CDSn4001: Conflict Analysis

International systemic causes of war: balance of power

October 4, 2022 Miriam Matejova, PhD

Agenda

- Systemic theories in IR and war
 - How does anarchy lead to war?
 - How can we achieve peace in anarchy?
- Different types of realism
- Balance of power theory vs hegemonic stability theory
- Polarity in IR

Basic tenets of realism

| Interest of states | Survival |
|-------------------------|--|
| How to achieve survival | Increase power |
| Human nature | Man is flawed and therefore prone to conflict |
| Anarchy | The environment in which sovereign nation-states act |

The international structure

- Kenneth Waltz an American political scientist and the father of neorealism
 - Asked: Why do wars occur?
- "International anarchy is the permissive cause of war."
 - Sovereign nation-states in a system of international anarchy will behave conflictually, because there is nothing or no one to prevent conflict.

International anarchy

- International politics is composed of sovereign nation-states that are beholden to no higher power.
- There is no world government (i.e., self-help system)
- Anarchy in IR is not lack of order but a lack of an orderer.

Realism and power

- Hans Morgenthau: "International politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power."
- Power defined largely in terms of coercion.
- Mostly viewed as specific assets or material resources available to state.
 - Power is military power.
 - Economic power as an essential underpinning of military power.

(Classical) realism vs neorealism

| Classical realism | Structural realism (neorealism) |
|--|--|
| Power for the sake of power: power as end | Power for security: power as means |
| Human nature as the cause of war | Anarchic structure as a necessary but not sufficient condition for war |
| Domestic factors matter (in a limited way) | Focus on states as unitary actors interacting in international system |

Defensive vs offensive realism

| STRUCTURAL REALISM | | |
|--|---|--|
| DEFENSIVE | OFFENSIVE | |
| States should gain "appropriate amount of power" | It makes sense for states to pursue as much power as possible | |
| Pursuit of hegemony is foolish | States should pursue hegemony | |
| Key writers: Waltz, Jervis | Key writers: Mearsheimer, Gilpin, Schweller | |

Balance of power theory

- Balance of power: A system in which no single actor is dominant; also, the distribution of power in such a system, which is not necessarily equal.
 - no single state is sufficiently powerful to defeat the others.

Hegemonic stability theory

- Stability results from unipolarity, in which one dominant state ensures some degree of order in the system.
- **Hegemon** = leader or dominant actor
 - "global cop", reducing the degree of anarchy in the system
- War is most likely when the dominant position of the leader erodes, giving other states the temptation to seek dominance.
 - ➤ if the rising second-place state seeks to assert its power, or
 - ➢ if the hegemon attacks preemptively to crush the rising threat before it becomes even more powerful.

Balance of power vs hegemonic stability

- Balance of power: stability in balance; chances of war increase as one state seeks to dominate the others
- Hegemonic stability: stability in dominance; chances of war increase as the situation moves toward equality

Polarity in international politics

| | | Examples |
|---------------|--|---|
| Unipolarity | The hegemon keeps order, sets up the rules, mediates disputes, and opposes any autonomous action | Rome USA since 1991? |
| Bipolarity | Two competing great power hegemons. Each presides over an alliance of weaker states. | Athens vs Sparta (5 th century BC) The Cold war |
| Tripolarity | With three great powers, no balance is possible. Each state seeks to avoid having the other two gang up on it. | ? |
| Multipolarity | With a municipality of powers, multiple combinations can produce balance. | Almost all European history (19 th century Europe) World since 9/11? |

Status quo vs revisionist states

Status-quo states

- Generally satisfied
- Goal is self-preservation
- Tend to balance

Revisionist states

- Generally dissatisfied
- Motivated not by security but by opportunity goal is self-extension
- Tend to bandwagon