



世界政治与国际关系原版影印丛书



从战争到和平：国际政治中的重大决策

FROM WAR TO PEACE

FATEFUL DECISIONS IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

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From War to Peace

Fateful Decisions in International Politics

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出版说明

引进和交流,是国际研究诸学科发展壮大所不可或缺的环节和纽带。没有引进和交流,学术就难以活跃,也不易创新。每一位从事世界政治与国际关系研究的学者、每一位学习世界政治与国际关系的学生,无不深感阅读外文原文文献的重要性,他们都深知,原文的报刊、教材和专著,是获取最新国际信息、最新理论论争、最新参考资料的必不可少的重要来源,而获得这样的原文文献的机会是不均等的,因此,他们极其渴望更为方便地直接接触到原文文献。而在目前不易直接在国内购买原版书籍的情况下,采取原版影印的方式引进国际上的优秀教材和专著是解决问题的一条捷径,如此就可以使国内普通读者方便地获得最有权威的原文读物,从而可以快速了解国外同行的教学和学术成果,为深入学习和研究、为开展有效的对外学术交流、也为国际关系诸学科在我国的发展打下更坚实的基础。

这套“世界政治与国际关系原版影印丛书”,正是基于上述认识而组织出版的,并且得到了我国国际关系教学与科研领域最有权威的专家教授们的认可,他们分别来自于北京大学国际关系学院、复旦大学国际关系与公共事务学院、中国人民大学国际关系学院、外交学院、清华大学国际问题研究所、中国社会科学院世界经济与政治研究所、中共中央党校战略研究所等单位,作为本套丛书的学术顾问,他们愿意向我国该学科及相关领域的广大学者和学生共同推荐这套丛书。

本丛书第一批先行选入几本经典文献选读性质的国外优秀教材,内容主要在国际关系理论方面,也包括国际政治经济学方面的优秀教材。它们皆可称为原文中的精品,值得研读和收藏,不仅如此,由于它们本身在国外的大学课堂里都是应用较广的教材和读物,所以特别适合作为我国国际关系与世界政治专业大学教学中的参考读物,甚至可以直接作为以外文授课的课堂教材。在每本书的前面,我们都邀请国内比较权威的专家学者撰写了精彩的导论,以指导读者更好地阅读和使用这些文献。

今后,我们会陆续推出更新、更好的原版教材和专著,希望广大读者提出宝贵意见和建议,尤其欢迎更多的专家学者向我们推荐适合引进的国外优秀教材和专著,以帮助我们完善这套丛书的出版,并最终形成一套完整的世界政治与国际关系及其相关学科适用的原文教学研究参考书系。

最后也要特别提醒读者,我们引进这套丛书,目的主要在于推动学术交流、促进学科发育、完善教学体系,而其著作者的出发点和指导思想、基本观点和结论等,则完全属于由读者加以认识、比较、讨论甚至批评的内容,均不代表北京大学出版社。

如何延续和平

——《从战争到和平》导读

阎学通

小查尔斯·凯格利(Charles W. Kegley Jr.)和格雷戈里·雷蒙(Gregory A. Raymond)合著的《从战争到和平》(*From War to Peace*)是一部研究和平的著作。两位作者认为人们对于和平的研究远远落后于对战争的研究,这一点与本人所见略同,就在该书出版的同年,本人恰巧也发表一篇《和平的性质——和平≠安全》的文章。^①因此,当北京大学出版社邀请我为《从战争到和平》写导读时,我欣然同意。

《从战争到和平》一书给我印象最深刻的部分是该书提出的有关战争与和平的大量问题。这些问题很有深度,很值得认真研究。阅读这本书将有助于读者理解如何寻找有研究价值的科学问题,国际关系专业的研究生甚至可以从中找到用于博士论文研究的问题。学者们早就注意到了战争的结束与战后的和平相关,凯格利和雷蒙则深化了这一问题。他们从战争的结束与和平时间长短相关的角度出发,提出了一个很有意义的问题,即:胜利者如何结束战争才有利于战后和平的长期延续?多数学者将精力集中于研究战争是如何爆发的,希望通过发现战争发生的原因,找到防止战争的途径。与多数学者的出发点不同,该书作者不是研究战争的发生而是研究战争的结束,力图通过研究不同战争结果对战后和平的影响,发现建立长期和平的条件。

《从战争到和平》的第一部分提出了正义结束战争与和平延续时间有何关系的问题,介绍了研究这一课题的方法和核心概念。作者还就战胜国如何对待战败国的战略选择问题,提出了战争与和平的正义性有助于和平长期延续的假设。该书第二部分有三章,分别介绍了**三十年战争**、**拿破仑战争**和**德国统一战争**,分析了战胜国对战败国采取宽恕或严厉的政策所导致不良后果的原因,以此表明对战败国的不当政策将成为下一场战争的种子。该书第三部分有两章,分别总结了**第一次世界大战**和**第二次世界大战**两场战争后的不同政治安排,通过比较惩罚性安排和建设性安排的区别,讨论了这些区别对战后和平所产生的影响。作者还就现实主义与自由主义两派在战争与和平的正义性和道德问题上的分歧进行了讨论。该书第四部分的两章,通过对冷战后的**海湾战争**和**科索沃战争**的分析,观察今后战争的特点,比较现代战争与传统战争的结局区别。作者认为,今后

^① 阎学通:《和平的性质——和平≠安全》,载《世界经济与政治》,2002年第8期。

的国际社会将可能出现更多的维和战争,特别是讨论了人道主义干预的问题。该书的最后一章还从理论上总结了现实主义与自由主义在战争与和平研究上的局限性,分析了影响战胜国制定战后政策的因素,提出了创立和平的12种方法,解释了为何应进行正义战争和建立正义和平。作者依据正义的战后安排有利于延续战后和平的基本观念,建议战胜方的政治家应在战利品分配、战败国惩罚、受害方赔偿以及双方关系恢复的四个方面进行正义的理性安排,以建立正义的和平。

就像爱情是文学创作的永恒主题一样,战争与和平的关系则是国际政治学中的一个永恒研究主题。有关战争的研究可以追溯到古代文明,中国春秋时期的《孙子兵法》就是早期的系统性著作之一。有关和平的论说虽然也可以从古代先贤的著作中发现,然而最早以和平为主题的系统性著作则可能是17世纪法国政论家圣-皮埃尔的《永久和平方案》。无论如何,至今人类对于战争与和平的关系仍不能完全了解,以致我们都没有一个人们普遍接受的“和平”定义。绝大多数的百科全书将“和平”定义为“没有战争”或是“与战争相对”。^①而这种定义其实是“和平”的同义反复,并不能说明“和平”的内涵。由于人类历史上战争与和平交替出现,而且至今没有终止的迹象,因此很多人把“战争”理解为是“和平”的中断,把“和平”理解为是“战争”的中断。这种普遍的认识恰恰说明,人类对于和平与战争的关系的认识还需要深化,大量有关战争与和平的谜在等待着国际关系学者们去破解。

凯格利和雷蒙在《从战争到和平》一书中用大量的篇幅讨论了战争与和平的正义性问题。正义也是一个古老的政治话题,时代的变化、立场的不同、信仰的区别都使人们对正义的理解不同。由于人们对于“正义”的定义缺乏共识,因此学者们对战争与和平的正义性问题争论不休。和平主义者认为所有的战争都是邪恶的,只有和平才可能是正义的。自由主义者认为战争源于邪恶的环境,但和平也并不都是正义的。共产主义者认为应以正义的战争消灭非正义的战争,以实现和平。现实主义者则认为,“一个坏的和平比战争更糟”,为了正义的和平需要进行战争。^②然而,正义是一个道德概念,人们需要相同的道德标准讨论战争与和平的“正义”问题,否则不同的道德标准会使有关“正义”讨论变得没有意义。

《从战争到和平》的作者基于和平有正义与非正义之分的概念,反复强调:在结束战争时,胜利者需要从正义的角度考虑战后的安排,建立正义的和平。他们认为,第一次世界大战后的《凡尔赛和约》对战败方的处理是不公正的,因此这个和约在德国埋下了复仇的种子,使第二次世界大战早早发生。本人在《和平的性质》一文中也曾讨论过战争与和平的正义性问题。我认为“和平”与“战争”既可以是社会状态也可以是政治工具。作为一种自然的社会状态,和平与战争都不存在正义与否的问题,而作为政治工具,它们是否

^① 阎学通:《和平的性质》,第4页。李巨廉:《战争与和平——时代主旋律的变动》,学林出版社1999年版,第321页。

^② Chas W. Freeman, Jr., *The Diplomat's Dictionary*, Washionton DC: National Defense University Press, 1994, p. 273.

是正义的则取决于进行战争或创造和平的目的。由于创造和平与进行战争的目的是多种多样的,因此首先要明确目的是否是正义的,然后才有标准评价具体的战争或和平是否是正义的。例如,为了攫取它国的资源而进行战争是非正义的,而保护本国领土进行的战争就是正义的。同样,以绥靖政策与法西斯扩张主义者保持双边和平是非正义的,而建立联合国维护世界和平就是正义的。

读者如果能够自始至终都带着“如何才能延长和平的时间?”这样一个问题阅读《从战争到和平》,那将是十分有益的。虽然追求永久和平仍是一个普遍性的政治口号,但在学术界永久和平已经不再是一个热门课题。和平与生命一样,既有开始就有结束。古代巫术追求长生不老,而现代医学则追求健康生命。现代医学认为人的寿命是有极限的,因此不再以永生为研究目的,而是研究如何在人的有限生命期内延长人的健康生命。国际政治学对于和平研究的重点也不再是永久和平,而是如何相对延长和平的时间和提高和平的质量。凯格利和雷蒙建议在战争结束时建立正义的和平从而使和平可以延续较长时间,这其中既有对和平时间的考虑,也有对和平质量的考虑。本人也以为,提高和平质量是延续和平的重要方法。提高和平质量的重要性在于,它不仅可以让人们享受和平所带来的幸福。这如同通过锻炼增强了人的抵抗力,不但可以延长寿命,而更重要的是人可以享受健康带来的愉快。疾病缠身给人带来的是痛苦而不是快乐。如何提高和平质量可能是一个永久性的研究课题。笔者认为可以借鉴医学上通过锻炼与饮食增强健康的方法,人类可以通过教育提高和平的信仰,增强和平的精神力量;通过完善国际规范,增强和平解决利益矛盾的规则力量。

从延长和平时间上讲,在战争结束时建立一个正义的和平仅是一种方法,还有许多其它方法可以综合使用以延长和平的时间。我以为,和平延续的基础有三个方面,即道德基础、理性基础和物质基础。人们对和平的信仰是和平延续的道德基础,也是精神基础。和平是人与人之间的关系,当人们将和平作为最高信仰追求时,就不会让战争发生。和平所产生的利益是和平延续的理性基础。对于绝大多数人来讲,追求和平的主要原因还不是信仰而是世俗利益。利益是人们行为的最现实动力。当和平给人们带来的利益大于战争时,人们就会维持和平而不选择战争。维持和平的能力则是和平延续的物质基础。人类维持和平的能力是多方面的,归结到一点就是消除战争力量的能力。如果人类能消除或控制武器的应用,人类就能较有效地延续和平。如果人类有能力将武装的集团隔离开或是将世界上的军事力量统一为一个组织,那么就使得武装集团没有了战争对象,从而和平也可以延续下去。为了延续和平,人类已经进行了许多设想和实践。维持和平的方法多种多样,但是从基本思路上讲有两种:一种是消灭战争,一种是巩固和平。这两种思路与医学研究中的思路很相似,为了延续生命,一种方法是消灭疾病,另一种方法是增强健康。如同消灭疾病是医学主流一样,目前延续和平的实践也是以消灭战争的思想为主导。

最后我想对读者说,阅读《从战争到和平》一书时不应满足于书中做出的分析,更重要的是要进行更深层次的思考,自己试着回答书中提出的有关和平与战争的种种问题。

PREFACE

The causes of war and the building and maintenance of peace are complex and understudied subjects. *From War to Peace: Fateful Decisions in International Politics* has been inspired by our belief that without devoting sufficient attention to their dynamics, progress toward a more just and less violent world will be frustrated. Without international security other serious threats to humanity, such as poverty, environmental despoliation, and human rights abuses, cannot be adequately addressed. Through this textbook we aim to help students understand the fundamentals of war and peace and to begin to formulate their own prescriptions for building a lasting peace. In so doing we also aim to help them better appreciate the ethical dilemmas intrinsic to making choices about war and peace and to recognize how normative issues affect world politics. To be most useful in the classroom, we have built a multipurpose book that provides basic introductions to the study of war and peace, foreign policy decision making, and international relations in general while stimulating critical thinking.

From War to Peace teaches students to think critically about foreign policy by asking two profound questions: Why do states go to war? And how can they create a lasting peace? By examining the decisions made in key wars and peace settlements throughout history, this book encourages students to think about the consequences of alternative foreign policy choices and about the conditions under which particular strategies are likely to succeed. We concentrate especially on how the winners of wars should treat their defeated foes as a determining factor in creating a lasting peace. One school of thought counsels leniency: Victors should be magnanimous to extinguish any desire for revenge by the vanquished. Another school calls for sterner measures: Victors should be harsh to ensure that the enemy's defeat is irreversible. The first approach seeks stability by building trust between adversaries; the second, by eliminating an adversary's capacity to mount a future military challenge. *From War to Peace* prompts students to consider which of these contending approaches to peace is more likely to yield a lasting peace and provides them with a range of cases from which they can formulate their conclusions.

However, this is not simply a text about war and its termination; it is also about broader issues in international relations. It introduces international relations ideas and concepts that students need to better understand the cases — concepts such as levels of analysis, liberalism and realism, rational

choice, enduring rivalries, irredentism, grand strategy, just war theory, and more. In this way *From War to Peace* supplements and makes concrete many of the key concepts and theories surveyed in introductory texts on world politics and world order.

Through the information laid out in the introductory chapter and the examples in the cases themselves, this book also gives students the opportunity to move beyond war and peace decision making to draw conclusions that apply to international decision making as a whole. How individual preferences form around specific options, how these preferences are converted through collective processes of policy making into national strategies, and how the strategies chosen by different countries combine to yield outcomes of international significance are widely applicable topics. What students can learn about influences on war and peacemaking decisions has ramifications for understanding many other areas of foreign policy decision making.

From War to Peace also emphasizes the rival realist and liberal theoretical philosophies that have guided states' foreign policies throughout history. By looking at the policy implications of liberalism and realism on the choices made in the historical cases presented in this book, students can consider the advantages and limitations of these two contested theoretical traditions.

Another important feature of this focus on decision making is that it prompts students to consider the place of morality in foreign policy. Whenever actors have choices, questions of right and wrong arise. There exists a regrettable tendency to ignore or dismiss discussions of ethical behavior in world affairs, even though questions of injury, retribution, and reconciliation are central to the human condition and, we argue, to most issues on the global agenda. By examining theories of just war and just peace, this book helps rectify this oversight and gives students additional tools for critical thinking when comparing the cases.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THIS BOOK

Readers familiar with our previous text, *How Nations Make Peace*, will note that *From War to Peace* builds on and improves on that prior book. We have striven to create an even more useful and thought-provoking text, while maintaining the strengths of the prior version. One of the first things we did was to place an increased emphasis on revealing the importance of the nature of each war to the resulting peace settlement. Because no peace can be considered without first considering the war that preceded it, we worked to better illuminate this connection, and changed the title of this book to better reflect its content. Thus, the book *How Nations Make Peace* became *From War to Peace*.

Among the things we retained from the last edition is the comparative case-study approach to the study of international politics and war and peace. Inspired by our experiences as Pew Faculty Fellows in International Affairs at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, we chose this approach

because of its value in promoting critical thinking. Historical cases encourage readers to draw inferences that they can use to generate theoretical propositions and policy prescriptions. We carefully chose cases for this book that will encourage students to think theoretically and normatively about the consequences of alternative foreign policy choices and to draw conclusions about which strategies are likely to succeed.

Aided by the advice of instructors who commented on our earlier book, we introduced a number of changes that will make this text more useful in the classroom. First, to provide students with the basic tools for examining case studies and to allow comparisons between the ancient and modern eras, we incorporated the cases of the Peloponnesian War and the Punic Wars from antiquity into one introductory chapter. Next, to further enrich the comparative approach of this book, we added two cases to this edition. The chapter covering the Thirty Years' War rounds out the historical foundations of modern statecraft and provides a basis for understanding the origins of the contemporary international system. Paired with the Persian Gulf War, a new chapter on the war in Kosovo provides a basis for exploring the changing character of war and peace at the dawn of the twenty-first century.

In addition to these changes in structure and coverage, we have incorporated other enhancements throughout. We expanded the book's coverage of the ethical dimensions of the study of war and peace through additional consideration of moral analysis, introducing, for example, a new discussion of just war theory. We also draw on the most recent scholarship on the material we present. Finally, to make the book easier for students to follow, we have reworded several subheadings to better signal the content of each section.

Part Organization

The chapters in *From War to Peace* are organized into five parts. Part I introduces the key concepts for analyzing war and peace decision making, including the options available to victors for dealing with defeated adversaries, the underlying assumptions of the realist and liberal theoretical approaches, and the core arguments in the moral philosophy about just war and the ethics of peacemaking. It also provides questions to guide student analysis of the cases in the book and outlines a levels-of-analysis framework from which students can examine decision making in international relations.

The cases presented in Parts II through IV have all registered a lasting impact on today's global landscape. The fateful choices taken by the belligerents in these pivotal wars alert readers to what can go wrong with lenient as well as with harsh postwar policies. They show how the seeds of future wars are often sown by the manner in which the vanquished were treated, and how a failure of vision can leave victors and vanquished alike without a viable design for international order capable of meeting postwar security challenges.

Part II underscores the timeless nature of the problems inherent in constructing a viable peace settlement by focusing on three of the most

well-known wars of the early modern period of the interstate system: the Thirty Years' War, the Napoleonic Wars, and the Wars of German Unification. Taking place during an age of empire building and balance-of-power diplomacy, these conflicts reveal how national interests and ethical values framed foreign policy options, including when to create an organization for international consultation and how to treat the vanquished. These cases also provide ample opportunity to examine the hypothesis that the choice between lenient and punitive policies can be a key factor in determining whether the postwar era is one of peace or war.

Part III surveys the First and Second World Wars, two total wars that marked the end of the classical, multipolar state system that existed from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries. These cases provide potent examples of how the seeds of new conflicts are often sown in the past. They also highlight the different policy prescriptions emanating from realism and liberalism and how these two traditions produce divergent visions of ethics and justice for the waging of war and peace.

Part IV looks at the face of war and peace after the Cold War, on the eve of the twenty-first century, by juxtaposing two contemporary cases. The Persian Gulf War and the war in Kosovo exemplify many of the things that promise to become more common in the future: wars within states, collective security actions, humanitarian intervention, and the difficulty reaching a conclusive end to such conflicts. Part IV asks students to consider the criteria needed to justify military intervention for humanitarian purposes. It also asks them to assess the practicality of collective security and the effectiveness of collective action.

Finally, Part V provides students with a thought-provoking summary that prompts critical thinking about rival approaches to peacemaking in contemporary international politics. Turning to the cases for examples, it focuses on four main categories of inquiry about war and peace: the value and limitations of the realist and liberal schools of thought, the factors that constrain the ability of victors to make rational and moral choices, twelve key peace-making policy prescriptions, and arguments about waging just wars and building just peace. By examining these issues along with the current trends and conditions in international politics, this chapter provides the basis for evaluating the prospects for peace in the twenty-first century.

Chapter Organization

Each case chapter is organized to help students master factual material and prompt critical thinking. To guide students toward a purposeful reading of each case, each chapter begins with a brief **preview** section that signals the important concepts, theories, and questions the case at hand addresses. Bold **key terms**, which are also defined in the **glossary** at the end of the book, alert students to concepts important to the study of war and peace and international politics. A **chronology** summarizes the important events in each case,

and **controversies to contemplate** at the end of each chapter provide thought-provoking questions to stimulate critical thinking and prompt classroom discussion. A **suggested reading** list at the end of each chapter facilitates student research.

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We also wish to acknowledge the contributions of others from whom we have benefited while writing this book. On a personal level, we wish to thank the two people most important to us, Debbie Jump and Christine Raymond, for their unwavering support and constant encouragement. On a professional level, many scholars contributed to our efforts to make this text both informative and interesting. At the project's inception, constructive comments were provided about our prospectus by several anonymous reviewers. Thanks also go to our colleagues who reviewed manuscript drafts of *How Nations Make Peace*, including H. Carl Camp, the University of Nebraska; Christopher Joyner, Georgetown University; Lawrence Katzenstein, the University of Minnesota; and Robert Kerstein, the University of Tampa. Other colleagues made useful suggestions on how to improve that earlier book which resulted in this sequel. We are particularly grateful to the following reviewers for their help: Richard Foster, Idaho State University; Joe Hagan, West Virginia University; Edward Mihalkanin, Southwest Texas State University; John Molloy, Michigan State University; Steven Lamy, the University of Southern California; Jeffrey Morton, Florida Atlantic University; Joel H. Rosenthal, the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs; Alpo Rusi, Helsinki University; Paul Senese, SUNY–Buffalo; John Vasquez, Vanderbilt University; and Thomas Walker, the University at Albany.

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From War to Peace builds on three decades of our friendship and research collaboration. We hope that readers will find our latest joint effort helpful in thinking through the moral dilemmas and policy problems that states face when confronted with the threat of war and the task of building an enduring peace.

Charles W. Kegley, Jr.
Gregory A. Raymond

CONTENTS

Preface	I
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PART I HOW STATES MAKE DECISIONS FOR WAR AND PEACE 1

1 ■ War and the Making of Peace: An Introduction	3
Justice and Expediency in International Politics	4
The Scope of the Inquiry	6
The Calculus of Choice: Liberal and Realist Perspectives	9
Liberalism	9
Realism	11
In Search of a Path to Peace	11
Approaches to War Termination	12
Peacemaking Options	14
Forging a Punitive Peace	14
Constructing a Lenient Peace	17
Choosing between Reconciliation and Retribution	18
Sparta and the Peloponnesian War	18
Rome and the Punic Wars	24
Thinking Strategically about War Termination	30
What to Look for When Comparing Cases	31
International Conditions and Problem Definition	32
Domestic Pressures and Goal Selection	34
Individual Obstacles to Successful Strategies	39
Suggested Reading	40

PART II WAR AND PEACE IN THE CLASSICAL EUROPEAN STATE SYSTEM 45

2 ■ The Thirty Years' War and the Peace of Westphalia:	
Violence as a Way of Life	47
Preview	47
Faith, Fatherland, or Finance? Preconditions for War in Sixteenth-Century Europe	50

The Instability of the Seventeenth-Century Bipolar World	51
Repression and Rebellion during the Bohemian Period	52
The Defenestration of Prague	56
The Empire Strikes Back	56
Torment in the Palatinate	57
Enter the Danes	58
Wallenstein's Long Shadow	58
The Edict of Restitution	59
Sweden into the Breach	59
Cardinal Richelieu Engineers French Involvement	60
The Empire's Fortunes Restored	62
The Peace of Prague	63
French Realpolitik and Alliance with Sweden	63
Richelieu and the Ascendance of Raison d'Etat	63
The Long Road to Peace	64
The Stumbling Path to Negotiations	65
The Peace of Westphalia	66
The Terms of the Peace Settlement	67
Contending Interpretations of the Peace Settlement	76
Suggested Reading	79
 3 ■ The Napoleonic Wars and the Congress of Vienna:	
Building Peace with a Concert of Power	82
Preview	82
Europe's Crumbling Dynastic System	83
The French Revolution	84
The Rise and Fall of Napoleon	86
Europe's Quest for Peace	93
The Congress of Vienna	93
The Bourbon Restoration	95
The Concert of Europe	95
Metternich's Legacy	97
The Power of Principle in Preserving Peace	99
Suggested Reading	101
 4 ■ The Wars of German Unification: The Diplomacy of Iron and Blood	104
Preview	104
The Rise of Brandenburg-Prussia	106
The Holy Roman Empire	106
The German Confederation	108
War with Denmark	110
The Seven Weeks' War	112
The Franco-Prussian War	114

Germany's Fragile Peace	117
The Gospel of Offensive Power	119
The Departure of the Iron Chancellor	120
Suggested Reading	122

PART III

THE QUEST FOR PEACE IN A CENTURY OF GLOBAL WAR 125

5 ▪ World War I and the Treaty of Versailles:	
A War to End All Wars?	127
Preview	127
The European Tinderbox	130
War Becomes Total	133
Planning for Peace	135
Wilsonianism Ascendant	138
Idealism versus National Self-Interest	141
Wilsonianism in Decline	142
Venomous Victory and Its Consequences	147
Suggested Reading	151
6 ▪ World War II and Its Aftermath: The Long, Cold Peace	154
Preview	154
The Path to World War II	155
The Expanding War	157
Wartime Planning for a Postwar Peace	162
The Postwar Bargaining Process	163
A Vindictive Mood	163
Growing Discord among the Allies	166
The Origins of a Forty-Year Peace	
Settlement Process	170
Division over the Treatment of Germany and Japan	171
Resuscitating Germany	172
Resuscitating Japan	176
The Origins of the Cold War	179
The Long Road to a Postwar Peace Settlement	181
Suggested Reading	183

PART IV

THE FACE OF WAR AND PEACE ON THE EVE OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY 185

7 ▪ The Persian Gulf War: A Hollow Victory	187
Preview	187
The Invasion of Kuwait	190

President Bush's Response	193
Tightening the Economic Screws	198
Operation Desert Storm	201
The Doctrine of Invincible Force	201
The End Game	203
Saddam the Unvanquished	206
Suggested Reading	211
 8 ■ Humanitarian Intervention into Kosovo: A Quixotic Crusade?	214
Preview	214
The Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia	216
Serbia and the Idea of Yugoslavism	217
Yugoslavia after Tito	222
Yugoslavia under Milosevic	223
The Civil War in Bosnia	224
From the Dayton Accords to the Rambouillet Peace Conference	226
A War for Human Rights	228
NATO Intervenes	230
Bombing for Peace	231
The Final Settlement	232
The Collapse of the Milosevic Regime	234
Suggested Reading	237

PART V

PATHS TO PEACE IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY: MORAL DILEMMAS AND POLICY PRESCRIPTIONS

9 ■ Waging Peace: Choices and Consequences	243
Thinking Theoretically about War Termination	244
Comparing the Cases	245
Moral Principles and Policy Prescriptions for the Resolution of Armed Conflict	248
From Just War to Just Peace	262
Just War Doctrine	262
Building a Just Peace	263
Trust and Mistrust	264
Liberal Ideals and Illusions?	265
The Realism of Realpolitik?	267
Embedding Peace within Justice	269
Suggested Reading	271
 Glossary	275
References	281
Index	301