WORLD POLITICS

A Quarterly Journal of International Relations

> Volume XLI October 1988—July 1989

UNDER THE EDITORIAL SPONSORSHIP OF

CENTER OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

PUBLISHED BY PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

EDITORIAL BOARD

HENRY S. BIENEN, Chairman

Cyril E. Black, John Lewis Gaddis, Chalmers Johnson, Timothy J. McKeown Sadako Ogata, Condoleezza Rice, John Gerard Ruggie, Theda Skocpol, Tang Tsou, Stephen Van Evera, John A. Vasquez, Raimo Väyrynen, Kenneth N. Waltz, M. Crawford Young

Editors: Nancy Bermeo, Henry S. Bienen, Richard D. Challener, Robert G. Gilpin, G. John Ikenberry, Kenneth A. Oye, Stephen M. Walt Atul Kohli (Review Articles)

Associate Editors: David M. Bachman, Kent E. Calder, George W. Downs, Michael W. Doyle, Aaron L. Friedberg, Sheldon M. Garon, Mark Gersovitz, Charles A. Kupchan, A. James McAdams, Barry J. Nalebuff, Paul E. Sigmund, Robert L. Tignor, John Waterbury, William C. Wohlforth Executive Editors: Elsbeth G. Lewin, Yoma Ullman

The editors invite submission of articles (up to 10,000 words, including footnotes) bearing upon problems in international relations and comparative politics. Manuscripts and footnotes should be doublespaced throughout and submitted in triplicate, 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, 17 Ivy Lane, 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 readers' and editors' reports. Editorial policy does not provide for transmitting readers' evaluations to authors of rejected manuscripts. Exceptions may be made if, in the opinion of the editors, such comments contain substantive suggestions for improvement. WORLD POLITICS does not accept manuscripts that have already been published, are scheduled for publication elsewhere, or have been simultaneously submitted to another journal. 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.

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, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Journals Publishing Division, 701 W. 40th Street, Suite 275, Baltimore, MD 21211-2190

U.S. and Canada—Individuals: \$20.00 per year; \$33.00 for two years; \$48.00 for three years. Institutions: \$35.00 per year. Single copies: \$10.50.

Foreign—Individuals: \$20.00 per year; \$33.00 for two years; \$48.00 for three years. Institutions: \$35.00 per year. Please add \$7.50 per year for foreign postage and handling. Single copies: \$10.50 plus \$2.00 for postage and handling.

Back Issues: WORLD POLITICS is available in microfilm or xerographic copies from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106. Two years after publication, complete volumes are available in microfiche form 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), PAIS Bulletin, and Social Science 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, International Political Science Abstracts, and Political Science Abstracts.

Copyright © 1988, 1989 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. XLI, October 1988–July 1989. Second class postage paid at Trenton, N.J., and additional mailing offices. Send address changes to Princeton University Press, 3175

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0043887100002240 Published online by Cambridge University Press

CONTENTS

No. 1—October 1988

Empirical Support for Systemic and Dyadic Explanations of International Conflict	Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and David Lalman	I
The Distribution of Wars over Time	Edward D. Mansfield	21
Authoritarian States, Capital-Owning Classes, and the Politics of Newly Industrializing Countries: The Case of Indonesia	Richard Robison	52
Social Choice and System Structure in World Politics	James D. Morrow	
Review Articles		,
"The Spirit of the Sierra Maestra": Five Observations on Writing about Cuban Foreign Policy	Tony Smith	98
Dilemmas of Change in Mexican Politics	Kevin Middlebrook	120
No. 2—January	7 1989	
THE RATIONAL DETERRENCE	DEBATE: A SYMPOSIU	M
Rational Deterrence Theory and Comparative Case Studies	Christopher H. Achen and Duncan Snidal	143
Deterrence and Foreign Policy	Alexander L. George and Richard Smoke	170
Rational Deterrence: Theory and Evidence	Robert Jervis	183
Rational Deterrence Theory:	Richard Ned Lebow	103
I Think, Therefore I Deter	and Janice Gross Stein	208
The Rational Deterrence Debate	George W. Downs	225
Power, Capabilities, and Paradoxical Conflict Outcomes	Zeev Maoz	239
Review Article		
Reforming a Socialist State: Ideology and Public Finance in Yugoslavia	Susan L. Woodward	267

No. 3—April 1989

Rational Hegemons, Excludable Goods,		
and Small Groups: An Epitaph for Hegemonic Stability Theory?	Joanne Gowa	207
The Politics of Backwardness in Continental	· ·	307
Europe, 1780-1945	Andrew C. Janos	325
Peasant-State Relations and the Social Base	Joel D. Barkan	J-)
of Self-help in Kenya	and Frank Holmquist	359
Review Articles		
The Political Economy of American Strategy	Aaron L. Friedberg	381
Beyond the State: Civil Society and	· ·	J
Associational Life in Africa	Michael Bratton	407
No.4—July 1989		
An Evaluation of "Does Economic		
· Inequality Breed Political		
Conflict?" Studies	Mark Irving Lichbach	431
Democratizing the Quasi-Leninist		
Regime in Taiwan	Tun-jen Cheng	471
Political Institutions and Tax Policy		
in the United States, Sweden,	C C	
and Britian	Sven Steinmo	500
Review Articles		
Setting Conventional Force Requirements:		
Roughly Right or		
Precisely Wrong?	Charles A. Kupchan	536
State and Society in Contemporary	מו ווייו	
China	Elizabeth J. Perry	579

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0043887100002240 Published online by Cambridge University Press

WORLD POLITICS

Vol. XLI • October 1988 • No. 1

CONTENTS

Empirical Support for Systemic and Dyadic Explanations of International Conflict	Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and David Lalman	I
The Distribution of Wars over Time	Edward D. Mansfield	21
Authoritarian States, Capital-Owning Classes, and the Politics of Newly Industrializing Countries: The Case of Indonesia	Richard Robison	52
Social Choice and System Structure in World Politics	James D. Morrow	75
Review Articles		
"The Spirit of the Sierra Maestra": Five Observations on Writing about Cuban Foreign Policy	Tony Smith	98
Dilemmas of Change in Mexican Politics	Kevin Middlebrook	I 2 0
The Contributors		ii
Abstracts		iii

THE CONTRIBUTORS

Bruce Bueno De Mesquita is a Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University. The author of *The War Trap* (1981) and (together with David Newman and Alvin Rabushka) *Forecasting Political Events: Hong Kong's Future* (1985), he is currently working with David Lalman on a book-length study tentatively entitled *War and Reason*, which focuses on war and its causes.

DAVID LALMAN is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Maryland. His joint paper with Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, "Arms Races and the Opportunity for Peace" (Synthese, 1988) is a precursor to War and Reason, their book in progress.

RICHARD D. MANSFIELD is a Ph.D. candidate in the Political Science Department at the University of Pennsylvania. He is currently writing a dissertation on the timing and determinants of war.

RICHARD ROBISON is Associate Professor in Politics and Dean of the School of Humanities at Murdoch University, Western Australia. He is the author of *Indonesia: The Rise of Capital* (1986) and co-editor of *Southeast Asia: Essays in the Political Economy of Structural Change* (1985) and *Southeast Asia in the 1980s: The Politics of Economic Crisis* (1987). His current research focuses on industrial policy in Indonesia and Australia.

James D. Morrow is Assistant Professor of Political Science and Faculty Associate of the Center for Political Studies at The University of Michigan. He is currently working on a project examining the effects of American domestic politics on arms control bargaining.

Tony Smith is Professor of Political Science at Tufts University. His most recent book is Thinking Like a Communist: State and Legitimacy in the Soviet Union, China, and Cuba (1987). At present, he is working on a book entitled America and the Struggle for Democracy Worldwide since 1945.

KEVIN J. MIDDLEBROOK is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Indiana University, Bloomington. He is co-editor of *The United States and Latin America in the 1980s: Contending Perspectives on a Decade of Crisis* (1986), and is currently completing a book on the political economy of Mexican organized labor.

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

EMPIRICAL SUPPORT FOR SYSTEMIC AND DYADIC EXPLANATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

By B. BUENO DE MESQUITA AND D. LALMAN

Systemic theorists emphasize the interplay of the distribution of power, the number of poles, and their tightness in predicting the occurrence of major-power war. The authors link individual-level incentives to these systemic constraints as factors that might affect the likelihood of war. They believe that their model specification is more comprehensive than any prior effort to evaluate the impact of structural attributes on the risk of major-power war. Empirical results from the individual-level prespective are encouraging when one examines European crises from 1816 to 1965, but there is no evidence that decision makers were significantly constrained by variations in the structural attributes. Neither the distribution of power nor the number or tightness of poles appears to influence the risk of war.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF WARS OVER TIME By E. D. MANSFIELD

Much of the empirical research on war has been conducted using only one of a number of data sets that have been compiled by leading scholars of international politics. In view of the low correlation among the data sets, however, one must be cautious in choosing between them for whatever task is at hand. The preliminary findings indicate that, regardless of which data set is used, many of the central tests of important hypotheses concerning Kondratieff waves, international trade, and hegemony and war yield much the same results.

Authoritarian States, Capital-Owning Classes, and the Politics of Newly Industrializing Countries:

THE CASE OF INDONESIA

By R. ROBISON

In the past three decades, the Suharto regime has presided over the rapid industrialization of Indonesia and the development of its capital-owning classes. A complex relationship between state and capital has emerged, based upon structural factors (the need to maintain investment, economic growth, and a revenue base) as well as instrumental factors (the involvement of officials in business as state managers of capital and private investors). Recently, however, significant tensions have emerged between the interests of the regime and its officials on the one hand, and the interests of various elements of the capital-owning classes on the other, in response to broader structural pressures for economic change.

These tensions and pressures are a challenge to the pact of domination between state officials and their corporate allies, the system monopolies and protection from which corporate capital emerged, and the nature of political domination exerted by officials over the state apparatus. Although the growing social and economic power of the capital-owning classes is not being converted into formal instrumental control over the state apparatus, economic strategies and political and economic alliances are being restructured, resulting in important shifts in the nature of Indonesian authoritarianism.

Social Choice and System Structure in World Politics By J. D. MORROW

This paper analyzes the implications of social choice theory for the study of world politics. A view of the world system as a social choice mechanism leads to the observation that the outcomes of world politics are determined neither by structure nor by preferences alone, but rather by their interaction. Structural change occurs only when the actors cannot achieve their preferences through the current system. Three particular social choice mechanisms are

analyzed to determine which conditions of Arrow's theorem they violate. The argument is illustrated by examining two salient theoretical works, Waltz's *Theory of International Politics* and Gilpin's *War and Change in World Politics*. The critique of Waltz illustrates that structure alone cannot determine outcome; the critique of Gilpin examines how structural change occurs in world politics and underlines the importance of preferences in such changes.

"THE Spirit of the Sierra Maestra":

FIVE OBSERVATIONS ON WRITING ABOUT CUBAN FOREIGN POLICY By T. SMITH

For a variety of reasons, explanations of Cuban foreign policy lack in persuasiveness. Some authors adopt a kitchen-sink approach in which any number of factors are adduced to explain Cuban behavior, but they do not pay adequate attention to how these various pieces fit together into a coherent whole. Other writers concentrate on a single factor to explain Cuba's globalism, but in the process load more explanatory power than it can bear onto a sole variable. Still others have a penchant for prescribing proper foreign policy for the United States, with the result that the study of Cuban policy in its own terms is often shortchanged. Only by studying the character, world view, and charismatic influence of Fidel Castro can a center of gravity be found for the study of Cuban foreign policy.

DILEMMAS OF CHANGE IN MEXICAN POLITICS By K. MIDDLEBROOK

Despite the past resilience of Mexico's authoritarian regime, the severity of the country's post-1982 economic crisis raises major questions concerning the future direction of Mexican politics. This review examines recent developments affecting two key members of the governing revolutionary coalition, the political elite and organized labor. The political elite's unity is potentially threatened by shifts in education and recruitment patterns, and widespread uncertainty regarding Mexico's economic future has produced the most serious intraelite division since the early 1950s. Prolonged economic crisis has also placed severe strains on state-labor relations, and the government's implementation of a new development strategy may lead to a substantial redefinition of organized labor's overall position in the Mexican regime. These changes pose significant challenges to the political elite's ability to preserve a broad-based governing coalition and political openness while managing the economic crisis and conflicting development priorities.

In-depth explorations of Eastern cultures and their histories

THE SAUDIS Inside the Desert Kingdom

By Sandra Mackey. Journalist Mackey spent four years in Saudi Arabia pretending to be no more than a doctor's wife. She could go where reporters were not allowed a royal wedding, visiting women in harems, and to PLO headquarters, among other places. The result is a unique inside view of a country that is struggling to reconcile twentiethcentury technology with an almost medieval ruling mentality.

medieval ruling mentality.
medieval ruling mentality.

\$8,95/\$11.95*

CHINA A Concise Cultural Historu

By Arthur Cotterell. Chronologically tracing the rise and fall of states and dynasties, from prehistoric times to the present, Cotterell probes the lives of key individuals and the events that have shaped China, and shows how the modern post-Mao People's Republic is part of a larger pattern of China's historical, political, religious, artistic, and scientific development. Illustrated with 32 photos. • MERIDIAN 0-452-00950-2

\$10.95/NCR

A SHORT HISTORY OF AUSTRALIA Third Revised Edition

By Manning Clark. Detailing its 200year rise from British penal colony to prosperous Commonwealth, Clark traces the many stages of Australia's social, political, and cultural growth and future directions.

MENTOR 0-451-62561-7

\$4.95/\$6.95*

THE ANCIENT **MEDITERRANEAN**

By Michael Grant. In this superb volume Grant interweaves the history of the diverse Mediterranean peoples, from prehistoric times (circa 15,000 B.C.) to the time of Constantine (306-37 A.D.) to create an all-encompassing study of the cultures that formed the foundation of Western society. A selection of the History Book Club. 32-page photo insert.

@ MERIDIAN 0-452-00949-9 \$9.95/NCR

AFRICANS AND THEIR HISTORY **Revised Edition**

By Joseph E. Harris, Ph.D. A major re-evaluation of the Western view of African history, this book documents the ways in which Western writers have distorted historical fact.

MENTOR 0-451-62556-0 \$4.95/\$6.95

UNDERSTANDING **ISLAM**

An Introduction to the Moslem World

By Thomas W. Lippman. Lippman places such events as the Iranian revolution, the Lebanese civil war, and the insurgency in Afghanistan within the context of Islamic history, making Islam's formidable influence understandable to the Western reader.

MENTOR ORIGINAL 0-451-62501-3 \$3.50/\$4.50*

> *Price in Canada. Prices subject to change.

Write to the NAL Education Department at the address below for a free History & Political Science catalog.

NEW AMERICAN LIBRARY = 1633 Broadway, New York, NY 10019



SS	
Press	
☲	
₹	
Z	
ş	
Ξ	
$\overline{}$	
g	
ō	
ā	
Ε	
ď	
>	
Ω	
9	
=	
ō	
g	
چَ	
~	
_	
q	
Pub	
40 Publ	
2240 Publ	
02240 Publ	
0002240 Publ	
100002240 Publ	
37100002240 Publ	
887100002240 Publ	
43887100002240 Publ	
0043887100002240 Publ	
/S0043887100002240 Publ	
7/50043887100002240 Publ	
017/S0043887100002240 Publ	
).1017/S0043887100002240 Publ	
10.1017/S0043887100002240 Publ	
.g/10.1017/S0043887100002240 Publ	
.org/10.1017/S0043887100002240 Publ	
oi.org/10.1017/S0043887100002240 Publ	
/doi.org/10.1017/50043887100002240 Publ	
s://doi.org/10.1017/50043887100002240 Publ	
:ps://doi.org/10.1017/S0043887100002240 Publ	
https://doi.org/10.1017/50043887100002240 Publ	
https://doi.org/10.1017/S0043887100002240 Published online by Cambridge University	

1988 Stephen M. Walt The Origins of Alliances Cornell University Press 1987 Andrew F. Krepinevich, Jr. MERSHON CENTER The Army and Vietnam The John Hopkins University Press, 1986 **Announcing** the 1989 1986 Bruce G. Blair Edgar S. Furniss Jr. Strategic Command and Control **National Security** Brookings Institution **Book Award** 1985 Barry R. Posen A \$1,000 cash prize will be The Sources of Military Doctrine awarded to the author of a Cornell University Press book published in 1988 that makes an exceptional contribution to the study of national security or the role of 1984 John J. Mearsheimer the military in society. The Conventional Deterrence award, which commemo-Cornell University Press rates the first director of the Mershon Center, is restricted to the author's first published book. Nominations by 1983 Harry G. Summers authors, publishers, or third On Strategy Presido Press parties must be made by February 28, 1989. For more information, contact: Carole Dale Mershon Center The Ohio State University

> 199 West 10th Avenue Columbus, OH 43210-2399

614-292-1681



SOVIET BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE AND THE WESTERN ALLIANCE

David S. Yost

"A well researched and ably developed account of complex issues relating to the East-West military relationship, well organized, clearly written, and impressively deliberate." — Benjamin S. Lambeth, The Rand Corporation \$30.00 cloth

SCIENTIFIC MANAGE-MENT, SOCIALIST DISCIPLINE, AND SOVIET POWER

Mark R. Beissinger

Drawing on a number of unusual sources, including previously unavailable Soviet documents, Mark Beissinger examines how excessive bureaucratization of central planning has affected politics in communist countries.

Russian Research Center Studies, 84 \$30.00 cloth

MRS. THATCHER'S REVOLUTION

The Ending of the Socialist Era

Peter Jenkins

"[Jenkins] has given us the best analysis to date of Thatcherism in power and the Opposition in disarray. His narrative is gripping, his character sketches are superb, his judgments are thoughtful."

— London Sunday Telegraph
\$25.00 cloth

SOPHISTICATED REBELS

The Political Culture of European Dissent, 1968-1987

H. Stuart Hughes

"Hughes [is] the premier chronicler of European political and intellectual history in the twentieth century...[and] is perhaps the most gracious stylist among living historians." — Paul Robinson, Stanford University Studies in Cultural History \$20.00 cloth

SURPRISE ATTACK

The Victim's Perspective Ephraim Kam

Foreword by

Thomas C. Schelling

"Kam's work [is] absolutely first rate. It represents one of the most definitive expositions on [surprise attack] that I am aware of and...shows an unusual degree of insight into the problems of warning which we face every day."

— David Y. McManis, National Intelligence Officer for Warning \$25.00 cloth

Harvard University Press

Cambridge, MA 02138

Politics around the Globe—

New

Liddell Hart and the Weight of History

By JOHN J. MEARSHEIMER. Mearsheimer shatters the myths surrounding the career of British military strategist Sir Basil Henry Liddell Hart while offering a striking illustration of how an individual can create his own selfserving version of the past. Cornell Studies in Security Affairs. \$24.95

Soviet Industry from Stalin to Gorbachev Essays in Management

and Innovation

By JOSEPH S. BERLINER. The eleven essays in this book provide an astute appraisal of the reasons behind the urgent drive to reorganize the Soviet economy. Written by Joseph Berliner over a period of thirty-five years, they present the richest available account of the structural problems that have hampered Soviet economic development since the Stalin revolution. Studies in Soviet History and Society. \$34.50

The State and American Foreign Economic Policy

Edited by G. JOHN IKENBERRY, DAVID A. LAKE, and MICHAEL MASTANDUNO. Seven notable young political scientists here provide a theoretical reevaluation of the forces at work in national policy making and present evidence that the effectiveness of the national government in shaping U.S. foreign economic policy has been greatly underestimated. Cornell Studies in Political Economy. \$9.95 paper; \$29.95 cloth

At your bookstore or call toll-free 1-800-666-2211 for credit card orders.

Cornell University Press

124 Roberts Place, Ithaca, NY 14850

New in Paper

Nuclear Crisis Management

A Dangerous Illusion
By RICHARD NED LEBOW. "The conjunction of Lebow's knowledge of crisis behavior and his focus here on the nature of nuclear crises makes this a particularly useful and important work.... This book is a most well argued and analytical survey, which alone should make it required reading for anyone interested in the complex reality of crisis management in the nuclear age."
—Steve Smith, International Affairs.
Cornell Studies in Security Affairs.
\$9.95 paper

Japan Prepares for Total War

The Search for Economic Security, 1919–1941

By MICHAEL A. BARNHART. "A first-rate, original account of Japan's road to war, fortified with documentation largely unavailable in English."—Akira Iriye, University of Chicago. Cornell Studies in

Security Affairs. \$9.95 paper The Formation of Modern Lebanon

By MEIR ZAMIR. "In its large outline, the story is familiar. But no one before Meir Zamir has put it all together. A splendid book."—Fouad Ajami, The Johns Hopkins University. "A superb account of factors leading up to the French decision and . . . [of] its consequences to 1926. . . . More studies like this and we may begin to understand the Middle East."—Daniel Pipes, *Orbis*. \$9.95 paper

The Army and Politics in Indonesia

By HAROLD CROUCH. With a new Preface and Epilogue. This book analyzes the role of the Indonesian army in that country's politics, putting special emphasis on the Sukarno years, the gradual take-over of power by the military, and the nature of Suharto's New Order government. "A valuable contribution to our knowledge of modern Indonesia."—Journal of Southeast Asian Studies. Politics and International Relations of Southeast Asia. \$10.95 paper