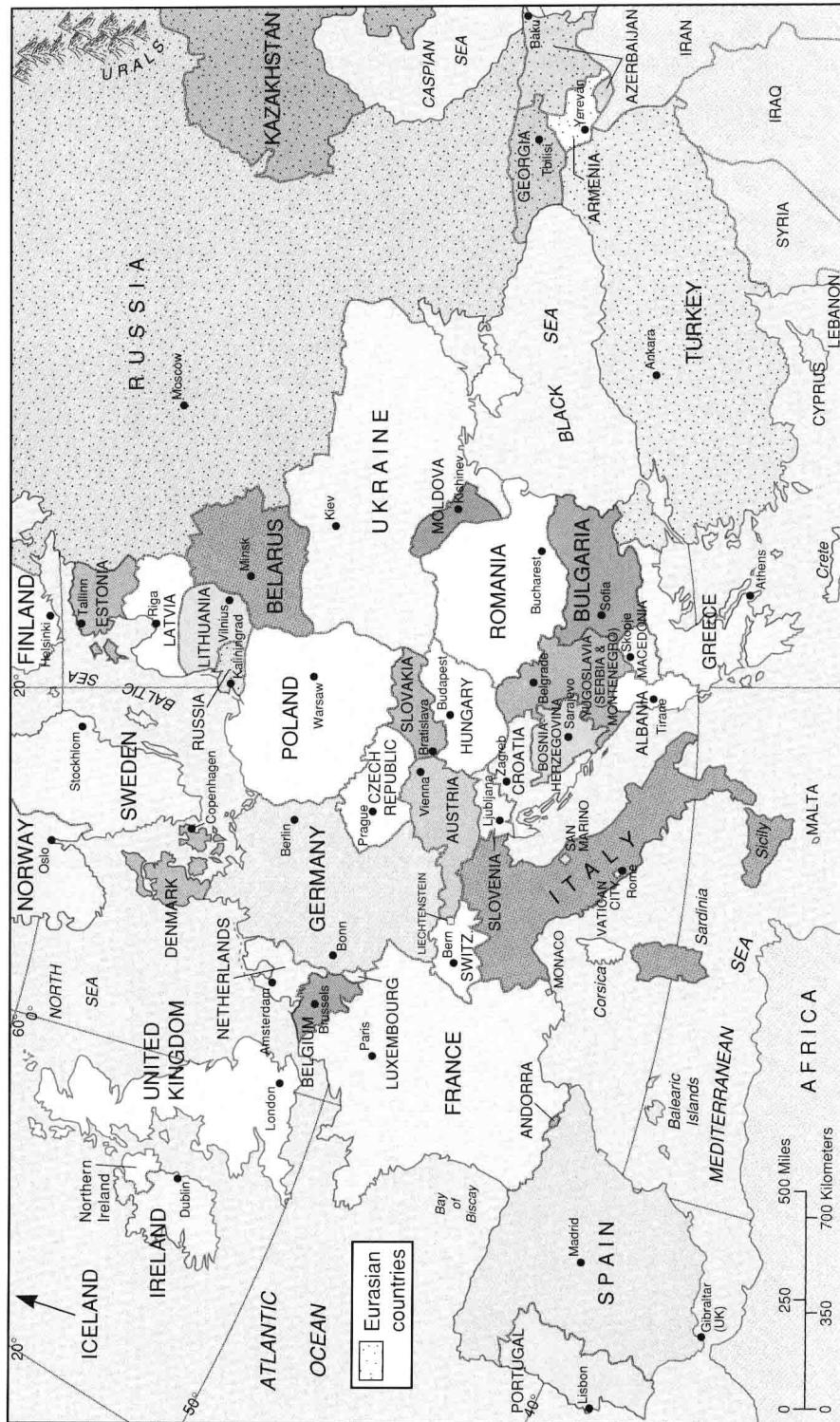
Finally, anyone who has written will recognize that it is an intensely personal, as well as professional, experience. I am fortunate to have people around me who understand when I am seemingly glued to my word processor for long periods of time and who sometimes insist I shut my computer off. My son 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 MTV for me.

To all of you:

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

Shakespeare, Twelfth Night

ATLAS OF WORLD POLITICS



Contemporary Europe encapsulates the crosscutting forces that are affecting the international system today. Growing economic unity and political cooperation characterize the countries of Western Europe. Eastern Europe (including the former Soviet Union), by contrast, has become fragmented; about half the region's countries were not independent when the 1990s began.

The international system includes many types of actors. Of these, states (or countries) are the most important. National boundaries are the most important source of political division in the world, and for most people nationalism is the strongest source of political identification.



