

# WORLD POLITICS

Vol. XL

July 1988

No. 4

## CONTENTS

External Ambition and Economic Performance	<i>Miles Kahler</i>	419
The United States, the Soviet Union, and the Politics of Opposites	<i>Miroslav Nincic</i>	452
RESEARCH NOTE		
Economic and Political Explanations of Human Rights Violations	<i>Neil J. Mitchell and James M. McCormick</i>	476
REVIEW ARTICLES		
Lessons from History, or the Perfidy of English Exceptionalism and the Significance of Historical France	<i>Robert H. Bates</i>	499
Japanese Foreign Economic Policy Formation: Explaining the Reactive State	<i>Kent E. Calder</i>	517
Implementing the Final Solution: The Ordinary Regulating of the Extraordinary	<i>Henry L. Mason</i>	542
Index to Volume XL		579
The Contributors		ii
Abstracts		iii

## THE CONTRIBUTORS

MILES KAHLER is a Professor at the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, University of California, San Diego. He is the author of *Decolonization in Britain and France* (1984) and the editor of *The Politics of International Debt* (1986).

MIROSLAV NINCIC is an Associate Professor of Politics at New York University. His most recent books are *How War Might Spread to Europe* (1984) and *United States Foreign Policy: Choice and Tradeoffs* (1988). *The Roots of Rivalry*, a book that seeks to account for the U.S.-Soviet rivalry, is forthcoming in 1989.

NEIL J. MITCHELL is an Assistant Professor at the University of New Mexico. In addition to working in the human rights area, he is currently doing research on business-union-government relations.

JAMES M. MCCORMICK is Professor and Acting Chair of the Department of Political Science at Iowa State University. He has published *American Foreign Policy and American Values* (1985) and is currently preparing a study on the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Along with Professor Mitchell, he is also working on a larger study of global human rights violation.

ROBERT H. BATES is Henry R. Luce Professor in the Department of Political Science at Duke University. His most recent books are *Toward a Political Economy of Development* (1988) and *Beyond the "Miracle of the Market": The Political Economy of Agrarian Development in Kenya* (forthcoming).

KENT E. CALDER is Assistant Professor of Politics and International Affairs at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University. He is the author of *Crisis and Compensation: Public Policy and Political Stability in Japan, 1949-1986* (1988), and co-author of *The Eastasia Edge* (1982). He is currently completing a study on "The State and Selective Credit Programs in Japan."

HENRY L. MASON is Professor of Political Science at Tulane University. His writings include several books and articles on reactions to Nazi policies during World War II. His current research is concerned with aspects of nuclear ethics.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use, or the internal or personal use of specific clients, is granted by The Trustees of Princeton University for libraries and other users registered with the Copyright Clearance Center (CCC) Transactional Reporting Service, provided that the fee of .05 per page is paid directly to CCC, 21 Congress St., Salem, MA 01970. 0043-8871/88 \$0.00 + .05

## ABSTRACTS

### EXTERNAL AMBITION AND ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE

By M. KAHLER

Realist approaches to international politics raise the possibility that external policies based on expanding military power may undermine the economic bases of that power. The links between external strategy and economic performance can be classified as fiscal (macroeconomic effects), structural (microeconomic and structural effects), and protectionist (effects on foreign economic policy). The case of prewar Japan suggests that, for countries at an intermediate position in the international power hierarchy and in the international division of labor, the positive effects of external ambition on economic performance may dominate. Other cases—National Socialist Germany, contemporary developing countries, and the post-war superpowers—seem to confirm that international position is a principal determinant of these effects.

### THE UNITED STATES, THE SOVIET UNION, AND THE POLITICS OF OPPOSITES

By M. NINCIC

The notion that the attitudes of the American public vis-à-vis the Soviet Union are driven essentially by emotion, and that they are more extreme and volatile than those of the government itself, is widely believed but may not be valid. While the public typically desires a combination of tough and conciliatory policies, it also tends to express, at any given moment, particular concern about whichever of the two it feels is most slighted in U.S. policy. Thus, the public will tend to seek conciliatory behavior from hawkish administrations while preferring a tough stance from administrations it deems dovish. By so doing, the public is likely to have a moderating effect on official behavior toward Moscow. The proposition is tested with reference to shifts in public approval of presidential Soviet policy, and certain implications are suggested for the manner in which political leadership perceives of its mandate.

### ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL EXPLANATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

By N. J. MITCHELL AND J. M. McCORMICK

This research note aims to measure human rights conditions crossnationally and to account for variations in these conditions. The measure conceptualizes human rights along two dimensions: the imprisonment of political dissidents, and the killing and torture of prisoners. The authors apply these measures to 122 countries and attempt to account for variations in terms of several well-known economic and political hypotheses.

### LESSONS FROM HISTORY, OR THE PERFDY OF ENGLISH EXCEPTIONALISM AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HISTORICAL FRANCE

By R. H. BATES

Theories of development are derived from readings of history. Modern historical research challenges many of the basic beliefs about how economies develop. More specifically, recent research suggests that the lessons drawn from the history of industrialization in England are highly misleading. The article thus challenges the empirical foundations for much of classical and Marxian development theory.

## JAPANESE FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY FORMATION:

### EXPLAINING THE REACTIVE STATE

By K. E. CALDER

The concept of the “reactive state” is useful in understanding the foreign economic policy behavior of Japan and certain other middle-range powers deeply integrated in the global political economy, particularly during periods of economic turbulence when international regimes do not fully safeguard their economic interests. The essential characteristics of the reactive state are two-fold: (1) it fails to undertake major independent foreign-policy initiatives although it has the power and national incentives to do so; (2) it responds to outside pressure for change, albeit erratically, unsystematically, and often incompletely.

In the Japanese case, reactive state behavior flows from domestic institutional characteristics as well as from the structure of the international system. Domestic features such as bureaucratic fragmentation, political factionalism, powerful mass media, and the lack of a strong central executive have played an especially important part in Japanese financial, energy, trade, and technology policy formation since 1971.

## IMPLEMENTING THE FINAL SOLUTION:

### THE ORDINARY REGULATING OF THE EXTRAORDINARY

By H. L. MASON

The implementation of the Final Solution is discussed in terms of the divergent interpretations characteristic of the “functionalists” and the “intentionalists.” The routines of two sets of implementors are described: the mass liquidations perpetrated by the *Einsatzgruppen* and the “barbaric-civil orderliness” of the bureaucrats carrying out the deportation of the German Jews. In the final section, Lifton’s concept of the medicalization of the killings is introduced, with attention also to his thoughts on “doubling” and the extension of his concerns “beyond Auschwitz” to the sphere of nuclear catastrophe.

# *Center of International Studies*

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

---

## THE IMPACT OF INTELLIGENCE ON THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE AND WAR

BY WILLIAM E. ODOM  
Lieutenant General, USA

Thinking about intelligence involves thinking about collection of information, analysis of critical issues, and important organizational concerns between agencies of the United States government. General Odom puts a range of important topics in historical and contemporary perspective.

*Policy Memorandum No. 42*

\$6.00

---

## THE UNITED STATES INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY

Woodrow Wilson School  
Undergraduate Policy Conference Report  
including comments by

Robert M. Gates  
The Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

*Policy Memorandum No. 43*

\$11.00

*Order from the*

CENTER OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES  
Corwin Hall, Princeton, N.J. 08544

# *Center of International Studies*

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

## THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN:

EMERGING ECONOMIC AND SECURITY ISSUES

Papers from an International Conference  
"Japan and the United States in the Emerging Pacific Basin Era"

### CONTENTS

- Preface  
Henry Bienen
- Opening Statement  
L. Desaix Anderson
- Introduction: The Emerging Pacific Basin  
Henry Bienen
- Export-Import Structure and Balance of Payments: The Japanese Case  
Yutaka Kosai and Katsuhide Takahashi
- The Real Exchange Rate, Employment, and Output in Manufacturing in the U.S.  
and Japan  
William H. Branson and James P. Love
- Japan's Economic Structural Adjustments and Macroeconomic Balances:  
Possibility of Policy Coordination  
Chikashi Moriguchi
- International Policy Coordination and Exchange Rate Stabilization  
Robert G. Trevor
- The United States as a Debtor  
Robert Gilpin
- American Political Transformation and the Emerging Trans-Pacific Economy  
Kent E. Calder
- World Order Studies Program*  
*Occasional Paper No. 16* \$11.00

*Order from the*

CENTER OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES  
Corwin Hall, Princeton, N.J. 08544