## The Waning of War

O Generation by generation, the effect from wars have decreased
O consistent trend suggests an overall movement toward less war in the international system

- Liberal Theories

O draw mostly on the reciprocity and identity principles
O generally are more optimistic than realism about the prospects for peace
O Realists view vs Liberalists view
■ Realists: laws of power politics as relatively timeless and unchanging

- Liberalists: rules of IR as slowly evolve through time, becoming more and more peaceful as time lengthens
O Evolution results:
- Primarily from the gradual buildup of international organizations and mutual cooperation (reciprocity)
- Secondarily from changes in norms and public opinion (identity)
- Kant and Peace

O According to German philosopher Immanuel Kant:

- states could develop the organizations and rules to facilitate cooperation specifically by forming a world federation (resembling today’s United Nations)
- peace depends on the internal character of governments

■ democracies do not fight each other, is the basis of present democratic peace theory
■ trade between states promotes peace

- relies on the presumption that trade increases wealth, cooperation, and local wellbeing
- Economic interdependence: as trade between states increase, they become more mutually dependent on one other for goods
- sensitivity: one state relies on another to provide an important good but can find alternate suppliers
- vulnerability: few or no alternative suppliers

Liberal Institutionalism
O Liberal theories treat national actors as capable of forgoing short-term individual interest in order to further the long-term well-being of a community to which they belong.

- For example the WTO and the EU decisions require consensus among all members, making them all equal in governance.
- Kant's argument: Although autonomous, they could join a worldwide federation like the UN and respect its principles even at the cost of forgoing. International cooperation was a more rational option for for states than resorting to war.
- War and violence appear as irrational deviations that result from defective and that harms the long term interest of warring states.

■ Neoliberal differes at it concedes to realism, such as the states are unitary actors that rationally pursuing their self-interests in a system of anarchy.

- It is in their interest to achieve cooperation, and they use institutions to ease the pursuit of mutual gains and the reduction of possibilities for cheating or taking advantages.
- Uses the Prisoner's Dilemma to illustrate their argument that cooperation is possible.

■ The dilemma can be solved if the "game" is played over and over.
States rely on a context of rules, norms, habits, and institutions that make it rational for all sides to avoid the self-defeating outcomes that would result from pursuing narrow, short term self-interest.

- Study to see how institutions and norms affect the possibilities for overcoming dilemmas and achieving international cooperation.
International Regimes
O It is difficult to resolve conflicts without a third party to arbitrate or an overall framework to set common expectations for all parties.

■ International regime is a set of rules, norms, and procedures, around which the expectations of actors converge in a certain issue area.

- Help solve collective goods problems by increasing transparency.
- Regimes come into existence of overcome collective goods dilemmas by coordinating the behaviors of individual states.

■ Facilitate and empower national governments.

- Hegemony are when regimes are most effective when the international system is most concentrated
- Not necessary for maintaining them
- Depends on their imbedding n permanent institutions such as the UN or NATO.
O Institutions gain greater stability than do non-institutional regimes, since it can actively promote adherence to the rules.
Collective Security
O Formation of a broad alliance of most major actors in an international system for the purpose of jointly opposing aggression by any actor

O Kant's proposal: the majority of states could unite to punish any one state that committed aggression, safeguarding the collective interest of all the nations while protecting the self-determination of small nations that are easily becoming pawns under the great powers
O The League of Nations flawed in two ways:

- membership did not include all the great powers (including the most powerful one, the United States)
- its members proved unwilling to bear the costs of collective action to oppose aggression when it did occur in the 1930s, starting with Japan and Italy
O United Nations created as the League's successor to promote collective security
■ Regional IGOs also currently perform collective security functions (deterring aggression) as well as economic and cultural ones-the Organization of American States (OAS), the Arab League, and the African Union
O Collective Security successes if:
- members keep their alliance commitments to the group, in other words, members must not free ride on the efforts of other members
- enough members must agree on what constitutes aggression

O failed states have very weak control of their territory, causing it to become potential havens for drug trafficking, money laundering, and terrorist bases

- Democratic Peace

O Kant's Argument: Lasting peace would depend on states' becoming republics, with legislatures to check the power of monarchs and believes that an international community based on peaceful relations may emerge.

- Cheques and balances in government would act as a brake on the use of military forces
■ Democracies are generally more peaceful than authoritarian governments.
■ Turned out not to be true $->$ Fight equal amounts of war
- Three most war prone states: France, Russia, and Britain Democracies almost never fight against each other, democratic peace
- Possibly due to the citizens not seeing each other as an enemy or trade relations create strong interdependence.
- Democratic institutions can make cooperation more difficult because countries may fail to join international organizations because of domestic opposition

■ USA can't join the League of Nations due to the Congress opposing it

