SECOND EDITION

INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

READINGS IN WORLD POLITICS

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JANICE GROSS STEIN

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INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

READINGS IN WORLD POLITICS

To the memory of John W. Holmes —
friend, colleague, and model of enlightenment

Preface to the Second Edition

Our motivation for preparing this second edition is the same as it was for the first: a common desire to make available to students a coherent and comprehensive reader in world politics organized around the two major themes of conflict and conflict management. We remain firm in our belief that international politics is not a dichotomy between two separate conditions — war and peace. Since conflict is inevitable, it is the task of analysts and practitioners of international politics to develop and apply techniques to manage it.

Whereas in the previous edition the readings were organized according to five levels of analysis, at the suggestion of our reviewers and adopters, we have in this edition incorporated society under the rubric of the state. We also, as before, examine the individual, and conflict and conflict management at the system and transnational relations levels. We continue to believe this format is both intellectually coherent and sufficiently flexible to allow teachers who employ other organizational schemes to use the materials we have assembled. In this regard, we continue to reprint enduring writings by scholars such as Hedley Bull, John Herz, and Hans J. Morgenthau, and important works by Stanley Hoffmann, Ole Holsti, Stephen Krasner, Richard Rosecrance, James Rosenau, and Kenneth Waltz. Furthermore, we have solicited additional original essays by leading scholars to cover what we believe are gaps on timely subjects in the existing literature.

We have learned a great deal from the literature we have chosen to reprint. The first edition, because of our differing perspectives, was "an exercise in conflict and conflict management." But such was not the case the second time around; this time it was an exercise in collaboration. We are grateful to our colleagues and adopters, to our reviewers — Paul Buteux, Richard Herrmann, Lloyd Jensen, Thomas Keating, and Kim Richard Nossal, and, most significantly, to the students and teaching assistants in Political Science 208 at the University of Toronto for helping us to improve this volume. We would also like to thank Pat Ferrier and David Jolliffe at Prentice-Hall for their support of our project.

July 1, 1988
Toronto

Preface to the First Edition

This book emanates from a common desire to make available to students a coherent and comprehensive reader in world politics. The resulting volume is a collection of essays, several of them original, that focus on two of the major themes in international politics — conflict and conflict management. To capture the complexity of conflict and its different, often competing explanations, we have organized the readings according to the major emphasis placed by each author: at the level of the individual, the society, the nation-state, the transnational system, or the international system. We believe that this format is both intellectually coherent and yet sufficiently flexible to allow teachers who employ other organizational schemes to use the materials we have assembled.

While each of us has special interests in the field of international politics, we treated this project as a collective enterprise, working together to select the articles and collaborating in the editing and writing of the introductory sections. As our own perspectives about the discipline differ, the preparation of this volume has truly been an exercise in conflict and conflict management.

In this task we have been assisted by a number of our colleagues. We would like to acknowledge the contributions of Alan Alexandroff, David A. Baldwin, Naomi Black, Aurel Braun, David B. Dewitt, Paul Evans, Franklyn Griffiths, John Kirton, Bennett Kovrig, Charles Pentland, Mike Rubinoff, Edward Safarian, Denis Stairs, Blema Steinberg, Brian Tomlin, and Kenneth Waltz. We owe a special debt of gratitude to William T.R. Fox and Kim Richard Nossal for their thoughtful comments. Gloria Rowe did a superb job, as usual, in typing the manuscript, and Gayle Fraser and Marion Magee proofread the galleys with their customary assiduous care. We are grateful for the support of the staff at Prentice-Hall, but we would like to thank particularly Mary Bruce Grant and Clifford Newman for their interest and encouragement.

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INTRODUCTION

The central concern of this reader is international conflict and its management. As we shall see, conflict is inherent in world politics,[1] for it is an inevitable consequence of relationships and interactions among groups of people who live in a condition of anarchy.[2] But just as conflict is characteristic of international relations, so too is its management. At the very least, leaders often attempt to limit the most damaging consequences of international conflict; even in wartime, when conflict is most intense, belligerents often collaborate to limit harm to civilians and ensure fair treatment of prisoners of war. If the maintenance of peaceful relations is a high priority, leaders attempt to exclude the use of force in the pursuit of their incompatible objectives. It is inconceivable, for example, that Canada would resort to force to compel the United States to control acid rain along its border. Drawing on a rich and often contradictory body of argument and evidence, this collection of readings examines the impact of the individual, the state, and the system on the processes of international conflict and conflict management.

The terms "conflict" and "war" are sometimes used interchangeably by analysts of international relations. We do not do so. While conflict embraces war, we use conflict in a much broader sense to refer to competition among groups for scarce goods, such as territory and resources, or the pursuit of mutually incompatible values and objectives. This competition need not, and most often does not, culminate in violence. Conflict over goods, services, values, and objectives is as pervasive in international relations as it is in almost all other kinds of relationships, but competing groups, in international as well as in domestic society, often stop short of the use of force in the pursuit of incompatible goals. Thus war is only one form of broader social conflict. Our concern here is with all kinds of international conflict; however, special emphasis will be given to its most coercive and violent form — war.

As long as organized groups resort to force to achieve their purposes and settle disputes, leaders and scholars will look for less destructive strategies to manage conflict. There are those who hope to eliminate conflict altogether, to build a world society of harmony and perpetual peace, free of dissension and strife. However, most of the authors whose work you will read consider a resolution of all conflict improbable, and some even think it undesirable. In a world of enormous diversity, a world of different religions, cultures, ideologies, and policies, conflict is not only possible but very likely. Some particularly intense conflicts resist settlement; even

after suffering defeat in war, a loser often nurses grievances and awaits the first promising opportunity to engage an adversary again. A few conflicts are settled, others simply fade away, and some are transcended as the participants join together to focus on new issues and new agendas. But as old conflicts are settled, new conflicts appear. Conflict is not only a pervasive, but also a permanent feature of international political processes.

Not all students of international relations decry the pervasiveness and persistence of conflict. As Peter Beckman points out, conflict may be necessary to remedy injustice or to resolve contentious disputes before they become irreconcilable.[3] Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat, for example, went to war in October 1973 to force negotiations and unfreeze the diplomatic stalemate with Israel. Marxists also see conflict as necessary and positive, as the motor force of history; they see class conflict in society as the midwife to revolutionary change.

Others however, particularly liberals, consider conflict irrational and undesirable, negative and costly. As we approach the end of the twentieth century, a century dominated by wars unprecedented in their human and social costs, most analysts are more measured in their judgments. They may concur with John W. Burton that "conflict, like sex, is an essentially creative element in human relationships," but fear the enormity of the consequences that may flow from violent conflict today.[4] The likely benefits of a use of force, they argue, may be more than offset by the probable cost, not only to the belligerents themselves, but to global society as a whole. Consequently, they treat nonviolent conflict as an essential and even a desirable agent of change, but work actively to control and limit the incidence, the scope, and the level of war.

Since conflict is recurrent and the risks of uncontrolled conflict are so great, scholars traditonally have paid a great deal of attention to processes of conflict management and resolution.[5] The most ambitious have focused on the resolution of conflict. Kant dreamt of perpetual peace through a voluntary union of republics, while Rousseau saw utopia as an isolated island. At both extremes, international conflict is resolved only by abolishing international relations. Since both are extremes, and thus virtually unattainable, scholars have turned to more modest strategies.

Kenneth Waltz, for instance, distinguishes between active and passive conflict resolution. When the parties to a conflict are integrated, either through the creation of common institutions and procedures or through conquest, a conflict is resolved actively; when the parties reduce their interaction, or withdraw entirely from the relationship, a conflict is settled passively.[6] In an essay in this volume, William Fox focuses on the number of parties attempting to resolve international conflict and the different techniques they use. He suggests that conflict can be resolved by one, two, or three parties: that is, by force; through negotiation; or through third party mediation, conciliation, or adjudication. In their analyses, both Waltz and Fox