War in International Society (POL. 2 Module)

Lectures by Dr. Stefano Recchia

NOTE: These lectures are given as a required module for Pol 2 International Society, a first-year undergraduate paper taught in the POLIS Department at Cambridge University.

1. War: systemic causes

Levels of analysis: human nature, the state and international anarchy; technological change and arms races; territorial expansion and the role of imperialism; religion and the 'clash of civilisations'; inequality; international terrorism.

** J. David Singer, 'The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations', *World Politics* 14:1 (1961), pp. 77-92. [Introduces the level-of-analysis framework, which is central to understanding modern theories on the causes of war.]

** Hobbes, Thomas, *Leviathan*, Chapter 13 ('Of the Natural Condition of Mankind'), any edition. [Hobbes has been a great source of inspiration for realist IR scholars].

** Levy, Jack S. and William R. Thompson, *Causes of War* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), Chapter 2. [Excellent and fairly comprehensive review of the theoretical literature].

*Jervis, Robert, 'Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma', World Politics, Vol.30, No.2 (Jan, 1978), pp. 167-214 [Explains how efforts to increase one's own security can actually decrease it, and discusses possible ways out of the dilemma].

*Howard, Michael, *The Causes of Wars* (London: Temple Smith, 1983) [Sparkling and varied essays from Britain's leading military historian].

*Huntingdon, Samuel P, 'The clash of civilisations?' *Foreign Affairs* (Summer 1993), pp. 22-49. [Predicts that future wars will largely occur along cultural and civilizational fault-lines. Highly influential and controversial analysis].

*Mearsheimer, John, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001), Chapters 1-2. [Confident statement of 'offensive realism']

Waltz, Kenneth N., 'The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory,' *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (1998), pp. 615-628. [Anarchy causes war – a good summary of Walz's seminal contribution.]

Van Evera, Stephen, "Offense, Defense, and the Causes of War," *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (Spring, 1998), pp. 5-43 [War is more likely when conquest is easy, or thought to be easy.]

Freedman, Lawrence (ed.), *War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), Section B. [A very useful reader with a wide range of relevant extracts]

Blainey, Geoffrey, *The Causes of War* (New York: Free Press, 1988). [Thoughtful historical examination of patterns of war over the last three centuries]

Bull, Hedley, *The Anarchical Society* (London: Macmillan, 1977), Chapter 8.

Walt, Stephen M, *Revolution and War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997). [Explains how revolution within states can heighten the security dilemma between them].

Suganami, Hidemi, *On the Causes of War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) [Erudite, logical and careful dissection of the common errors made when talking about causes].

2. War: domestic causes

The state itself; the possibility that certain types of state/regime are more or less war-prone than others; nationalism and revolutions; interventions, and the tendency towards crusading; competing explanations of the two world wars.

See many of the references in the previous section, including in particular Blainey, Howard and Suganami, but also:

**Frieden, Jeffrey A., David A. Lake and Kenneth A. Schultz, *World Politics: Interests, Interactions, Institutions* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010), Ch4, 'Domestic Politics and War' [Exceptionally clear overview of relevant theories].

** Lenin, V.I., "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," in Richard K Betts, *Conflict After the Cold War*, 4th edition (Pearson, 2012), or any other edition of Lenin's seminal text. [Capitalist societies are expansionist.]

**Doyle, Michael W., 'Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs', Part I, *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (Summer 1983), pp. 205-235. [Why established liberal democracies do not fight each other. An essential classic.].

*Mansfield, Eward D., and Jack Snyder, 'Democratization and War', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 74, No. 3 (1995), pp. 79-97. [Established democracies may not fight each other, but democratizing states are exceptionally warlike!].

*Finnemore, Martha, *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs About the Use of Force* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press), Ch. 3 [Explores how norms of humanitarian intervention have changed since the nineteenth century].

*Snyder, Jack, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), Chapters 1-2 [Explains how domestic logrolling can result in bellicose and even imperialist policies].

Van Evera, Stephen, 'Hypotheses on Nationalism and War,' *International Security*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (Spring 1994), pp. 5-39. [Explains which 'types' of nationalism can lead to war, and under what circumstances].

Levy, Jack S. 'Domestic Politics and War', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (Spring, 1998), pp. 653-673. [Historians generally explain was as the outcome of domestic politics. Levy attempts to systematize their arguments].

Waltz, Kenneth, *Man, the State and War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), Chapters 1, 4-5. [Classic study using the levels-of-analysis framework.]

Levy, Jack S. and William R. Thompson, *Causes of War* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), Chapter 4. [Good overview of the theoretical literature].

Freedman, Lawrence, 'The age of liberal wars', *Review of International Studies*, Special Issue, 31, 1 (2005), pp. 93-107. (Uses the 2003 Iraq War as a starting-point to discuss the role of legitimacy and liberal values in producing military interventions].

Mueller, John, 'The Obsolescence of Major War', *Security Dialogue* 21 (July 1990), pp. 321-328. [As culture changes, inter-state war might simply disappear].

3. War: systemic consequences

War as major agent of change: peace settlements, the redistribution of power and new international orders; economic reconstruction; empires – collapses and creations; state-formation; ethnic cleansing and migration; technological and economic change; 'new wars'?

**Ikenberry, G. John, *After Victory: institutions, strategic restraint and the building of order after major wars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), esp. Chaps. 1, 6. [Shows how major peace settlements have shaped the next stage of international order].

**Gilpin, Robert, *War and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), Chaps. 1, 5. (eBook: ttp://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=|depfacozdb|464500) [Classic realist statement on how war can change the international hierarchy and the rules that underpin it].

*Ramos, Jennifer, *Changing Norms Through Action: The Evolution of Sovereignty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). [Studies under what conditions wars that violate international rules can actually change those rules].

*Mark W. Zacher, 'The Territorial Integrity Norm: International Boundaries and the Use of Force', *International Organization,* Vol. 55, No. 2 (2001), pp. 215-250. [Explains why contemporary wars no longer result in territorial change.]

*Kaldor, Mary, *New and Old wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era, 3rd ed.,* (Palo Alto, CA.: Stanford University Press, 2012), esp. chaps. 2, 4 [Does it still make sense to focus primarily on traditional, inter-state wars? Kaldor shifts our attention to "new" wars within states and their broader consequences for the whole states-system].

Hurrell, Andrew, *On Global Order* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), Chapter 7. [Good overview of the international ramifications of war and attempts that have been made to manage the phenomenon]. (eBook: http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=|eresources|4718158)

Barkin, Samuel and Bruce Cronin, 'The state and the nation: changing norms and the rules of sovereignty in international relations,' *International Organization* 48 (1994), pp. 107-130. [Studies how the international sovereignty regime has changed, partially as a result of major war].

Freedman, Lawrence (ed.), *War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), Section G.

Williams, Andrew, *Liberalism and war: the victors and the vanquished* (London: Routledge, 2006). [Discusses the liberal urge to change the world, often through the resort to war].

4. *War: domestic consequences*

Regime change; revolution, nationalism, militarisation; destruction, death, and genocide – the demographic impact; economic change – ruin and/or stimulus; social change, as in the franchise, the role of women, artistic expression.

**Tilly, Charles, 'War making and state making as organized crime', in *Bringing the State Back* ed. by Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol (Cambridge University Press, 1985). [Influential study of how war has shaped the modern state as we know it].

**Sorenson, George, 'War and State-Making: Why Doesn't it Work in the Third World?' *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (September 2001), pp. 341-354 [Applies Tilly's analysis to the developing world].

**Downes, Alexander B, 'Regime Change Doesn't Work', *The Boston Review*, September/October 2011. Available online at:
http://www.bostonreview.net/BR36.5/ndf_alexander_b_downes_regime_change_doesnt_work.php

*Gourevitch, Peter, 'The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics,' *International Organization*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (1978), pp. 881-912, read esp. esp.pp.896-900 [First systematic analysis of how the international system can affect domestic politics].

*Zarakol, Ayse, *After Defeat: How the East Learned to Live with the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). [Studies international stigmatization and the integration of defeated eastern powers—Turkey after WWI, Japan after WWII and Russia after the Cold War—into the international system.]

*Marwick, Arthur, Clive Emsley and Wendy Simpson (eds.), *Total War and Historical Change: Europe 1914-1955* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2001). [Marwick was a path-breaker in writing the history of social change in Britain as the consequence of war. Here the analysis is extended across Europe].

Winter, J.M., *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: the Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). [Influential study of the human and artistic impact of 1914-1918, and the turmoil it caused].

Maier, Charles, *Recasting Bourgeois Europe: stabilization in France, Germany and Italy in the decade after World War I* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), Parts I & II; and see Chapter 7 by Maier in Marwick et. al. (eds.), 2001 below.

Bell, Duncan, ed., *Memory, Trauma and World Politics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), Chapters 1, 3, 11. [Memory has become a hugely important theme in the humanities and social sciences. The essays in this advanced book probe into what this means for world politics]. (eBook: http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=|eresources|4718148)

Evans, Martin and Ken Lunn, eds., *War and Memory in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Berg, 1997), Chaps. 8, 9, 15 [Good case-studies of how war affects collective memory and thus culture].

Hill, Christopher, '"Where are we going?" International Relations and the voice from below', *Review of International Studies*, 25 (1999), pp. 107-122. [Starts from the experience of a French peasant as prisoner of war, 1940-45, to reflect on the neglected place of ordinary people in IR].

McNeill, W. H., *The Pursuit of Power* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), Chapters 7-9. [The classic discussion of the interaction between military technology, society and international politics]. (eBook: http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=|eresources|5029747)