

# INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

## THE GLOBAL CONDITION IN THE LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY



FREDERIC S. PEARSON ♦ J. MARTIN ROCHESTER

THIRD EDITION

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## The Global Condition in the Late Twentieth Century

THIRD EDITION

Frederic S. Pearson

*Wayne State University*

J. Martin Rochester

*University of Missouri—St. Louis*

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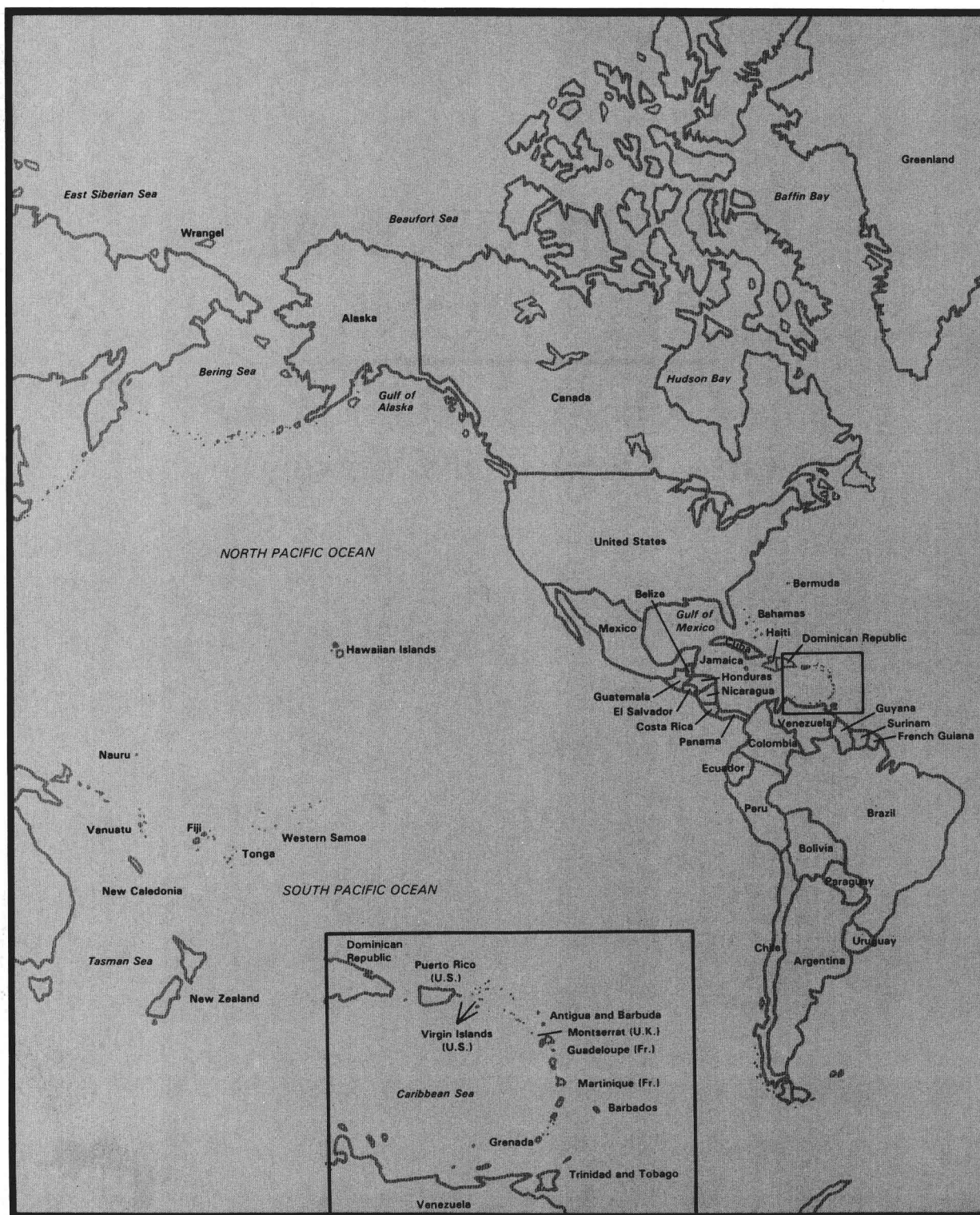
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# About the Authors

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FREDERIC S. PEARSON is Director of the Center for Peace and Conflict Studies at Wayne State University in Detroit, where he is Professor of Political Science. He previously had taught at the University of Missouri-St. Louis. He earned his doctoral degree in Political Science at the University of Michigan and has since been involved in research in the Netherlands, Britain, and Germany, on a wide range of topics including the international oil crisis, crisis decision making, and the international arms trade. He has been the recipient of two Fulbright awards, a Ford Foundation sponsored fellowship, and grants from the MacArthur Foundation and the U.S. Institute of Peace. Dr. Pearson's current research includes major data collection on international military interventions and analysis of the effect of arms transfers on international conflict.

Dr. Pearson's publications include a book, *The Weak State in International Crisis: The Case of the Netherlands in the German Invasion Crisis of 1939-40* (1981) and several articles in *Armed Forces and Society*, *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Orbis*, *Arms Control*, *International Affairs*, *West European Politics*, and *International Interactions*. His courses cover issues such as arms control, Middle Eastern politics, the causes of war and peace, as well as global and technological problems in general, comparative foreign policy, and graduate level international relations. Among his favorite classroom teaching techniques is the use of role playing and simulations to acquaint students with decision-making perspectives on many of the issues they deal with in their studies in international relations.

J. MARTIN ROCHESTER is Associate Professor of Political Science and a Fellow in the Center for International Studies at the University of Missouri-St. Louis, where he has taught since 1972, after receiving his Ph.D. degree in political science from Syracuse University. In addition to teaching courses in international politics, international organization and law, and U.S. foreign policy, Professor Rochester has served as Chairperson of the Political Science Department at UM-St. Louis. Along with authoring several books and monographs, his published articles appear in such scholarly journals as *The American Political Science Review*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *International Organization*, *Western Political Quarterly*, and *Journal of Peace Research*. He was one of the founders of the Consortium for International Studies Education and was project director of CISE's International Studies Learning Package project funded by the National Science Foundation, which was designed to develop and disseminate innovative educational materials combining the

latest advances in both scholarly research and instructional technology. Dr. Rochester has been President of the International Studies Association (Midwest) and a member of the Governing Council of the International Studies Association (National) and the Midwest Political Science Association. He is currently at work on a book on the United Nations and world order, supported by a grant from the U.S. Institute of Peace.

*For Melvadean and Ruth, experts in the fine  
art of conflict resolution, and for Nathaniel,  
Helen, Emma, Stephen, Sean (and Molly) and all those  
for whom the global condition will be a way of life.*



# Preface

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When we began this project, the immediate question we faced was: Does the world really need another international relations textbook, given the many books already available on this subject? We answered in the affirmative, convinced that we could write a book that would be somewhat distinctive in content as well as style. In particular, we were seeking to write a book that would somehow appeal to beginning students—its primary audience—as well as to more knowledgeable readers, a book that would combine in a balanced fashion the traditional as well as the new approaches to the study of international relations. We believe we succeeded in this goal, but we will let the reader be the judge.

In terms of *content*, we have tried to give comprehensive coverage to the major topics in the field. The general theme of the book can be summarized as the need for scholars, policymakers, and laymen to take into account the complex variety of relationships that exist today—among more than 5 billion people, 160 countries (nation-states), and 4000 international organizations—in order to understand the “global condition” in the late twentieth century and to make intelligent judgments about international affairs. Although nation-states remain the key actors in the arena of world politics, and national security the fundamental concern, other actors and issues are competing for attention, with these forces containing the seeds of both increased conflict and increased cooperation among peoples. The organization of the text carefully reflects this theme. Part I introduces international relations as a field of study and provides *historical* background for contemporary world politics. Part II focuses on *states* as actors and examines the determinants of foreign policy, international bargaining and diplomacy, and war. Part III focuses on *international institutions*, including international law and international organizations. Part IV examines the congeries of forces involved in *global problem solving*, with separate chapters devoted to arms races, terrorism, coordination of the world economy, economic development, and the management of renewable and nonrenewable resources. Part V contains a concluding chapter that looks to the *future*—the year 2000 and beyond—and offers an analysis of alternative world order models.

In terms of *style*, we have sought to combine high scholarly standards with readability. The text discusses the latest theoretical ideas and research findings in a lively, readable manner—complete with photographs, cartoons, tables, graphs, case studies, and vignettes. We feel that these “supplementary” materials have not in any way compromised academic integrity but instead have

added another dimension to the text. For the beginning student, we have employed several pedagogical aids, including a summary of important points and suggested readings at the end of each chapter, and a glossary of terms. For the more scholarly reader, a notes section is provided at the end of the book.

Admittedly, it is often difficult to find a lighter side to a world in which several million people lack access to drinkable water, and in which the stockpile of nuclear weapons amounts to roughly fifteen tons of TNT for every man, woman, and child on earth. Notwithstanding the cartoons and sidelights, the reader will find that the authors consider international relations a deadly serious subject—a subject where the ability to develop and communicate sound knowledge will have much bearing on humanity's future prospects for survival and prosperity. We hope this book makes at least some small contribution in this regard.

It should be added that much has happened since the publication of the second edition of the text. As General Colin Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the United States, commented in 1989—reflecting on the dismantling of the Berlin Wall and other shattering events at the time—"the future ain't what it used to be." The third edition, aside from incorporating substantial updating of textual material, figures, and tables, aims to capture the mounting turbulence and complexity surrounding international relations in the last decade of the twentieth century. Taking into account the latest developments, this edition shows how the trends discussed in the earlier editions are becoming even more pronounced and accelerated, including the growing diffusion and ambiguity of power, the growing fluidity of alignments, ever more intricate patterns of interdependence associated with an expanding agenda of concerns, and the growing role of nonstate actors and the increasing linkages between subnational, transnational, governmental, and intergovernmental levels of activity. In short, the revised edition attempts to come to grips with the major dramas now being played out between the forces of globalism and regionalism, nationalism and transnationalism, security and welfare, and order and change.

On the subject of order and change, the authors recognize that many of the happenings which occasioned euphoria at the outset of the 1990s—particularly the democratization movements in Eastern Europe and elsewhere and the "breaking out" of peace in various parts of the world—remain fragile developments capable of being reversed or evolving in a manner that could replace the remnants of the familiar, established postwar order anchored in the American-Soviet rivalry with a new, perhaps even more unstable, world order. (As we went to press, the coup attempt against Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev was a reminder of the volatility of the international environment.) The book puts all this into a larger context, tracing the roots of the current global condition and projecting where humanity seems to be heading as the postwar era passes into history and we wait for the next century (and millennium) to arrive.

As with any project that has consumed several years of effort, we are indebted to many people. At the very top we must acknowledge the special contribution of Professor Edwin Fedder, who as Director of the Center for International Studies at the University of Missouri—St. Louis provided the kind of personal, intellectual, and material support for this project that was indispensable. We wish to thank the Center for International Studies itself, including staff members Robert Baumann, Mary Hines, and Anita Cleaver, who provided a myriad of services too numerous to mention, as well as Jan Frantzen, Lana Sink, and John Kalinowski of the Political Science Department. We greatly appreciate the cooperation of the many publishers who granted us permission to use copyrighted material. We also owe considerable thanks to the many reviewers who offered helpful critiques of the manuscript. A long-standing intellectual debt must be acknowledged to our “mentors,” William Coplin at Syracuse University and J. David Singer at the University of Michigan, both of whom in their own way taught us the importance of sound scholarship in collecting evidence and of sound pedagogy in presenting it. Finally, our acknowledgments would be incomplete without expressing gratitude to Bert Lummus, our editor, and to his superb staff at McGraw-Hill—particularly Editing Supervisor Fred Burns and Assistant Editor William Barter—who all contributed greatly to the final project.

For our families who have had to live with us for the past several years, amid the conflict that always attends collaboration, we reserve a well-earned dedication.

Frederic S. Pearson  
J. Martin Rochester

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