

## Chapter Two History, Theory and the Problem of War

### Introduction To The Problem of War

- end of the cold war brought enormous change to the structure of global politics, but few changes to its foundation (pg 20)
- world history is most often described as: the history of war and peace, the rise and fall of civilizations, states, and empires (pg 20)
- Two aims : 1) human history can be interpreted as a history of conflict
- 2) development of theory has been influenced by developments in history (pg22)

### Abusing History

#### Content Omission in Japanese School Textbooks (pg21)

- 1997 a Japanese historian named Saburo Lenega won a case before the Japanese Supreme Court when she argued that the Japanese Education Ministry broke the law when it removed certain material from a high school text book which he wrote
- this has resulted in generation of Japanese students learning only one side of Japan's war history, while the dark sides were removed
- most successful textbooks would include facts such as the infamous "comfort women" who were forced into prostitution to serve soldiers from the Japanese military

#### Jim Keegstra and Holocaust Denial (pg21)

- 1985 an Alberta school teacher, Jim Keegstra was put on trial for willfully promoting hatred against Jewish people
- he taught his students that Judaism was an evil religion, he also taught his students that the Holocaust was a hoax and an international Jewish conspiracy called the "hidden hand"
- he taught his students that textbooks were full of lies and would use books and pamphlets from his own library

### The Ancient Legacy: The Rise and Fall of Civilizations and Empires (pg 22)

- in the Middle East, civilization first developed around 3500 B.C.E., in the basin of 3 great river systems
- river basin of the Tigris and Euphrates was the cradle for the early Mesopotamian city-states and the Assyrian and Persian empires
- Nile river sustained the great Egyptian empires of the Pharaohs
- Indus River basin and the plain of Ganges was the cradle of India's early Harappa and MohenjoDaro civilizations
- Civilization in the Mediterranean was dominated by successive waves of Greek people, who established control over much of the Mediterranean
- in present day Turkey, the Greek advance clashed with the Persian Empire of Darius and Xerxes
- Greece resisted conquest which resulted in the Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta, enabled Macedon to dominate the Greek peninsula
- Alexander the Great conquered a dominion which stretched from Macedon to the Indus River, after his death a new power centre developed around Rome, and eventually expanded over the entire Italian peninsula (**pg23), which**
- Roman rule eventually stretched from present day Spain to Mesopotamia
- empire was split into two by the establishment of an Eastern Empire with its capital at Constantinople

- slav ic people established centres of civilization in Russia
- invasions by nomadic peoples in Europe, China, India, Persia and Mediterranean Europe ruined all centres of civilization
- Mongol Empire launched invasions into Europe, Asia and The Middle East
- unity of the Mongol Empire broke down, and receded in the face of an expanding Russia and China
- through expansion larger kingdoms ruled by dynamic monarchies began to combine themselves in Europe
- development was slowed by climatic change, famine,war (100 years war between France & England)
- Scots & Irish resisted expansion of English rule, italy remained divided, Burgundy and Hungary failed to establish empires
- resulted in the 30 years war
- trade and commerce became the worlds interest
- Islam dominated the period after the fall of Rome (pg 25)
- Asia's civilization began with developement of agriculture, hunting and fishing communities
- Invasions of nomadic people prompted the Ch'in Empire & Han Dynasty to build the Great Wall of China
- wall did not protect Han Empire from internal disintegration , nomadic invaders ruptured the wall in 304
- Japan politics were dominated by warlords until Tokugawa shogunate unified Japan
- Africa's civilization developed in the Nile tributaries & East Africa
- iron ago civilizations developed in central & southern Africa (pg 27)
- Islamic influence contributed to wealth of Mali, Songhay, and Kanem Borno Empires
- by the time the Europeans came Africa had an amazing trading system based on gold, ivory, copper and slavery ( map on page 26 )
- slaves were a great demand, 15 million were shipped across the Atlantic, some of Africa suffered from this trade, others profited
- America first large civilization occured in Mesoamerica (Mexico)
- North America large trading & agricultural centres emerged around the Southern Great Lakes
- Central America, Mayan civilization was followed by the Toltecs and the Aztecs
- South America diverse civilizations developed in the Andes and were unfied under Huari & Tiahuanaco empires
- empires collapsed and unity in the Andes was not achieved until Inca civilization
- Spanish overthrew the Aztec and Inca civilizations upon their arrival
- North America colonization was slow, economic and political activity were based on cultural traditions ( see map 2.5 - pg 32 )
- empires came to be dominated by Europe to a position of global dominance and still reamins with us today in many forms

### **THE MODERN STATE AND THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA (pg 28)**

- the modern international system is often called Westphalian state system
- The Peace of Westphalia ended the Thirty Years War in Europe ( see map 2.6 - pg 33 )
- **Medievil Europe** - small territorial units, localized political life, territorial units were not sovereign they were under the authority of the Pope / Holy Roman Emperor (pg 29)
- Peace of Westphalia marked beginning of supremacy of the state as a sovereign actor & end of the church leading a political role in European Affairs
- this happened because the Thirty Years' War revealed fragility of Christian Europe, the church had been split by the splits in Christendom
- monarchs of medieaval Europe slowly accquired increased economic and military power

which enabled them to expand their territories through less powerful political units (pg 30)

### **RISE OF EUROPEAN EMPIRES (pg 30)**

- In Europe 17th & 18th centuries were characterized by the territorial expansion of certain states in Europe and conquests of Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, English, and French empires
- France was the most powerful state in Europe, but became weakened by continual warfare (pg 32)
- Prussia and Austria under the Hapsburgs emerged as the dominant states in central Europe
- Enlightened monarchs provoked a backlash of resistance from their aristocracies and provinces
- Austrian Netherlands and Hungary rebelled against centralization and reform policies imposed by Enlightened monarchs
- American colonies, Spanish America, and Haiti, rebelled against imperial rule & demanded more autonomy / outright independence (pg 34)
- French Revolution (1789 -94) changed the face of Europe
- ideals of the French Revolution: equality before law, the abolition of feudalism, and the "rights of man"
- sparked the beginning of development of modern nationalism
- 1791 Napoleon Bonaparte seized power, he was practically unbeatable, defeating the armies of Austria and Prussia
- by 1810 most of Western Europe was controlled by France, but he could not subdue England, or completely conquer Iberian Peninsula
- his final defeat at Waterloo in 1815 ended French dominance in Europe
- there were no continent wide wars between the European great powers for almost one hundred years, although several did take place during this time (pg 35)
- colonial rule meant the imposition of arbitrary political boundaries, a profound dislocation in local pattern of commerce and the dominance of colonial administration
- wars in Europe between France, England and Spain broke out and the supremacy of British naval power resulted in the loss of the French colonial empire in North America and the weakening of the Spanish Empire
- Americas independence was recognized by Great Britain by the rebellion of the 13 colonies and American War of Independence
- South America, Napoleon's invasion enabled the Spanish and Portuguese colonies to attain independence (pg 37)
- China's trade with Europe had flourished, China was the world's most largest and populous empire, but the growing population left China vulnerable to the Western powers
- British won Opium War, seized Hong Kong and opened treaty ports where foreigners enjoyed exemption from Chinese law and rule
- other powers such as Britain, Russia, France and Japan expanded their authority in China, seizing territory and opening more treaty ports
- failure of Manchu leadership led to the so called Boxer Rebellion in 1900

### **PATTERNS IN HISTORY OF WAR AND PEACE**

- *The recurrence of war and conflict between civilizations, peoples and empires - must always be prepared if not you will be dominated, cooperation is often based on short term needs*
- Rise and fall of civilizations and empires - empires always challenged. Fall often because of cost of maintaining empire

- history is made by the powerful , history is defined by hegemonic powers (**pg 38**)
- Intellectual tradition of statecraft , many common themes of intellectuals that guide imperial leaders
- Geopolitical Importance - statecraft and national security has often been built around political geography
- Examples : European Imperialism, Nazi Germany, US & Soviets in Cold War, US Today

### **WORLD WAR ONE (pg 38)**

- beginning of WW1 generally marked as the assassination of Austro-Hungarian Empire, Archduke Franz Ferdinand
- Europe was divided into two hostiles :Triple Alliance of Germany, Austro-Hungary, and Italy; and the Triple Entente of Great Britain, France and Russia (**pg 40**)
- **conscription** - policy requiring all men of a certain age to serve in the military, during peace or war
- Germany issued a "blank cheque" in support of Austria
- Austria then delivered an ultimatum to Belgrade and declared war on July 28th 1914
- Russia, fearing Austria hegemony mobilized to support Serbia
- Germany then mobilized and called for prewar planning, attacked France through Belgium who was neutral
- the war went global when Japan declared war on Germany, the outbreak of fighting between British and German colonial forces in Africa and the entry into the war of the Ottoman Empire
- **Schlieffen Plan** - German military plan in WW1, plan called for German army to sweep through neutral Belgium and envelop Paris
- in the East , military defeat & economic chaos led to the collapse of the Russian war effort (**pg 42**)
- turning point of the war - Germany transferred its forces to the West to defeat Britain and France before the US could mobilize, the offensive launched and failed. In July the French, British and Americans began their counteroffensive
- June 28 1919 Germany signed The Treaty of Versailles
- consequences of WW1 - millions of deaths and wounded people, 2 empires had collided: Austro-Hungarian, Russian, & Ottoman
- **Facism** - ideology that subsumes individuals before the state
- **Isolationism** - foreign policy approach emphasizing self - reliance and limited economic or political interaction with the international system
- under Treath of Versailles, Germany was prevented from possessing a large army or modern military equipment

### **Chapter 2 Notes (pg. 42-61)**

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#### ***Political Idealism***

- 2 post WWI created reaction against power politics, secret diplomacy, arms races, and abuse of power as monarchs led Central powers into war
- 3 a change in the international environment was required to prevent future wars
- 4 search for a theory began that provided the explanation for all wars, so that it could be prevented in the future – theory found was **political idealism**
- 5 political idealism came from philosophical tradition of liberalism, emerged in Europe in the 16<sup>th</sup> century
- 6 some nations adapt capitalism, free trade and republican democracy, attempting to

- bring world order
- 7 idealists assume the following: *human nature is good*- assistance and cooperation are possible and natural, *evil is not innate to humanity*- evil activity is the result of bad states/ institutions, *social progress is possible*- human society has developed and will develop further more, *main problem in international relations is war*- international society must prevent itself from future wars, *war can be prevented*, and finally, *international cooperation will promote peace*
  - 8 **collective security**, another method to prevent war was adopted
  - 9 this meant when a nation aggresses against another nation, other states engage in the conflict and defend the attacked nation
  - 10 other methods include development of international organizations, international law and arms control
  - 11 1929 **Kellogg-Briand Pact**, efforts to make war illegal

### ***Interwar Period (between WWI/WWII)***

- 12 many disagreements after WWI, among Great Britain, France and the US.
- 13 Germany was to pay entire war cost for France and Great Britain, Germany blamed for initiating the war
- 14 Germany resented the Versailles Treaty
- 15 December 1922- establishment of The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)
- 16 Lenin's death in 1924 brought Josef Stalin to power, brought industrialization and agricultural collectivization, Communist Party and the Red Army left millions dead, yet the Soviet Union was seen as a great power
- 17 **Middle East and Asia**- interwar period saw the fall of the Ottoman Empire, which was originally located throughout the Middle East, now was divided into a number of different states
- 18 China experienced chaos, economic problems, instability and invasion
- 19 Central rule broke down, provincial warlords assumed local power
- 20 Interwar period saw the rise of new power in Asia: Japan
- 21 Rapid industrialization established an empire on the mainland, was recognized as a victorious power at the Paris Peace Conference
- 22 However, the great depression hit Japan hard, the government fell, replaced by a military government
- 23 **Europe**- Italy, fascist leader Benito Mussolini came into power in 1922 & 1935, attacked Ethiopia
- 24 Embargos put on Italy by the League of Nations, enforcement however was never effective
- 25 Germany, disaster struck, combination of weakened economy and the **Great Depression** ruined the German mark as inflation went out of control.
- 26 Introduction of Hitler, Nazi party rose through resentment towards Versailles Treaty, German nationalism and anti-Semitism
- 27 Hitler expanded and occupied Czechoslovakia and Poland, forced British and French to become allies to protect Poland
- 28 **Downfall of The League**, increased economic tensions internationally, caused the League to inadequately complete their duties

- 29 Only signed four out of seven world powers, therefore was not able to serve as the universal organization
- 30 Further damage when it was unable to prevent Italy from entering Ethiopia
- 31 April 1946, the league was formally disbanded

### ***World War II: Total War***

- 32 August 1939, Nazi Germany and Soviet Union signed the ***Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact***
- 33 Was surprising since Germany and the Soviet Union were self declared enemies
- 34 One month later, Hitler invaded Poland, split gains with Soviet Union, motivation for signing the pact became clear
- 35 Britain and France honoured pledge to Poland, and declared war on Germany, WWII began
- 36 German forces invaded and conquered Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, and Belgium
- 37 In the Mediterranean, Mussolini's Italy invaded Greece, failure of the campaign brought Germany into the conflict, and Germany conquered Yugoslavia and Greece in 1941
- 38 June 1941, Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, total surprise attack, destroyed much of the Red Army
- 39 Attempted to take over Moscow, but lack of supplies, and harsh Russian winter
- 40 Later on that year, Japan attacked Pearly Harbor, this attack as well as Germany's attempt to conquer the Soviet Union was seen as major mistakes made during the war
- 41 Japan also mounted a campaign of conquest, conquering the Philippines, French Indochina, the Dutch East Indies, Singapore, much of New Guinea, and the Bismarck and Solomon Islands in the South Pacific
- 42 US forged an alliance with Great Britain and the Soviet Union (Allied Powers)—to oppose Nazi Germany, fascist Italy and Japan (Axis Powers)
- 43 Fortunes began to turn against the Axis powers
- 44 Strategic bombing raids against Germany by American and British troops began
- 45 This damaged German industry, transportation, killed civilians, and complicating German war effort
- 46 Further attacks by Britain, US forces and the Red Army were made aimed at Berlin
- 47 Adolf Hitler committed suicide on April 30 1945, the following month Germany surrendered
- 48 This ended WWII, some argue that WWII would not have occurred without the existence of Hitler
- 49 Throughout the war the US had top-secret research to develop an atomic weapon, it was successfully tested in New Mexico
- 50 President Truman authorized the first military use of the **atomic bomb** which dropped on Hiroshima in August 1945, a second bomb was dropped in Nagasaki just three days later
- 51 Less than one month later Japan capitulated and the war was over
- 52 Many argue that the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were inhumane and

that it was not necessary to deploy a weapon of such destruction on cities with such a dense civilian population

53 WWII most destructive conflict in history:

#### **World Wide Casualties**

15 million - military combatants

35 million - civilians

20 million - Soviet Union (more than Canada's population at the time)

6 million - Jews

54 cities and industries across Europe and Asia completely destroyed, massive rebuilding task faced survivors

55 the end of WWII led to the emergence of the two new 'superpowers' the US and the Soviet Union

#### ***Political Realism***

56 realist perspective developed post WWII

57 realists assumed that:

- human nature is evil
- desire for power to all individuals cannot be eliminated
- as a result, international politics is a struggle for power
- international organizations/law cannot be relied on to guarantee security
- order can be achieved only by balance of power system

58 because power is so important, it is then necessary to be able to measure it, not an easy task, therefore we look at the tangible or measurable assets of a country

59 these include: territory, population, geography, natural resources and **gross domestic product (GDP)**

60 these elements that define a countries power can change slowly over time, represents foundation of state power

61 for realists, military power is the primary method through which nations exercise power for the short term

62 the elements that define a countries power listed above are known as **hard power**

63 **soft power-** reflect appeal or attraction of ideas and values

64 if a nations ideas and values are attractive they will provide the nation with opportunities

#### ***Anarchy and the Security Dilemma***

65 realism is not a monolithic theory, has evolved from its early origins

66 classical realists emphasize role of human nature

67 structural realists emphasize **anarchic** nature of the system as a determinant of state behaviour

68 anarchy does not mean total chaos or absence of rules but rather lack of central authority or government capable of enforcing rules

69 because there is no central authority observing actions on a international level, every individual state must look after themselves in order to survive, this leads to the introduction of defense/military "*if you want peace, prepare for war*"

70 **Security dilemma:** in this situation, states take their homeland defense too far and advance their military to a whole new even frightening level. This gives neighboring states the impression of being 'unsafe' because of their own lack of

military advancement, this then leads the neighboring states to spend on their military until it is advanced as well. Once again, other countries around the world see this progression of homeland defense and find it necessary to expand and advance their military.

- 71 This action-reaction cycle occurs when states increasingly spend resources on military capabilities but make no real gains in the way of security
- 72 Arms races are an example of what a security dilemma has lead to
- 73 Promotes hostility and mistrust