Learning Objectives

• Define war and identify the different categories of war.
• Explain how the theoretical perspectives help us explain the causes of wars.
• Describe the key characteristics of conventional and unconventional warfare.
• Highlight the circumstances under which a war can be considered “just.”
• Explain how realists, liberals, and constructivists differ in their approaches to managing insecurity.
WAR: The Data

- There have been approximately 14,500 armed struggles in history.
- Approximately 3.5 billion deaths.
- Since 1816, between 224 and 559 international and intrastate wars.
- The United States has been involved on over 200 conflicts in its 242 years of existence.
- War incidence has declined after 1991.
- Number of battlefield deaths has declined by 80 percent since 1991.
National Security

➢ National security Primary Concern: state’s ability to protect its interests, secrets, and citizens from external and internal threats
  • Traditionally focused on military threats.
  • Today also encompasses other threats:
    • Ideological
    • Economic
    • Environmental
    • Cyberspace
WAR

- War is an organized and deliberate political act by an established political authority (States) that must cause 1,000 or more deaths in a 12-month period and requires at least two actors capable of harming each other. Genocides, massacres, terrorist attacks, and pogroms are usually not counted as war.

- War therefore is an act of violence to compel our opponent to fulfil our will. *Carl Von Clausewitz, On war.*
What Is War?

- Some of the reasons for war:

1. Ideological reasons.
2. Self determination.
4. Resources.
5. Territory.
6. Conquer another country.
IN FOCUS

Characteristics of War

- Is an organized and deliberate political act
- Causes 1,000 or more deaths in a 12-month period
- Can be interstate or intrastate
- Can be asymmetric (between parties of unequal power) like terrorism
- Can be an act taken by established political authority
- Involves at least two actors capable of harming each other
- Can be conventional or unconventional
- Can take place in cyberspace when an act is endorsed or carried out by a state government
Types of Wars

➢ **Interstate war**: are fought between two or more states, which have recognizable leadership and locations and formal militaries. They are the easiest to study and have caused the most damage, but have become less common since World War II.

- The Great War or World War 1
- World War 2
- Six-day War 1967 (Israel against Egypt, Syria and Jordan)
- Yom Kippur War 1973 (Israel against Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Libya, etc.)
- Sino-Vietnamese War 1979 (Border war between China and Vietnam)
- Gulf War 1 and Gulf War 2
Types of Wars

➢ **Intrastate/civil war**: between factions within the state over control of territory or institutions; may have international repercussions and can last decades. Intrastate wars are fought over control of territory, establishing a government, the autonomy of ethnonationalist movements, or control of the state by rival ethnic, clan, or religious groups. Interstate wars are the most common form of armed conflict today.

- Nigeria-Boko Haram
- Chechen-Russia war
- Rwanda
- Yemen
How Wars are Fought - Conventional Warfare

Conventional wars are fought between designated soldiers organized into military units representing specific sides of a conflict.

Fought by people chosen, trained, and authorized to attack or defend against their counterparts.

Off-limits to kill some groups, usually women, children, the elderly, and other noncombatant civilians

Fought with conventional weapons, the destructiveness of which could be limited in space and time

- Word War I and II challenged this type of war as the standard way of fighting.
- Weapons of mass destruction - chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, whose destructive effects cannot be limited in space or time to legitimate targets of war.
How Wars are Fought - Unconventional Warfare

- In unconventional warfare, one or more sides refuse to follow the accepted conventions of war. This can be expressed either in the conduct of the war itself or in the refusal to accept traditional outcomes of battle.
- Disregards restrictions on legitimate targets of violence
- Has become increasingly prominent due to nationalism and guerilla warfare.
- Often used in asymmetric conflicts—conflicts conducted between parties of unequal strength. The weaker party seeks to neutralize its opponent's strengths by exploiting that opponent's weaknesses.
  - Vietnam War (1955–75)
  - Soviet-Afghan War (1979–89)
Terrorism

➢ Elements of terrorism- particular form of asymmetric conflict in which one side attempts to instill fear in the other in order to force concessions.
   • Act is political by nature or intent.
   • Committed by nonstate actors.
   • Combatant or noncombatant targets.
   • Unconventional means used in unpredictable places and at unpredictable intervals.
➢ Motivated by political, religious, or economic goals.
➢ Seeks to instill fear to attain goals.
The Transformation of Terrorism Since the 1990s

➢ Attacks have become more lethal.
➢ Choice of weapons has become more diverse.
➢ More efficient infrastructure for terrorist networks like ISIS
  • Examples: electronic money laundering; funding via illegal activities; Internet recruiting.
➢ Wider range of groups: nationalist, radical religious, neo-Nazi, left-wing, and right-wing.
➢ State sponsors, such as Cuba, Iran, and North Korea.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTACKS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement)</td>
<td>Israel, West Bank, Gaza Strip</td>
<td>Its leader signed bin Laden's 1998 fatwa calling for attacks on U.S. interests; elected in 2006 as governing authority in Gaza.</td>
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<td>Hezbollah (Party of God)</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>Also known as Islamic Jihad; often directed by Iran and suspected in the bombing of the U.S. embassy and marine barracks in Beirut in 1983; dominates Lebanon politically; fights against Israel.</td>
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<td>Boko Haram (Western Ways Are Forbidden)</td>
<td>Northern Nigeria and neighboring countries; pushed into a final stronghold in the 25,000-square-mile Sambisa Forest in northeastern Nigeria in 2015 by coalition of Nigeria and the African Union</td>
<td>Salafi jihadists who violently pursue the establishment of a strict version of Sharia law throughout Nigeria. Kidnapped 276 schoolgirls in Chibok, Nigeria, in April 2014. Some were released in mid-2017, but about 100 are still believed to be in Boko Haram custody.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Haqqani Network</td>
<td>Pashtunistan (eastern Afghanistan and western Pakistan)</td>
<td>Insurgent Islamist group; supported by U.S. CIA during Soviet occupation of Afghanistan; now allied with Taliban and tacitly supported by Pakistan; fought against ISAF in Afghanistan until 2010.</td>
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<td>The Islamic State</td>
<td>Formerly centered in Syria and northern Iraq, but actively franchising to Yemen, Afghanistan, Egypt, Libya, and possibly Chechnya</td>
<td>An outgrowth of Al Qaeda in Iraq, currently led by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, a former senior officer in Saddam Hussein’s Iraqi army and the self-proclaimed caliph; the world’s wealthiest terrorist group; aims to establish an “Islamic” caliphate (no territorial boundaries) and is responsible for thousands of murders, including beheadings, as well as rapes and sexual slavery; it targets any who oppose its restrictive interpretation of Sharia law.</td>
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Cyberwarfare

➢ Cyberwarfare refers to state actions taken to penetrate another state’s cyberspace in order to cause damage.

➢ Cyberspace: more than just the Internet; “the entire spectrum of networked information and communication systems and devices”

➢ Increasingly common in state relations and used by nonstate actors
Causes of War: Realist Interpretations

➢ States exist in an *anarchic system*, with no overarching authority to provide security or settle disputes.
  • Only coercive authority can create laws, resolve disputes, or enforce law and order.
  • Wars break out when nothing prevents them.
  • There is no central authority to which a state can turn for help or which can serve as an arbiter of competing claims to self-determination.

➢ Wars often occur over contested territory or over competing claims to self-determination.
Wars can often be attributed to the “incorrect” distribution of power in the international system.

• Power transition theory: an even distribution of power (especially the point of transition) increases the likelihood of war. As the relative power of states changes over time, so does the likelihood of war.
  • Rising power solidifying its position
  • Predominant power starting a preventive war
Causes of War: Liberal Interpretations

➢ Liberals tend to focus more on characteristics of the state and institutions (both domestic and international).

➢ For Liberal: democratic regimes are least likely to wage war with other democracies because democratic norms and culture inhibit the leadership from taking actions leading to war.

➢ Liberal capitalist states are also more likely to avoid war because it interferes with international trade.
  • Plato: cohesive population and economic prosperity are associated with peace.
  • Kant: democracy, interdependence, and institutions foster peace.
Causes of War: Liberal Interpretations 2

➢ Democratic peace theory: democracies don’t fight each other but are as war prone as nondemocracies.
  • Democracies share norms of compromise and cooperation and externalize these norms.
  • Democratic institutions and transparency in decision making
➢ Economic interdependence fosters peace.
➢ International institutions promote peace.
Causes of War: Constructivist Interpretations

➢ Threats are socially constructed.
➢ Implications of material objects are socialized as threatening.
➢ Different types of socialization can lead to different outcomes.
  • Example: Canada might consider North Korea as more of a threat than the United States, even though the latter has greater relative power than North Korea.
  • Example: United Kingdom owning nuclear weapons versus Iran owning nuclear weapons means different things for the United States.
Preventing War and Managing State Security: Realist

- **Balance of power**: states, as rational actors, make decisions to increase their own capabilities and undermine those of others.
  - War can be managed, but due to human nature they can never be eliminated.
  - Use of alliances to balance power both internationally and regionally (external balancing)
  - Increase military and economic capabilities to counter potential threats (internal balancing)
  - Emphasis on relative versus absolute gains
Preventing War and Managing State Security: Realist 2

➢ Goal of Deterrence
  • Prevent the outbreak of war with a credible threat of the use of force.
  • Assumptions:
    • Decision makers are rational.
    • The threat of destruction from nuclear warfare is too great.
    • Alternatives to war are available irrespective of situation.
Deterrence in Practice

➢ States must build arsenals for a credible threat.
  • If an alliance, such as NATO, is part of that threat, the alliance must prove its cohesion.
➢ Information about the threat must be communicated.
➢ Leaders must be able to make rational decisions.
Deterrence in the Twenty-First Century

➢ The rise of nonstate actors decreases the possibility that deterrence will work.
➢ Nonstate actors do not hold territory, so a threat to destroy territory is not effective.
➢ The presence of flexible, geographically spread groups makes eliminating networks difficult.
➢ Willingness to use suicide terrorism undermines deterrence logic.
➢ U.S. nuclear primacy may mean deterrence against the United States is impossible.
Preventing War and Managing State Security: Liberal

➢ Peace through of collective security
   • Wars are caused by aggressive states.
   • Aggressors must be stopped.
   • Aggressors are easily identified.
   • Aggressors are always morally wrong.
   • Aggressors know ahead of time that the international community will act against them.
The Weakness of Collective Security

➢ There is a lack of commitment by some nations to act in concert.
➢ Never works against permanent members of UN Security Council due to veto power
➢ Difficulty of identifying aggressor
➢ It is difficult to determine whether the aggressor is always wrong.
Arms control and disarmament

• Fewer weapons means greater security.
• Regulate arms proliferation (arms control) or reduce amount of arms and types of weapons (disarmament).
• Costs of security dilemma are reduced.
• Major agreements include bilateral, regional, and global treaties covering conventional, nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons.
The Weakness of Arms Control and Disarmament

➢ While arms control might lessen the security dilemma, it does not eliminate it.
➢ Complete disarmament is unlikely.
➢ Unilateral disarmament would place disarmed states in a highly insecure position.
➢ Cheaters could be rewarded by increases in their relative power.
Preventing War and Managing State Security: Constructivist

➢ States’ identities and perceptions of adversarial relations can change when states interact.
➢ Institutions can regulate interactions and can help socialize states, making war unlikely.
➢ Norms and taboos against specific types of warfare or weaponry can develop.
➢ Norms regarding legitimacy of war can also spread.
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<th>Highlighted Causes of War</th>
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<td>Anarchy of the international system</td>
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<td>Distribution of power in the system</td>
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<td>Power transitions</td>
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<td>Liberalism</td>
<td>Lack of democratic institutions/values</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lack of interdependence</td>
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<td>Lack of shared institutions</td>
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<td>Constructivism</td>
<td>Aggressive state identities</td>
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<td>Divergent identities</td>
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<td>Possession of belligerent ideas</td>
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The Just War Tradition—Jus ad Bellum

➢ Just conditions for entering into war:
  • Just cause: self-defense, defense of others, massive violation of human rights.
  • Declaration of intent by appropriate authority.
  • Intentions of ending abuses and establishing a just peace.
  • Responsibility to protect victims of human rights abuse.
  • Must have exhausted all other alternatives.

➢ Forces must be removed quickly after objectives are achieved.
The Just War Tradition—Jus in Bello

➢ Just conduct in war
• Distinguish between combatants and noncombatants
• Noncombatants protected from harm
• Violence proportionate to ends to be achieved
• Undue human suffering avoided
• Individual responsibility for actions taken
Cyberwarfare and Just War

Cyberwarfare adds a new dimension to just war theory and raises a series of questions.

• Is a cyberattack prohibited under international law?
• Can the attacked party retaliate? If so, how?
• Does a cyberattack constitute an act of war?
Key Terms

• Arms Control - regulation of the amount, type, positioning, or use of weapons.

• Asymmetric Conflict - armed conflict between two or more groups of very different military size or power.

• Disarmament - regulation of the amount, type, positioning, or use of weapons.

• Intrastate War – Armed conflict that takes place within a state or civil war.

• Interstate War - armed conflict between two or more states.
Key Terms

• Terrorism - indiscriminate violence aimed at noncombatants to influence a wider audience.

• Unconventional Warfare - conflict that takes place outside of the legitimate sphere of armies and armed conflict.

• War - organized, violent (i.e., military) conflict between two or more parties.

• Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) - nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons.