WAR PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

FOURTH EDITION

DAVID W. ZIEGLER

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WAR, PEACE, and INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

This book is for
my beloved wife Rena

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Preface

Who reads prefaces?

Perhaps you are a student. It may even be that you are a student who is trying to avoid getting started on a reading assignment from this book. If so, I warn you that the preface is less interesting than the book itself. With help from my own students, I have tried to be simple enough to be understood, detailed enough to be vivid, and coherent enough to hold your attention.

Perhaps you are a teacher, considering whether to use this book in your classes. If so, I want to set out the assumptions on which the book was written.

First, most students today, while intellectually capable, are deficient in factual knowledge about the historical and contemporary world. As a rule they have no trouble grasping concepts, but one cannot assume that they have an extensive historical background. Therefore the book tries to provide as much background as is feasible in a limited space.

Second, most students enroll in international relations courses to meet a graduation requirement or to satisfy their curiosity about the world—not because they expect to become either the Secretary of State or a professor of international relations. Thus a heavy emphasis on the latest academic trends is irrelevant to their needs. Questions of methodology and sophisticated tools of analysis are at best of only passing interest. This book draws on recent research (for example, Robert Axelrod's work on the Prisoner's Dilemma) only where substantive results are of interest to the nonspecialist.

Third, students will learn more from a coherent story than from an encyclopedia. Rather than try to cover everything that goes under the name of international relations, I have tried to fit major topics into the frame-

work of war and peace. War is not the only topic in international relations, but it is a central and major one. Large defense budgets and the debate over the threat of nuclear war attest to its current relevance.

In this book I have tried to avoid faddishness. Not so long ago, the demise of the nation-state was widely heralded; the state-centric approach was condemned as obsolete. Such topics as human rights, Eurocommunism, multinational corporations, and international regimes were deemed more important. The claims made for some of these topics now appear to have been exaggerated. This book takes a conservative approach. It seeks to begin at the beginning, with nineteenth-century wars and nineteenth-century views of international politics. Modern trends are more easily understood in the context in which they appear. Even if fads change, students will be left with a foundation in history and traditional concepts. This is not to say that the book ignores all trends. Most topics of current interest and relevance are discussed but they do not form the central theme.

Because the reader of this preface may be someone who comes across this book accidentally, let me explain it briefly. This book is about international relations, which is the study of interactions among states and other actors in global politics. It starts by examining a unique characteristic of international relations—war. It seeks first to discover the causes of war by looking at historical cases. From these cases it makes some generalizations about causes of war. It then looks at suggested approaches to eliminating war or, if not eliminating it, reducing its incidence or ameliorating its effects. Ten different approaches are assessed for weakness and strength. Finally, the book examines the possible causes of war in the world today. You may not find the book as gripping as the average novel but it is hoped that you find it considerably more interesting than the average textbook.

I would like to thank people who were helpful to me in writing this book. Patrick Morgan of Washington State University provided me with a model of light style and solid content in his *Theories and Approaches to International Politics*. He also read and commented on the manuscript, as did Daniel R. Kempton of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, John D. Molloy of Michigan State University, and James H. Toner of Norwich University. I found their suggestions helpful, even though I did not accept them all.

I am especially grateful to my wife Rena for the time and energy she took from her own professional life to read and comment on many drafts of the manuscript. I was fortunate to have an alert and intelligent reader without any training in the field of international relations who could tell me when I was being clear and when I wasn't. For whatever clarity this book may have, she deserves equal credit.

WAR, PEACE, and INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Contents

Introduction

Between 1939 and 1945 about 60 million people—3 per cent of the world's population at the time—died as a result of World War II.[1] It was the greatest catastrophe, natural or man-made, in human history. Most of the death and destruction was caused by weapons that we now call conventional. The much more destructive atomic weapon was used only in the closing days of the war. Today nuclear weapons have become standard in the arsenal of major states—the United States alone has about 30,000 of them.[2]

Since the first two atomic bombs were dropped on Japan in 1945, no more atomic weapons have been used in war. Yet the damage such weapons could do if they were used makes their mere existence a threat to human survival. We worry about mercury in the sea water, phosphates in the drainpipes, and photochemical smog in the atmosphere, but smog over Los Angeles is a minor irritant compared to radioactive fallout.

The existence of nuclear weapons has not prevented non-nuclear wars. At least a dozen have been fought since 1945, with the United States involved in two of them.[3] And if states have not spent all of their time fighting wars, they have spent much of it preparing to fight them. In 1985 the total expenditure of all countries on all kinds of weapons was estimated at $940 billion.[4] Furthermore, the resources that states devote to preparing for war have been increasing. Military spending in 1983 was more than 30 per cent higher than it was ten years earlier.[5]

We must conclude that war remains a major problem in the last quarter of the twentieth century. My intention in this book is to introduce you to international relations by focusing on this problem. War is not the only problem of international relations, and so this book does not exhaust the field. But war is a central problem, and the possibility of resort to war affects other aspects of international relations. Whatever else we may look at, we cannot avoid looking at war. In fact, in looking at war, we will touch on most of the other subjects important in international relations.

War is conflict among states carried on by their armed forces.[6] To distinguish war from border skirmishes and other minor incidents we usually say it must reach a certain magnitude (for example, at least 1,000 soldiers killed in battle over a year).[7] It would be ideal if we could systematically study all the wars in the last hundred years, but such an exhaustive study would be out of place here. At the same time we cannot discuss such subjects as the cause of war or proposals for preventing it without some knowledge about actual wars. We must test theories against historical facts. What follows in Part I is a somewhat detailed history of seven wars (or groups of wars) fought in the last hundred years. These include the most destructive of the wars—World War I (1914–1918), World War II (1939–1945), and the Korean War (1950–1953). By way of background to World War I, we will look at the wars of German unification (1864–1871), which preceded and in some ways prepared the way for it. To balance our account, we will also look at several recent wars—India and Pakistan (1971), the Middle East (1948, 1956, 1967, 1973, 1982), Turkey and Cyprus (1974), Uganda and Tanzania (1978–1979), and Cambodia, Vietnam, and China (1978–1980).

After looking at some of the major wars of the last hundred years, we will look at what people have said about the causes of war in general. Then in Part II we will critically examine some of the proposed ways to put an end to war. Finally, in Part III, we will examine some sources of tension in the world today that keep the possibility of a war a major concern in international politics.

NOTES

1. Quincy Wright, *A Study of War,* 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 1543.

2. Thomas B. Cochran, William M. Arkin, and Milton M. Hoenig, *Nuclear Weapon Databook,* Vol. 1: *U.S. Nuclear Forces and Capabilities* (Cambridge: Ballinger, 1984), pp. 38–40. The arsenal was estimated at 26,000 in 1983; the Department of Defense announced it expected the number to grow by several thousand.

3. These include Palestine (1948), Korea (1950–1953), Hungary (1956), Middle East (1956), India and China (1962), India and Pakistan (1965), Middle East (1967), Honduras and El Salvador (1969), India and Pakistan (1971), Middle East (1973), Cyprus (1974), Vietnam (1965–1975), Uganda and Tanzania (1978–1979), China and Vietnam (1979), and three wars