



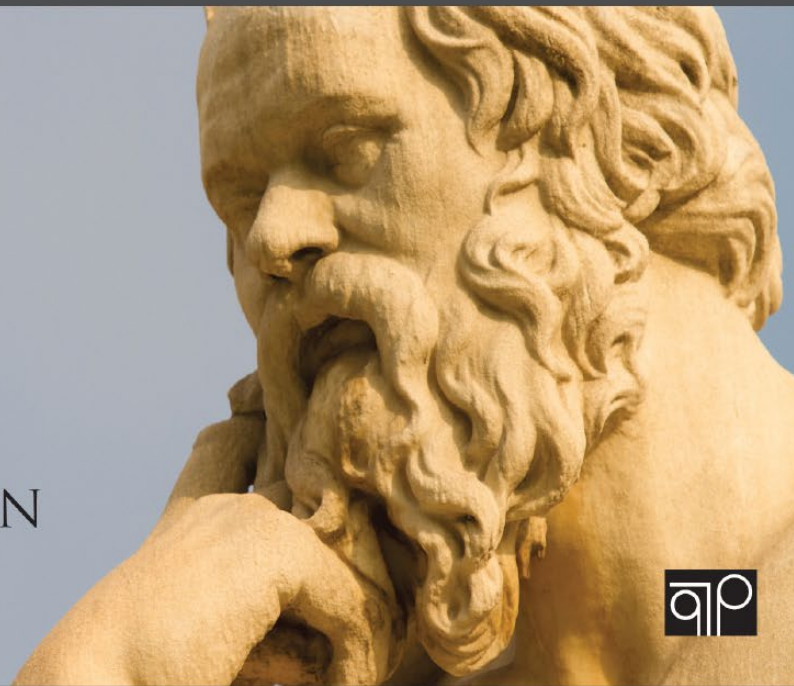
THE CHALLENGE OF POLITICS

EDITION

AN INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL SCIENCE

5

NEAL RIEMER
DOUGLAS W. SIMON
JOSEPH ROMANCE



THE CHALLENGE
OF POLITICS

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Drew University

DOUGLAS W. SIMON

Drew University

JOSEPH ROMANCE

Fort Hays State University



Los Angeles | London | New Delhi
Singapore | Washington DC



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Singapore | Washington DC | Boston

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS



Neal Riemer was the Andrew V. Stout Professor of Political Philosophy at Drew University. After receiving a PhD from Harvard University, he taught at the Pennsylvania State University, the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee, University of Innsbruck (in Austria), and Drew University. His books include *Problems of American Government* (editor); *World Affairs: Problems and Prospects* (coauthor); *The Revival of Democratic Theory*; *The Democratic Experiment*; *The Future of the Democratic Revolution: Toward a More Prophetic Politics*;

New Thinking and Developments in International Politics: Opportunities and Dangers (editor/coauthor); *Karl Marx and Prophetic Politics*; *James Madison: Creating the American Constitution*; *Creative Breakthroughs in Politics*; *Let Justice Roll: Prophetic Challenges in Religion, Politics, and Society* (editor/coauthor); and *Protection Against Genocide: Mission Impossible* (editor).



Douglas W. Simon is emeritus professor of political science at Drew University, where he specialized in international affairs, U.S. foreign policy, international organization, and national security. After receiving a BA from Willamette University, he served as an officer in U.S. air force intelligence, including a tour in Vietnam. Following his military service he earned a PhD at the University of Oregon. After arriving at Drew, he directed the university's Semester on the United Nations for fifteen years, served as convener of Drew's Masters in International

Affairs Program, and later was department chair. In addition to *The Challenge of Politics*, he is coauthor of *New Thinking and Developments in International Politics: Opportunities and Dangers* and has contributed to such publications as the *Harvard Journal of World Affairs*, *East Asian Survey*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *International Studies Notes*, *Teaching Political Science*, and *Society*.



Joseph Romance is associate professor of political science at Fort Hays State University, teaching in the fields of American politics and political theory. He received a BA from the College of William and Mary and a PhD from Rutgers University. He is coauthor, with Theodore Lowi and Gerald Pomper, of *A Republic of Parties: Debating the Two Party System*; coauthor of and contributor to *Democracy and Excellence: Conflict or Concord?*; and coeditor of *Democracy's Literature*.

His articles and reviews have appeared in a number of journals, including *American Review of Politics*, *The Responsive Community*, *Perspectives on Political Science*, and *Newsday*. He has also contributed pieces to a number of edited volumes, including *Progressive Politics in the Global Age* and *Friends and Citizens*. He currently is working on a book about political foundations.

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For five editions of *The Challenge of Politics* we have worked with an incredible staff at CQ Press/SAGE. This latest effort was once again a wonderful experience. We are very grateful for the excellent support we received. The process of producing a new edition of a large textbook requires a lot of work, creativity, patience, and efficient communication in order to make a complex process run smoothly. Our sincerest thanks go out to the entire staff at CQ Press/SAGE, particularly Sarah Calabi, acquisitions editor; Libby Larson, production editor; Megan Markanich, copy editor; and Natalie Konopinski, associate editor, who has shepherded this project from the outset.

PREFACE

In this fifth edition of *The Challenge of Politics* we again advance a vision of political science that is sweeping in scope and integrative in nature. We believe that politics should be concerned with the creation of a humane, civilized society. For that reason, students of politics must not only work diligently to determine empirically what is and why but they must also make judgments as to which political systems and processes are most efficient and most humane.

We do not believe in a sharp distinction between classical and empirical theory in the pursuit of these goals. Instead, we strongly affirm students' need to appreciate the wisdom of classical theory as they address timeless questions: What is the good life? What is freedom? What is justice? When should citizens disobey their government? How do we balance individual rights and the broader interests of society? Throughout the text we constantly return to these and other fundamental questions.

We also welcome contemporary methods of investigating politics. For example, the ability to analyze data about what citizens and political actors think and do brings new dimension and depth to our understanding of what the good life is. Put simply, classical theory and the scientific method are never at war in this text. Knowing Plato's conception of the ideal just state, for example, illuminates the kinds of political choices we make today as we think about war, economic efficiency and fairness, and the dangers of global pollution.

Further evidence of our desire to offer an integrative concept of political science is our belief that the four traditional fields of the discipline—political theory, American government, comparative politics, and international relations—can, and should, inform each other. When political science is taught in a compartmentalized fashion, as it frequently is, students may have difficulty seeing how the discipline's subfields interact as a whole. For example, controversies in American political parties can seem completely unrelated to the balance of power in international relations. Because we want students to see the whole of the political world, we focus on what constitutes a just and well-governed society. Students are motivated to see linkages between how governments work, how states interact, and how the great theorists of politics have shaped and influenced political actors.

This text puts forth the idea that all politics is about certain fundamental concepts. What are the political values that encourage a good political life? Can we develop a science of politics to help us understand the empirical realities of politics? Can we bring a high level of political prudence and wisdom to bear on public issues? Can we creatively address the future of politics? These are the concerns that form the bridges between the subfields of the discipline in *The Challenge of Politics*.

As we lead students to explore these questions, we remind them that politics is emphatically about choice and thinking about the possible. We give them the ability to make informed judgments about some of the most compelling public policy issues of our time: poverty, war and peace, human rights, and environmental degradation. In this way, we invite students to think about the future. How might a more just and civilized society come about? Can students of politics use their knowledge, reason, and innovation to develop creative breakthroughs in the way we govern ourselves as human beings?

ORGANIZATION

The Challenge of Politics is divided into four parts linked together by several common themes: political values, the science of politics, political wisdom, and the future of politics and political science.

Part I, *Rules of the Game*, introduces students to the field of political science by focusing on the kinds of choices political actors make. We use this approach because the element of choice is at the heart of politics and because we believe it is the most exciting way to engage students at the beginning. What is more compelling than to discover how renowned political figures as well as common people wrestled with profound political dilemmas, the resolutions of which determined how people would ultimately be governed or whether people lived or died? The chapters in Part I also examine the tasks of political science and ask the critical question, how scientific can political science be? Chapter 4 explores the physical, social, and cultural environments in which politics takes place, highlighting the crucial fact that politics never occurs in a vacuum. One new item in this chapter is a far more extensive discussion of the role of social media in the world of politics.

Part II, *Political Philosophy and Ideology*, explores the world of political philosophy and ideology. We give considerable attention to classical theory and the manner in which it illuminates our fundamental understanding of politics and the search for justice. In addition, we examine a number of modern ideologies, including liberal democracy, communism, and democratic socialism. Examining these various forms of governance invites students to think about which values and ideas should take precedence over others. Is equality more important than freedom? Is democracy a better system than monarchy?

Part III, *American, Comparative, and World Politics*, examines political values and the problems that arise because of the gap between professed values and the actual behavior of political actors. This section is also concerned with the institutional context in which politics occurs. Chapter 8 provides a discussion of some basic concepts of politics and governance. In a new feature of the book, Chapter 9 is devoted exclusively to American politics and government. Chapter 10 focuses on comparative politics. The importance of the aspects of politics reflected in these chapters—culture, constitutions, citizens, governmental actors—is, in our judgment, obvious. Tough political choices are

shaped not merely by ideas but by the characteristics of the institutions of governance. How adequate and effective are these institutions of governance in seeking a just and humane society? Do they contribute to the political health of communities or to a more peaceful world? These are central questions that the student of politics must address. We assist this study by exploring the domestic political systems of a variety of countries, including discussions of their constitutions, voters, interest groups, political parties, media, legislatures, executives, bureaucracies, and courts. Later in the section, in Chapter 11, we devote attention to the world of international politics. In this fifth edition, in addition to the new chapter on American government, we have included new material on several developments including the gridlock gripping Congress, the rise of overtly partisan news outlets such as FOX and MSNBC, and the addition of Somalia as an example of a failed or fragile state.

Part IV, Political Judgment and Public Policy, invites students to apply the tools of the discipline to four critical public policy areas: war and peace, human rights, economic welfare, and the environment. We present a variety of approaches for dealing with these concerns. Some thought is devoted to considering which approaches offer the best opportunity for solving the most intractable policy problems. The chapters on public policy encourage students to articulate their own ethical values; to present and assess significant empirical findings relevant to the problems; and to balance ethical, empirical, and prudential concerns to reach sensible political judgments on important current problems. These chapters invite students to develop their own creative breakthroughs to solve these problems. In addition, Part IV is specifically designed to give instructors flexibility in the way they use the book. Each of the four policy chapters stands on its own; instructors can choose to have students read all four chapters or to assign chapters individually. In this section new and updated information is provided on a number of subjects including the ongoing negotiations over Iran's nuclear program; the civil war in Syria; international slavery and human trafficking; the revelations by Edward Snowden concerning National Security Agency (NSA) surveillance programs; violation of women's rights; work of the International Criminal Court (ICC); economic inequality both international and domestic; additional scientific evidence of global warming; the December 2014 climate change conference; the issue of safe water as a valuable resource; and the relationship between climate change, scarce resources, and armed conflict.

PEDAGOGY

We designed *The Challenge of Politics* to engage students' interest. Throughout this fifth edition students will find updated tables and graphs containing up-to-the-minute data, as well as conceptual figures and maps that enhance the text. A wide array of photographs with substantive captions are incorporated throughout the text. In addition to traditional news and scenic photographs, we took considerable care to

find photographs and portraits of important political theorists and personalities. For many students, Plato, Machiavelli, Madison, Mill, Thoreau, and Marx are abstractions, merely names on a page. By presenting these images we hope that these figures will come alive.

Another feature of the book is the presentation of Chapter Objectives as well as Key Questions at the beginning of most chapters with an icon in the margins highlighting their importance. These questions are intended to get students thinking about some of the critical issues raised in each part of the book. Other features include end-of-chapter suggested readings—a mixture of contemporary and classical works—and lists of key terms. These terms, highlighted throughout the text, are defined in an extensive glossary at the end of the book.

In addition to these text features, the fifth edition of *The Challenge of Politics* is accompanied by **SAGE edge**.



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- **Web resources** appeal to students with different learning styles
- All **graphics from the text** for class presentations

Our hope is that after reading *The Challenge of Politics* students will have gained a greater understanding and appreciation of the political world and perhaps even be inspired to become active participants on the political stage themselves.

INTRODUCTION

In *The Challenge of Politics* we seek to introduce you to the intriguing discipline of political science. We strongly believe that our unique and comprehensive approach can best equip you, the student of political science, to stay abreast of the ever-changing, challenging world of politics, a world now in the early years of the twenty-first century. This is a world in which the paramount issues of peace/war, human rights/tyranny, prosperity/poverty, and ecological balance/malaise continue to dominate the political agenda.

In the few years since the last edition of this book, major changes and challenges have demanded the attention of students of political science. Through the years 2013 and 2014, the United States slowly began to pull itself out of the crushing recession of 2008, and by 2015 the Dow Jones Industrial Average had tripled from its low point in the crisis. Unemployment, which had soared into the double figures, by 2015 had fallen below levels before the crash occurred. The American Congress continued to experience high degrees of gridlock, flirting with government shutdown several times. To a great degree, conflict between the Democratic president and the Republican-controlled legislature defined American politics during this period of time. The Arab Spring that had generated cautious hope in 2011 and 2012 began to fade as countries either plunged into chaos or experienced a reassertion of authoritarian rule. Only Tunisia seemed bound for some meaningful democratic reform. Pope Benedict XVI announced his resignation, the first pontiff to resign since 1415. In March of 2014 he was replaced by Cardinal Jorge Mario Bergoglio, taking the papal name Pope Francis. He almost immediately set the Catholic Church off in some seemingly new areas of emphasis and direction, particularly in dealing with the poor and in encouraging higher levels of tolerance. Throughout the years 2013 through 2015 the terrorist groups Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab stepped up their reign of terror from West to East Africa, and out of the death and destruction of the Syrian civil war, ISIS (the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) emerged. It is a Sunni-based group whose aim is to establish a caliphate encompassing all of the Muslim World. ISIS is extremely conservative, and its methods are brutal, particularly against nonbelievers. The year 2013 also saw the election of Hassan Rouhani as president of Iran. He is considered somewhat of a moderate, raising hopes that negotiations over the disposition of the Iranian nuclear program might make some meaningful progress. In 2014 Russian forces seized the Crimean Peninsula of Ukraine and its strategic port of Sebastopol. This has dramatically increased the levels of tension between the Europeans and the United States and Vladimir Putin's Russia. While the American public's focus on global warming seemed to have lessened in recent years, scientific evidence continued to mount that climate change remains a serious problem that needs to be addressed. These changes and challenges require us to ponder some major issues: the nature of

leadership in the United States as well as in other parts of the world, the persistence of war as part of the human condition, and the difficulties in establishing peace. In addition we note large pockets of poverty persist in several regions. Human rights are still violated with impunity in far too many countries, and ecological balance remains a critical problem for our “spaceship earth.”

As we seek to keep abreast of these developments, we need to keep our eyes focused on four key questions. These questions highlight the analytical framework of our unique and comprehensive approach to the study of politics and political science. These questions are difficult because vigorous debate still rages about the meaning of the good political life; about the very possibility of a science of politics; about the

likelihood of making wise judgments; about the difficulties of linking the ethical, social scientific, and prudential concerns of political science; and about the future of politics. Despite the difficulty of the questions, asking them enables students of politics to explore political philosophy and ideology; major forms of government; and key public policy issues involving peace and war, prosperity and poverty, human rights and wrongs, and ecological balance and malaise. Why is that important? It is important because these are the critical belief systems and policy issues that directly affect people’s lives—the way we choose our leaders, the way we govern ourselves, and the way we treat each other as human beings inside and outside our country. We welcome the challenges of exploring these systems and issues and hope that our approach will contribute to enlightened dialogue and creative debate.

KEY QUESTIONS

1. Can we as citizens and students articulate and defend a view of the good political life and its guiding political values?
2. Can we develop a science of politics to help us understand significant political phenomena—the empirical realities of politics?
3. Can we bring a high level of political prudence or wisdom to bear on judgments about politics and public issues?
4. Can citizens and students creatively address the future of politics?



POLITICAL VALUES

Addressing the first question of our framework, that of political values, we reaffirm our normative preference for politics as a civilizing enterprise, one that enables people in the political community to live better, to grow robustly in mind and spirit, and to find creative fulfillment. This normative preference has guided our choice of topics in this book. The theme of politics as a civilizing enterprise has also provided a standard for exploring the meaning of political health, a metaphor for the political community that is able to secure peace, protect human rights, enhance economic prosperity, and advance ecological balance—and thus facilitate creative individual realization within the framework of the common good.

To hold this perspective, however, does not mean ignoring the ugly fact that politics often is not a civilizing enterprise, that politics is sometimes a dirty and unpleasant business. Truth, honor, and decency are sometimes casualties in the world of politics. Appreciating the realities of politics clearly requires a keen understanding of war as well as peace, tyranny as well as freedom, injustice as well as justice, poverty as well as prosperity, ecological malaise as well as ecological well-being. Put simply, it remains important to see—and to seek to achieve—politics at its best, as well as to recognize how it can degenerate and function at its worst.

A SCIENCE OF POLITICS

The science of politics compels us to determine, as accurately and truthfully as possible, the objective reality of what goes on in the political arena. Students of politics are faced with the task of accurately assessing and understanding past, present, and emerging political realities. Understanding changing realms of domestic and international politics is an important, and often neglected, task.

Keeping abreast of the changing and challenging nature of politics is clearly an imperative of a realistic political science. However, change is not always unique or singular. Political science recognizes the enduring realities of the struggle for power. Current developments and contemporary changes are always best understood in the light of those enduring ethical, empirical, and prudential realities. It is also most important to appreciate that changes may pose dangers to be avoided as well as opportunities to be seized. Changes may, unpredictably, usher in the “best of times” or the “worst of times.”

Strikingly, the changes and challenges outlined in this book all relate to the political values of peace, freedom, economic well-being, and ecological balance, and thus offer a way to link events across eras and regions, from the domestic realm to the international realm.

POLITICAL WISDOM

Political actors, as they seek to advance their values in the light of the realities of politics, will need to exercise wise political judgment as they respond to the striking changes that have taken place in recent years. The challenge of politics calls upon students and citizens to make wise decisions based on a combination of factors: thorough knowledge, deep understanding, rational thought, and a sense of compassion. Wisdom must be brought to bear in responding to the different character of the rivalries between the world’s major powers since the end of the Cold War; to the ongoing problems of liberal democracies; to the continuing plight of many developing countries; and to a host of other challenging political, economic, religious, scientific, and environmental developments.

THE FUTURE OF POLITICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

Attention to the preceding features of *The Challenge of Politics*—political values, the science of politics, and political wisdom—helps one attend to the future. Here we have in mind not only the immediate future but the long-range future as well. In the prophetic tradition we must carefully scrutinize the future as well as the past and the present. Political scientists need to project forward, to scenarios both positive and negative, in order to critically assess what lies ahead in politics. Here students of political science are challenged to explore the future imaginatively. Consequently, we encourage you to use the analytical framework of the text to (1) probe the future of political values more clearly, fully, and critically; (2) seek to grasp the emerging realities of politics more incisively, keenly, and astutely; and (3) weigh the costs and benefits of alternative judgments, policies, and actions more prudently, humanely, and practically in order to reach wise decisions.

In seeking to advance the critical exploration of the book's cardinal questions, we will explore in each part a key organizing question. In Part I—Rules of the Game, which serves as our introduction to the field and study of political science—we ask this question: How can we best understand politics and political science? To stimulate interest about the nature and challenge of politics, in Chapters 1 and 2 we use some dramatic “political games” to underscore crucial choices. Thus in Chapter 1 we employ five cases drawn from history, literature, and political philosophy to focus on the players, stakes, rules, strategies, and tactics in the “game” of politics. In Chapter 2 we employ five memorable cases to emphasize the central role of choice in politics. Then, after using these cases and choices to highlight goals, realities, and judgments in politics, we move on in Chapter 3 to outline the major tasks, fields, and controversies of political science in a more systematic way. Finally, in Chapter 4, we emphasize how the larger physical, social, and cultural environment affects the discipline and its tasks.

Our guiding question in Part II—Political Philosophy and Ideology—is this: How do political philosophy and ideology illuminate our understanding of politics? In Chapter 5 we discuss the contributions of the great political philosophers, and in Chapters 6 and 7 we examine such political ideologies as liberal democracy, communism, and democratic socialism.

In Part III—American, Comparative, and World Politics—we consider this question: How far have we come in developing a fruitful science of politics? In Chapter 8 we begin by considering some of the key dilemmas in the areas of political form, culture, and values. In Chapters 9 through 11 we focus on such significant empirical problems as the gap between the actual and professed values of political actors. We also explore which political patterns are successful in furthering cooperation, advancing accommodation, and handling conflicts in national and international politics.

In Part IV—Political Judgment and Public Policy—we focus on this question: How can we sharpen our prudent judgment on key issues of public policy? In order to probe this question we explore in Chapters 12 through 15 a number of policy issues of global concern, such as the achievement of a peaceful world order, greater protection for human rights, economic well-being, and a sane ecological balance. The public policy chapters seek to encourage you to articulate your own ethical values; to present and assess significant empirical findings relevant to the problems at hand; and, finally, to balance ethical, empirical, and prudential concerns in reaching sensible political judgments on important, albeit controversial, problems of the day, the decade, and the future.

In the Conclusion, we ask this: How will we, in the twenty-first century, carry on the work of politics as a civilizing enterprise? We set forth some scenarios about the future of politics—scenarios involving the character of the political world in a new century. This final chapter recognizes that you who read this book will be engaged in the politics of the twenty-first century. You will have to be prepared to take charge and to respond intelligently, effectively, and humanely to the political issues of this new century.

RULES OF THE GAME

The chapters in Part I seek to introduce you to politics and the discipline of political science and to provide you with a framework for a more complete exploration of the nature of politics and political science. They are designed to help you understand the political scientist's tasks, fields of study, and key controversies. You are invited to think critically about politics, especially about the extent to which politics functions as a civilizing activity. Are the tasks we discuss the tasks that political scientists ought to be performing? Do the traditional fields of study do justice to the discipline? The central question that each of these introductory chapters addresses is this: How can we best understand politics and political science?

Chapters 1 and 2 begin by presenting some “games” that politicians play and by emphasizing the importance of choice. These games and choices highlight differing views of the good political life, of political realities, and of wise judgment. The metaphor of a game calls attention to these crucial features of politics: players, stakes, rules, and behavioral strategy and tactics. Four dramatic models illustrate the way power—a cardinal factor in politics—is used. These sample games are designed to help you think critically about ends and means in politics. These chapters also highlight the struggle for power in politics—that is, in the words of Harold Lasswell in his 1935 classic book of the same title—who gets what, when, how, and why. Our presentation builds on your commonsense understanding of power as strength and influence and on your appreciation of the military, political, economic, and ideological aspects of power.

Politics involves grappling with tough problems in an often difficult world. By focusing on four momentous choices in politics, Chapter 2 again underscores the relationship among values, behavior, and judgment. These choices highlight the creative challenge involved in reaching wise decisions. Thoughtful investigation of these choices should stimulate you to probe political philosophy and ethics, comparative and world politics, and public policy in the succeeding parts of this book. Chapters 1 and 2 are designed to engage your interest and to prepare you for a somewhat more systematic presentation of our approach to political science and its main concern: politics.

Chapter 3 defines political science and outlines the conceptual framework for the entire book. Political scientists, we emphasize, explore the good political life, a science of politics, and wise judgment on public policy. Although these interests are evident in the traditional fields of political science, political scientists still argue about which of these concerns should be most prominent and about fitting them into a unified discipline.

Our exposition of the nature of political science assumes some familiarity with our suggested framework. Indeed, you could not have lived seventeen to twenty-one years or more without arriving at some views about the good political life; acquiring some understanding of political realities; and making some judgments about political actors, institutions, and policies. Chapter 3 builds on this awareness.

Chapter 4, the final chapter in Part I, explores how the larger physical, social, and cultural environment influences political values, behavior, and judgment. To understand problems in politics, people need to be aware, for example, of the geographic world they live in, the biological creatures they are, and the social communities they have built. The work of political scientists is thus informed by a variety of scholars, among them historians, economists, geographers, sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, and physicists. Chapter 4 seeks to make students of political science cognizant of the interdisciplinary setting of politics.

