

**WORLD  
POLITICS**

*THE MENU FOR CHOICE*

# **WORLD POLITICS**

## ***THE MENU FOR CHOICE***

*Sixth Edition*

**Bruce Russett**

*Yale University*

**Harvey Starr**

*University of South Carolina*

**David Kinsella**

*American University*

# CONTENTS

Preface   vii

About the Authors   xvii

## Part I ANALYZING WORLD POLITICS   1

### 1 WORLD POLITICS: LEVELS OF ANALYSIS, CHOICE, AND CONSTRAINT   3

Three Momentous Events   3

*Dropping the Atomic Bomb 3; Ending the Cold War 5; The Asian Financial Crisis 7*

**Levels of Analysis   10**

*The International System and the Nation-State 11; Six Levels of Analysis 13; Actors in World Politics 16*

**The " Menu": Choice and Constraint in World Politics   19**

v. *Opportunity and Willingness 19; The Menu 22 •*

**Plan of the Book   23**

### 2 THINKING ABOUT WORLD POLITICS: THEORY AND REALITY   24

Realists, Liberals, and Radicals   24

*Recent Challenges 27*

Social Scientific Study of World Politics   28

Theory and Evidence   30

*Hypotheses and Assumptions 32; Specifying and Testing Hypotheses 34*

**Facts and Values   37**

**The Study and Practice of World Politics   39**

### 3 INTERNATIONAL ACTORS: STATES AND OTHER PLAYERS ON THE WORLD STAGE   43

Humans in Groups: Nationalism and the Nation   43

The State as International Actor   47

*The Modern State System 47; Sovereignty and the Nature of the State 49; Beyond Anarchy: The State System since Westphalia 52*

All States Are Equal (But Some States Are More Equal Than Others)   55

Nonstate Actors in the Contemporary System   58

*Intergovernmental Organizations 59; Nongovernmental Organizations 62; Multinational Corporations 63; Nation-State versus Nonstate Loyalty 64*

### 4 THE WORLD SYSTEM: INTERNATIONAL STRUCTURE AND POLARITY   66

The International Environment   66 ,

*The Geopolitical Setting 66; The Technological Setting 68*

, **The Global System   68**

*Emergence of the Contemporary System 70*

Status and Hierarchy in the International System	72	i
<i>Spheres of Influence 73; Alliances 75; Nonalignment 76</i>		
Polarity in the International System	77	
<i>Polarization and the Cold War 80; Limits to Bipolarity 81</i>		
Polarity and International Stability	84	
<i>Balances and Imbalances of Power 86</i>		
<b>5 RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES: POWER AND INFLUENCE</b>	<b>88</b>	
Two Aspects of Power	88	
<i>Power and Influence 89; Power and Capability 92</i>		
National Capabilities: Tangible Elements	93	
<i>Geography and Demography 94; Economic and Military Resources 95; Comparing Capabilities: Indexes of Power 97</i>		
National Capabilities: Intangible Elements	101	
<i>Intelligence 103</i>		
Diplomatic Influence	104	
<i>Negotiation and Bargaining 107; Conflict Resolution 109</i>		
Military Influence	110	
Economic Influence	112	
<b>6 DOMESTIC SOURCES OF FOREIGN POLICY: SOCIETY AND POLITY</b>	<b>116</b>	
Foreign Policy: What It Is and How We Study It	116	
<i>Goals and Objectives of Foreign Policy 119; National Interests and Priorities 120</i>		
Societal Influences on Foreign Policy	122	
<i>Political and Strategic Culture 124; Power Elite or Pluralism? 126</i>		
Elite Opinion and Foreign Policy	128	
<i>The Content of Elite Opinion 128</i>		
The Impact of Mass Public Opinion	131	
<i>The Gender Gap 133; Public Approval of State Leaders 135; Do Wars Win Elections? 140</i>		
Who Governs? Public Opinion Matters	143	
<b>7 INDIVIDUALS AND WORLD POLITICS: ROLES, PERCEPTIONS, AND DECISION MAKING</b>	<b>146</b>	
Rational Decision Making	146	
Governmental Decision Making	150	
<i>Who Makes What Decisions? 151; Information: Searching, Screening, Processing 153; Organizations and Bureaucracies 155</i>		
Small Group Interaction	160	
Individual Perceptions and Beliefs	162	
<i>Selective Perception and Misperception 164; The Image of the Enemy 165; Ideologies and Belief Systems 168-</i>		

Personality and Physiology	169
<i>Private Motives and Public Objects</i>	172; <i>The Stress and Strain of Foreign Policy</i>
<i>173</i>	
Conclusion to Part I	174

## **Part II** INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT AND COOPERATION 177

### **8** MILITARY CONFLICT: WHY STATES AND OTHER ACTORS RESORT TO FORCE 179

Violent Conflict in World Politics	179
<i>Human Aggression</i>	181; <i>Relative Deprivation and Aggression</i>
<i>182</i>	
Conflict between States	185
<i>Domestic Economic Structure and War</i>	189; <i>System Polarity and War</i>
<i>192; System Transformation and War</i>	195; <i>War and Rational Choice</i>
<i>197</i>	
Conflict within States	200
<i>Ethnopolitics, Rebellion, and Civil War</i>	201
Unconventional Conflict	204
<i>Terrorism</i>	207; <i>Information Warfare</i>
<i>209</i>	

### **9** THE SECURITY DILEMMA: ARMAMENT AND DISARMAMENT 213

Armed Forces	213
<i>Arms Acquisition</i>	214; <i>Global Military Presence</i>
<i>218</i>	
Weapons of Mass Destruction	220 -
<i>A Brief History of the Nuclear Arms Race</i>	221; <i>Proliferation</i>
<i>225</i>	
The Security Dilemma	227
<i>The Prisoner's Dilemma</i>	228; <i>Overcoming the Dilemma</i>
<i>233</i>	
Deterrence	237
<i>Crisis Instability</i>	238; <i>Brinkmanship</i>
<i>240</i>	
Arms Control and Disarmament	242
<i>Nuclear Arms Control</i>	243; <i>Controlling Conventional Weapons and Technology</i>
<i>249</i>	

### **10** INTERNATIONAL LAW AND ORGANIZATION 251

Ethics and War	251
<i>Realism and Pacifism</i>	252; <i>just Wars</i>
<i>254; Was the Gulf War a just War?</i>	257;
<i>Humanitarian Intervention</i>	259; <i>The Ethics of Deterrence</i>
<i>260</i>	
International Law	262
<i>Naturalism, Positivism, and Realism</i>	262; <i>Sources, Functions, and Subjects of International Law</i>
<i>264; Enforcing International Law</i>	266
International Organization	269
<i>Roles for International Organizations</i>	270
The United Nations System	272
<i>Structure and Politics</i>	272; <i>Collective Security and Peacekeeping</i>
<i>279; The "Three United Nations"</i>	282

<b>11</b>	<b>CAUSES OF PEACE AND NONVIOLENT TRANSFORMATION</b>	<b>284</b>
	The Zone of Peace	284
	<i>Peace: Salaam or Sulah?</i>	286
	The Democratic Peace •	288
	<i>Cultural and Structural Explanations</i>	289; <i>Peace and Rational Choice</i>
	291	
	Perpetual Peace	295
	<i>Economic Interdependence and Growth</i>	297; <i>International Organization</i>
	300	
	- Integration and Peace	301
	<i>Transnational Cooperation</i>	301; <i>Transnational Communication</i>
	<i>Communities</i>	305
	Zones of Turmoil	306
	Conclusion to Part II	310
<b>Part III</b>	<b>INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY</b>	<b>313</b>
<b>12</b>	<b>POLITICAL ECONOMY OF NATIONAL SECURITY AND DEFENSE</b>	<b>315</b>
	Approaches to Political Economy	315
	<i>Realism, Liberalism, and Radicalism</i>	316
	Economics and Statecraft	318
	<i>Economic Coercion</i>	318; <i>Geo-economics?</i>
	323	
	Political Economy of Defense	325
	<i>The Military-Industrial Complex</i>	325; <i>Guns versus Butter</i>
	329; <i>A Peace Dividend?</i>	333
	The International Arms Market	335
	<i>Global Arms Transfers</i>	336; <i>The Proliferation of Military Technology</i>
	341	
<b>13</b>	<b>INTERDEPENDENCE AND ECONOMIC ORDER</b>	<b>343</b>
	Interdependence	343
	<i>Sensitivity and Vulnerability</i>	344; <i>Conflict and Harmony</i>
	345	
	International Trade	346
	<i>Comparative Advantage and Free Trade</i>	347; <i>Protectionism</i>
	348; <i>Trade and the Prisoner's</i>	
	<i>Dilemma</i>	350
	Collective Goods	352
	<i>Free Riders</i>	354; <i>Strategies for Achieving Collective Goods</i>
	356	
	Regimes and International Order	358
	<i>Hegemony and Regimes</i>	360; <i>The Monetary Regime</i>
	362; <i>The Trade Regime</i>	366; <i>Order or</i>
	<i>Disorder?</i>	370
<b>14</b>	<b>REGIONAL ECONOMIC INTEGRATION AND GLOBALIZATION</b>	<b>376</b>
	The European Union	376
	<i>From Rome to Maastricht</i>	377; <i>Institutions of the European Union</i>
	381; <i>Monetary</i>	
	<i>Union</i>	383; <i>Politics of the Euro</i>
	386	

**Emerging Economic Blocs 387**

*The North American Free Trade Area 387; Other Trading Blocs 388; Regionalism and Multilateralism 390*

**Globalization 397**

*A "New" Interdependence? 398; Transnational Relations 400; Transnational Actors 403*

**15 DEVELOPMENT AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT: THE NORTH-SOUTH GAP 406****The Development Gap 406**

*Several Developing Worlds 407; Demographics, Disease, and Disorder 411*

**Dependent Development 412**

*Contemporary Dependence 413; Distorted Development 415; The Debt Problem 418; Beyond Dependence: Self-Reliance and Basic Needs 420*

**A New International Economic Order? 423**

*International Market Reforms 423; Industrialization 426; Debt Relief and Development Assistance 428; Dealing with Financial Crises 429*

**Development and Political Freedom 431**

*Dependency and State Repression 431; Development and Democracy — The Chicken and the Egg 434; The Evidence 436*

**Conclusion to Part III 440****Part IV CHALLENGES FOR THE NEW MILLENNIUM 443****16 LIMITS OF SOVEREIGNTY: HUMANITY AND THE COMMONS 445****Collective Goods and Collective "Bads" 445**

*Externalities and "Forced Riders" 447; The Tragedy of the Commons 448; Sustainable Development 451*

**Population and Demographics 453**

*The Population Explosion 454; The Demographic Transition 456*

**Resource Depletion 460**

*Food 460; Natural Resources 462*

**Environmental Decay 465**

*Pollution 466; Deforestation and the Threat to Biodiversity 468; Dilemmas of Development 469*

**Obligations and Rights 470**

*International Distributive justice 471; The Limits of Sovereignty 473*

**17 WHICH GLOBAL FUTURE? 476****Three Futures 476**

*The West Has Won 477; The Coming Culture Clash 478; Globalization and Fragmentation 481*

**A Final Word 482**

<b>Appendix A</b>	<b>Chronology of World Events</b>	<b>485</b>
<b>Appendix B</b>	<b>Characteristics of States in the Contemporary International System</b>	<b>491</b>
<b>World Maps</b>	<i>Inside Front and Back Cover</i>	
<b>Index</b>		<b>503</b>