

# WORLD POLITICS

*A Quarterly Journal of  
International Relations*

Volume XXXV

October 1982—July 1983

UNDER THE EDITORIAL SPONSORSHIP OF  
CENTER OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES  
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

PUBLISHED BY PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

EDITORIAL BOARD

KLAUS KNORR, *Chairman*

CYRIL E. BLACK	JEFFREY A. HART
HARRY ECKSTEIN	JERRY HOUGH
FRANCINE R. FRANKEL	AKIRA IRIYE
A. JAMES GREGOR	DONALD J. PUCHALA
TED ROBERT GURR	SUSANNE HOEBER RUDOLPH

*Editors:* CYRIL E. BLACK (Spring), RICHARD A. FALK (Fall),  
LEON GORDENKER, KENNETH A. OYE, LYNN T. WHITE, III  
HENRY S. BIENEN (*Review Articles*)

*Associate Editors:* L. CARL BROWN, RICHARD D. CHALLENGER,  
STEPHEN F. COHEN, JAMES D. DE NARDO, CHARLES ISSAWI,

PAUL E. SIGMUND, EZRA N. SULEIMAN, ROBERT L. TIGNOR, ROBERT C. TUCKER

*Executive Editor:* ELSBETH G. LEWIN

The editors invite the submission of articles (up to 10,000 words, including footnotes) bearing upon problems in international relations and comparative politics. Manuscripts and footnotes should be double-spaced throughout and submitted in duplicate, together with an abstract of approximately 125 words. Footnotes should only cite sources; they should be numbered consecutively and placed at the end of the manuscript. Address: WORLD POLITICS, Corwin Hall, Princeton, N.J. 08544.

Authors may expect to be notified of the editors' decision within three months from date of submission. Procedures for reviewing manuscripts are based on the anonymity of the author and the confidentiality of editors' and readers' reports. Editorial policy does not provide for informing authors of readers' evaluations or suggestions for improvement of rejected manuscripts. Statements of fact and opinion appearing in WORLD POLITICS are made on the responsibility of the authors alone and do not imply the endorsement of the editors or publishers. WORLD POLITICS does not accept manuscripts that have already been published, are scheduled for publication elsewhere, or have been simultaneously submitted to another journal.

*Reprint permission:* Permission to reproduce or translate material should be sought from Permissions Department, WORLD POLITICS, P.U.P., 41 William St., Princeton, N.J. 08540.

*Subscriptions:* WORLD POLITICS, P.U.P., 3175 Princeton Pike, Lawrenceville, N.J. 08648.

*U.S. and Canada*—Individuals: \$16.50 per year; \$26.50 for two years; \$39.00 for three years. Institutions: \$25.00 per year. Single copies: \$7.50.

*Foreign*—Individuals: \$20.50 per year; \$33.00 for two years; \$48.50 for three years. Institutions: \$31.00 per year. Please add \$3.50 per year for foreign postage and handling. Single copies: \$9.50 plus \$1.00 for postage and handling.

*Back Issues:* WORLD POLITICS is available in microfilm or xerographic copies from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106. Two years after publication, complete volumes are available in microfiche form from KTO Microform, Route 100, Millwood, N.Y. 10546. Individual issues in the current and two preceding volumes may be ordered from Princeton University Press, 3175 Princeton Pike, Lawrenceville, N.J. 08648.

*Advertising:* Advertising Dept., Princeton University Press, 41 William St., Princeton, N.J. 08540.

WORLD POLITICS is indexed by *ABC POL SCI*, *Book Review Index*, *Combined Retrospective Index Sets* (CRIS), *Combined Retrospective Index to Book Reviews in Scholarly Journals, 1886-1974* (RSJ), *Public Affairs Information Service*, *Social Science Index*, and *Monthly Periodical Index*; it is abstracted and indexed in *United States Political Science Documents*, *International Bibliography of Periodical Literature* (IBZ), and *International Bibliography of Book Reviews* (IBR). Abstracts of articles also appear in *Book Review Digest*, *Historical Abstracts*, and *International Political Science Abstracts*.

Copyright © 1982, 1983 by The Trustees of Princeton University

WORLD POLITICS (ISSN 0043-8871). Published quarterly by Princeton University Press, 3175 Princeton Pike, Lawrenceville, N.J. 08648. Vol. xxxv, October 1982-July 1983. Second Class postage paid at Trenton, N.J., and additional mailing offices. Send address changes to Princeton University Press, 3175 Princeton Pike, Lawrenceville, N.J. 08648. Printed in the United States of America by Princeton University Press.

# CONTENTS

No. 1—OCTOBER 1982

Why Africa's Weak States Persist: The Empirical and the Juridical in Statehood	<i>Robert H. Jackson and Carl G. Rosberg</i>	1
The Rent-Seeking State and Revenue Diversification	<i>John A. C. Conybeare</i>	25
The Dilemma of Development Administration: Complexity and Uncertainty in Control-Oriented Bureaucracies	<i>Dennis A. Rondinelli</i>	43
Japan's North-South Dialogue at the United Nations	<i>Shigeko N. Fukai</i>	73
International Migration: An Application of the Urban Location Choice Model	<i>Norman Carruthers and Aidan R. Vining</i>	106

## REVIEW ARTICLES

Energy and Security in the 1980s	<i>Joseph S. Nye, Jr.</i>	121
Expanding the Study of International Relations: The French Connection	<i>Gene M. Lyons</i>	135
Growth and Distribution in the Market Economies of East Asia	<i>Gary S. Fields</i>	150

No. 2—JANUARY 1983

The Biological Nature of the State Problems of Proliferation: U.S. Policy and the Third World	<i>Roger D. Masters</i> <i>Robert F. Goheen</i>	161 194
Assessing Strategic Arms Reduction Proposals	<i>Michael Krepon</i>	216

## REVIEW ARTICLES

Corporatism, Pluralism, and Professional Memory	<i>Gabriel A. Almond</i>	245
Continuity and Transformation in the World Polity: Toward a Neorealist Synthesis	<i>John Gerard Ruggie</i>	261
Human Rights in the 1980s: Revolutionary Growth or Unanticipated Erosion?	<i>Robert C. Johansen</i>	286

No. 3—APRIL 1983

Presidential Succession and Political Rationality in Mexico	<i>Steven E. Sanderson</i>	315
Revolutionaries or Bargainers? Negotiators for a New International Economic Order	<i>Harold K. Jacobson, Dusan Sidjanski, Jeffrey Rodamar, and Alice Hougassian-Rudovich</i>	335
U.S. Leadership in a Shrinking World: The Breakdown of Consensuses and the Emergence of Conflicting Belief Systems	<i>James N. Rosenau and Ole R. Holsti</i>	368
RESEARCH NOTE		
Organizational Participation and Public Policy	<i>Cyril E. Black and John P. Burke</i>	393
REVIEW ARTICLES		
Stalemate in the North-South Debate: Strategies and the New International Economic Order	<i>Michael W. Doyle</i>	426
The Take-Off of Third World Studies? The Case of Foreign Policy	<i>Bahgat Korany</i>	465

No. 4—JULY 1983

Global Wars, Public Debts, and the Long Cycle	<i>Karen A. Rasler and William R. Thompson</i>	489
International Economic Structures and American Foreign Economic Policy, 1887-1934	<i>David A. Lake</i>	511
Social Change, Bureaucratic Rule, and Emergent Political Issues in Hong Kong	<i>Lau Siu-kai</i>	541
RESEARCH NOTE		
The Soviet Union and the Varieties of Neutrality in Western Europe	<i>Harto Hakovirta</i>	561
REVIEW ARTICLES		
Iran: A Theory of Revolution from Accounts of the Revolution	<i>Marvin Zonis</i>	581
Iranian Studies and the Iranian Revolution	<i>Farzeen Nasri</i>	601
State Autonomy or Class Domination: Approaches to Administrative Politics in Wilhelmine Germany	<i>Gary Bonham</i>	63
The Temple of Ethnicity	<i>Crawford Young</i>	65

# WORLD POLITICS

Vol. XXXV

October 1982

No. 1

## CONTENTS

- Why Africa's Weak States Persist:  
The Empirical and the Juridical  
in Statehood *Robert H. Jackson  
and Carl G. Rosberg* 1
- The Rent-Seeking State  
and Revenue Diversification *John A. C. Conybeare* 25
- The Dilemma of Development Administration:  
Complexity and Uncertainty in  
Control-Oriented Bureaucracies *Dennis A. Rondinelli* 43
- Japan's North-South Dialogue at  
the United Nations *Shigeko N. Fukai* 73
- International Migration:  
An Application of the Urban  
Location Choice Model *Norman Carruthers  
and Aidan R. Vining* 106
- REVIEW ARTICLES
- Energy and Security in the 1980s *Joseph S. Nye, Jr.* 121
- Expanding the Study of International Relations:  
The French Connection *Gene M. Lyons* 135
- Growth and Distribution in the  
Market Economies of East Asia *Gary S. Fields* 150
- The Contributors ii
- Abstracts iii

## THE CONTRIBUTORS

ROBERT H. JACKSON is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of British Columbia. He has written *Personal Rule in Black Africa: Prince, Autocrat, Prophet, Tyrant* (1982, co-author Carl G. Rosberg) and *Plural Societies and New States* (1977). During the 1982-83 academic year he will be a National Fellow at the Hoover Institution.

CARL G. ROSBERG is Professor of Political Science and Director of the Institute of International Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. His most recent books include *Personal Rule in Black Africa: Prince, Autocrat, Prophet, Tyrant* (1982, co-author Robert H. Jackson), *The Apartheid Regime: Political Power and Racial Domination* (1980, co-editor Robert M. Price), and *Socialism in Sub-Saharan Africa: A New Assessment* (1979, co-editor Thomas M. Callaghy).

JOHN A. C. CONYBEARE is Associate Professor of Political Science at Columbia University. His publications and current research are on the application of theories of political economy to international affairs and public policy.

DENNIS A. RONDINELLI is Professor of International Development Planning at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University. He is author of *Urban and Regional Development Planning: Policy and Administration* (1975) and *Secondary Cities in Developing Countries* (forthcoming 1983); co-author of *Urbanization and Rural Development: A Spatial Policy for Equitable Growth* (1978) and *Transforming Natural Resources for Human Development: A Resource Systems Framework for Development Policy* (forthcoming 1982); editor of *Planning Development Projects* (1977), and co-editor of *Decentralization and Development: Policy Implementation in Developing Countries* (forthcoming 1982). He is currently completing a book on the administration of international development projects as policy experiments.

SHIGEKO N. FUKAI is Assistant Professor in Political Science at Auburn University (Auburn, Alabama), specializing in International Relations and the Far Eastern governments. She is currently revising her dissertation, "The Deradicalization of the Japanese Left," for publication as a research monograph.

NORMAN CARRUTHERS is Assistant Professor in the Policy Analysis Division, Faculty of Commerce and Business Administration, at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C.

AIDAN R. VINING is Assistant Professor at the University of British Columbia, and an Associate at the Institute for Studies in Criminal Justice, Vancouver.

JOSEPH S. NYE, JR., is Professor of Government at Harvard University. He is co-editor (with David Deese) of *Energy and Security* (1980).

GENE M. LYONS is Professor of Government at Dartmouth College. He is the author of *The Uneasy Partnership* (1969) and editor of *Social Research and Public Policies* (1978). He is currently completing a history of international organizations.

GARY S. FIELDS is Professor of Labor Economics and Economics at Cornell University. He is the author of *Poverty, Inequality, and Development* (1980). He specializes in the study of labor markets and income distribution in developing economies.

The appearance of the code at the bottom of the first page of an article in this journal (serial) indicates the copyright owner's consent that copies of the article may be made for personal or internal use, or for the personal or internal use of specific clients. This consent is given on the condition, however, that the copier pay the stated per-copy fee through the Copyright Clearance Center, Inc., P. O. Box 765, Schenectady, N.Y. 12301, for copying beyond that permitted by Sections 107 and 108 of the U.S. Copyright Law. This consent does not extend to other kinds of copying, such as copying for general distribution, for advertising or promotional purposes, for creating new collective works, or for resale.

## ABSTRACTS

### WHY AFRICA'S WEAK STATES PERSIST: THE EMPIRICAL AND THE JURIDICAL IN STATEHOOD

By R. H. JACKSON and C. G. ROSBERG

State institutions and organizations in Black Africa are less developed than almost anywhere else, and political instability has been prevalent. Yet, these serious empirical weaknesses have not led to enforced jurisdictional change. In order to explain the persistence of some of the weakest states in the world, the authors argue that state jurisdictions in Black Africa have been maintained primarily by the international society of states. Unlike the states that formed in Europe at an earlier period, many Black African states evolved—and survived—in the absence of effective national governments. Whereas state jurisdictions and international society once were consequences of the success and survival of states, today in Black Africa—and perhaps elsewhere, especially in the Third World—they are more likely to be conditions.

### THE RENT-SEEKING STATE AND REVENUE DIVERSIFICATION

By J.A.C. CONYBEARE

Economists have only recently begun to characterize the behavior of the state as rent-or profit-seeking. One of the ways in which the rent-seeking state may maximize the resources it extracts from taxpayers is through diversification of the tax revenue base. Empirical evidence presented in this paper may help to explain the extent to which countries are able to engage in this form of rent seeking. The highly developed country's ability to diversify its tax base is constrained by the ease of exit of taxable assets from its jurisdiction; with the exception of this limitation, countries with more diversified tax bases collect more revenue relative to national income. This conclusion does not hold, however, for geographic diversification (i.e., federalism). The case is different for developing countries: although they may have a more diversified tax base than developed countries, they are unable to exploit it because of administrative weakness; therefore, rent seeking on the part of the state may be predicted by more conventional factors such as income or trade.

### THE DILEMMA OF DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION: COMPLEXITY AND UNCERTAINTY IN CONTROL-ORIENTED BUREAUCRACIES

By D. A. RONDINELLI

While development strategies of international assistance organizations and governments of less developed states have become more complex over the past decade, the methods of planning and management used during the 1960s and 1970s to formulate and implement policies have become less effective. Synoptic planning and scientific management techniques are used to control development activities rather than to facilitate and encourage the flexibility, experimentation, and social learning that are essential. The prospects of improving control-oriented administration are constrained by difficulties in defining objectives; lack of appropriate data; inadequate understanding of local social and cultural conditions; ineffective means of controlling behavior; the dynamics of political interaction; and low levels of administrative capacity in developing countries. Changes that must be made include: recognizing explicitly the uncertainty and complexity of development problems; managing development activities as policy experiments; building widespread administrative capacity; relying on adjunctive and strategic planning; simplifying analytical techniques; creating incentives for error detection and for innovation; and viewing effective program and project management in new ways.

## JAPAN'S NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE AT THE UNITED NATIONS

By S. N. FUKAI

The article examines Japan's diplomatic style and rhetoric, actual policies, and underlying attitudes toward North-South problems, focusing on her reactions to demands for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) by the LDCs. The conventional classification of Japan as "right-wing conservative" is shown to be misleading. Her policies are often less conservative than her rhetoric. As a result of her success as a recently developed country, her close observation of the industrialization of Asia's newly industrializing countries, and her status as a still growing latecomer—experienced in "structural adjustments" for her own benefit and faced by growing protectionist pressure from other developed countries—Japan is perhaps the most realistically optimistic of the states concerned about the prospect of the NIEO demands for a "new division of labor" and "structural change." It is possible that Japan will assume some activist role as a mediator in the North-South dialogue, perhaps in the quiet areas of negotiation and policy formulation rather than in the arena of public diplomacy such as summit meetings.

## INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION:

### AN APPLICATION OF THE URBAN LOCATION CHOICE MODEL

By N. CARRUTHERS and A. R. VINING

The public choice model of urban residential location offers an opportunity to integrate economic and political models of migration, and thus has broad applicability as a positive model of both individual behavior and national policies relating to international migration. The authors describe the basic economic model of the urban migration process and explore its dynamics. They utilize this model to explain the migratory behavior of individuals and groups and the reactions of national governments, whether "sending" or "receiving" the migrants. Finally, they examine the policy implications of such a model.

## ENERGY AND SECURITY IN THE 1980s

By J. S. NYE, JR.

Because alternative sources of energy cannot be developed fast enough in the short term, the problems of energy security in the next decade will continue to focus on oil. The problem is not that the world will run out of oil in this century, but that low-cost oil is heavily concentrated in the Persian Gulf, an area of domestic and international political instability. The current oil glut and soft markets will not solve the energy security problem. Market forces are a necessary but not sufficient element in an effective strategy for energy security. The same can be said about an effective American military presence in the area. Current enthusiasm for enhancing military capabilities can provide only part of a solution when we are dealing with a transnational system such as international energy. Successful analysis must draw on insights both from traditional realism and from studies of power and interdependence. Theories of interdependence and transnational systems are not based upon a world of détente, but remain relevant to the complex threats to national security we face, such as energy in the 1980s.

## EXPANDING THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS:

### THE FRENCH CONNECTION

By G. M. LYONS

The study of international relations has been dominated by scholars working in the United States and has concentrated on questions that have been important to the U.S. as it emerged as the leading international power after 1945. These tendencies have limited the questions asked, the concepts generated, and the perspectives relevant to theory building. These limits can only be overcome by integrating the work of specialists from other countries. To this end, recent contributions by a number of French scholars are examined through a review of four publications. They provide a deeper sense of the options open to



lesser states than is usually found in American contributions, a greater acceptance of flux and change in the international system, with less weight given to external influences on foreign policy formation and more to domestic politics and to personal relations among political leaders.

## GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION IN THE MARKET ECONOMIES OF EAST ASIA

By G. S. FIELDS

Who benefits how much from economic development? Three approaches to measuring the income distribution effects of growth are described and contrasted, and the experiences of various countries are classified accordingly. Seven books analyzing patterns of change in income distribution in Asia are reviewed. Although some of the authors feel that "getting the prices right" in a market economy with a minimum of government interference is *the* way to achieve growth and distributional goals, a better conclusion is that synergism between policy and initial conditions explains the presence or absence of equitable growth.

# We're expanding our sphere of influence . . .

*New! for 1983*

## **FOREIGN POLICYMAKING AND THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM**

**James A. Nathan and James K. Oliver**

In a unique synthesis, this new text discusses policy *and* policymaking in the context of the development of American foreign policy. The authors emphasize the fragmentation of foreign policymaking inherent in a democracy, focussing on three problem areas: the executive-legislative relationship, the relationship between foreign policymakers and the public, and the role of private power (such as multinationals) in foreign policymaking.

1983/paper/c.288 pages

## **THE LOGIC OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

*Fourth Edition*

**Walter S. Jones and Steven J. Rosen**

In the updated edition of this best-selling international relations text, the authors place greater emphasis on the failure of detente, the evolving relationships among world powers, and the shift of power from industrialized to resource-rich nations. A new chapter on regional power balances has been added, and the chapter on international trade has been expanded to two chapters on international trade and monetary exchange.

1982/paper/560 pages/with Instructor's Manual

## **WAR, PEACE, AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS**

*Second Edition*

**David W. Ziegler**

Written from a traditional, state-centered perspective, this widely used text provides a coherent introduction to the basic concepts and issues in international politics. The Second Edition includes new chapters on the Middle East conflicts and contemporary international economic issues.

1981/paper/450 pages/with Instructors' Manual

## **UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY AND WORLD ORDER**

*Second Edition*

**James A. Nathan and James K. Oliver**

Unsurpassed for complete coverage of U.S. foreign policy since World War II, this text stresses the major themes that have informed America's foreign policy—containment of the Soviet Union, international economic restraints, and the complications posed by modern interdependence.

1981/paper/475 pages

# . . . at Little, Brown

College Division • 34 Beacon Street • Boston, MA 02106