

War and Use of Force in International relations

Violence & use of force – one of the basic threats to international security and stability as well as to existing systems of security. The results are devastating: in the XX Century only more than 130 million people lost their lives. War is illegal, except in self-defence and when authorised by the UN SC. For centuries, war was considered as natural and inseparable part of human condition.

Prevailing philosophical views on the nature, origins of military conflicts and wars:

- *from the early history people were trying to avert chaos and war; famous theoreticians: Sun Tzu – Chinese thinker of 5th century (“Art of War”), (German Carl von Clausewitz 18th century – “On War” Classical sentence: “War is a policy conducted by other means”);*
- *“Geopolitics is be dominated by the **CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS**” - professor Samuel Huntington (not clash of interests among states but cultural and religious differences; 7 civilizations: Western, Orthodox, Islamic, African, Hinduist, Buddhist, Chinese, Japanese);*
- ***Just and unjust wars** – theory by St. Augustin (IVth Century) and St. Thomas Aquinas - XIIIth Century (3 justifications of use of force: approval of the authority, just aim, right intention) – two sides of just war concept; present developed concept – American prof. Michael Waltzer.*
- ***Biological and anthropological theories: Thomas HOBBS** (XVII-th Century English philosopher– war is part of human nature (war of everybody against everybody – *bellum omnium contra omnes*), rivalry and war - natural mechanism of civilizational development); Thomas **MALTHUS** (XVIII-th Century English economist and demographer) – war serves the function of reducing population. Jean Jacques **Rousseau** (XVIII-th French philosopher)– wars is not creation of human nature but rather a product of states’ rivalries. Polish thinkers in XIV-th century – war cannot be used under the pretext of religion (crusades).*

Concepts of **appeasement – Munich conferenced of 1938** , **pacifism, militarism** (*si vis pacem para bellum*), **crusade, deterrence**.

Politology’ s views on the origins of wars:

- **Changes of balance of power** between and among states in important fields, in particular military and economy (USA – China); dilemma of Thucydides in present conditions.
- **Quest for hegemony, Imperialism and neo-imperialism** (territorial expansionism, zones of influence or privileged interests; concept of preventive strikes);
- **Rivalry for natural resources**: classical: oil, gas, uranium; future: water, food etc.;
- **Inequalities among states and societies (populations) and phenomenon of “fallen states”** ex.: Somalia, South Sudan, Syria, Yemen, Haiti, Afghanistan;

- **Virulent nationalism** and fascist ideologies;
- **Arms race**, negative influence of industrial-military complex; role of provoked or un-provoked incidents;
- **Radical separatism** (in contradiction with the constitutional and international law and understanding of principle of self-determination), ex.: Bask Country & terrorism, Catalonia, Chechnya, Eastern Ukraine – special case, Italian separatists (Lega Norte).
- Majority of present use of force in the worlds has its **roots in conflicts born in domestic situation rather than in conflicts between states**, i.e.: Syria, Libya, Russia-Ukraine, Yemen, South Sudan, Somalia. **Dangers of anarchy** in international relations (A.D. Rotfeld: instability, unpredictability, uncertainty, vagueness - ambiguity). Ambiguous role of globalization.

Gradual steps leading to war

- **Tensions** (revealing contradictory interests of the states), virulent propaganda, **escalation and de-escalation**;
- **Dispute-contention-quarrel-litigation**; heavy-metal diplomacy,
- **Crisis** – tensions impossible to reduce in a normal, quick manner – state between war & peace (Cuban crisis 1962, Russia-Ukraine 1991-2);
- **Conflict** – higher degree of tension and crisis, danger of extended military action (Russia-Ukraine);
- **Aggression, use of force and military conflict**, limited and full-scale (no recognised definition of “aggression”, neither of “war” in the United Nations)); complications with the hybrid & cyber wars. **War** – extremal form of military conflict, engagement of all military forces at the state’s disposal, legal aspects; **Types of wars**:
- **Classic, conventional, unconventional, total** (Hitler), war of attrition (Russian Empire vs. Napoleon), devastation and extermination (tactics of burned territory), civil war (Spain 1936-39, Russia 1918-21, Syria 2011- 20117), ethnic wars (Azeris and Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh, World Wars I and II, regional (Balkans), local wars (Eastern Ukraine),
- **Non classic**: asymmetric warfare, hybrid war – latest example: Eastern Ukraine (use of force in many forms without deploying one’s own military forces); privatized wars (drug lords in Latin America), wars by proxies (Cuba in Angola in 1980s), biological, chemical (Saddam Hussein in Iraq), cyber warfare in the cyber-space, nuclear,
- **Guerrilla war** (Castro in Cuba, Vietnam), rebellious wars (*myatezhe voyna*) in South Ossetia and Abkhazia; irredentism based on separatism (Basque country, North Ireland, Ukraine).
- **International efforts**: international law (Laws of War, Briand-Kellog Act 1934 – war is forbidden, UN Charter – role of the Security Council; from international law

point of view, there are only two legal possibilities to use of force (war): in self-defence in case of aggression and with the UN Security Council approval. Recognition of crimes: Genocide, Crime Against Humanity, War Crimes, Crime of Aggression. *Responsibility to Protect* concept.

Questions: Main philosophical views on the nature and war? Origins of wars from the point of view of Politology? Gradual steps leading to full-scale war? Types of war? Is war legal? When the use of force (war) may be justified (legal)? Major theoreticians on war? What is appeasement? Author of the “clash of civilization conflict” and main ideas of this concept.

Origins of international conflicts; new threats to security

Origins and threats in political & strategic fields

- **Return to great powers rivalry and dangers resulting from serious weakening of the post-war security system** (Russian and Chinese ambitions, revisionism and expansionism); balance shifted to Asia and Pacific; BRICS and G-7, first and second league of great powers, 3 “whales”: Europe (20%), USA (25) and Asia – 35% of the participation in global GNP; Russian-Ukrainian conflict – future of Donetsk and Lugansk self-styled “people’s republics”,
- **Elements of anarchy:** crisis of capitalism and democracy, many destabilizing centres: North Korea and Iran nuclear ambitions, “frozen conflicts” (Trans-Dniestria, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Nagorno-Karabakh, Turkish State of Northern Cyprus) ; “fallen states” (Syria, Libya, Somalia, Chad and other Sahel states, Sierra Leone et.), Arctic area; problem of “interdependent instability”;
- **Weakening of the Western World** – EU internal crisis (refugees, rule of law principle); Trump uncertainties and unpredictability, reduction of American presence in Europe; strategic problems of NATO (only defence or/also active policy in maintaining security in Europe and outside, two categories of members?); raise of populism, separatism and nationalism; renationalization of security policies;
- **Weakening of the rule of international law** and of *pacta sunt servanda* principle, weakening of non-proliferation regime, international organizations, renunciation of some arms control agreements by Russia and the USA; danger of returning to cold war policies;
- **International terrorism, piracy and cyber-terrorism:** right and left wing, religious fundamentalist groups (jihad); main terrorist groups: Islamic State (ISIS, Daesh), Al Kaida, Boko Haram, Hezbollah; states sponsors of terrorism: North Korea, Iran, Sudan; global subjects combating terrorism: UN, EU, NATO, USA; new methods – suicidal squad or individuals, increase in number of victims; no fully agreed definition of international terrorism (methods and practices aimed at destruction of human rights, basic freedoms and democratic fundamentals of society);
- **Separatist tendencies** in particular during crisis situations (*separation and secession* – during American civil war), external use of separatist tendencies (Russia-Ukraine), nations aspiring to create their own states: Catalans, Basques, Flemish, Scots, people of Padania in the Northern Italy, Chechens in the Russian Federation, Tatarstan, Palestinians, Kurds, Tibetans, Franco-Canadians people of Quebec;

people of Greenland, Arab people of Western Sahara, people of Barotseland in Zambia, people of the self-styled *Republic of Lakotah* in the North-Middle USA (local Indians). Those peoples/nations have created a non-governmental organization named *Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO)*.

- **Areas of current potential conflicts:** Middle East, Ukraine-Russia, Eastern Pacific (Chinese Sea), Spritely Islands, Arctic Sea, some border areas in Central Africa (Nigeria, Central African Republic, Southern Sudan, Somalia), Caucasus, Northern Korea,

Military fields:

- **Arms race and application of new deadly technologies** (drones, robots, miniaturization); high costs of arming,
- **Destabilizing role of missiles technologies, asymmetries,**
- **Nuclear proliferation** (role of IAEA – International Atomic Energy Agency),
- **Hybrid wars, demonstrations of force.**

Economic and ecology fields

- **Uncontrolled International financial sectors, centres and institutions getting out of international control** and supervision (world financial crisis of 2008 – no strategy to combat this crisis); **threat of return to the financial crisis of 2008; crisis of capitalism;**
- **Unequal economic and social development** inside the states and on international level, **extension of social, economic and other inequalities;**
- **Large scale corruption;** international organised crime;
- **Serious pollution of natural environment,** ozone's hole, extinction of bees, carbon dioxide problems;
- **Rivalry for natural resources** and exhaustion of those resources, including drinking water;
- **Climate change, in particular warming-up of the atmosphere, unpredictable natural catastrophes, possibility of destructive falls of meteors.**

Social Fields

- **Inequalities in national GDP redistribution;** problems resulting from demographic processes;
- **Large scale migration waves** (Syrian example) and treatment of migrants at home;
- **Danger of populist, nationalist, anti-immigrants and racist feelings and policies;**

- **Medical dangers:** wide-spread epidemics, virus mutation and immunization of bacteria against vaccinations.

Psychological fields

- **An increased inclination to use force**, instead dialogue and negotiations, *zero-sum game* concept;

Dehumanization of an enemy (wars start in human minds)

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NATO IN CONDITIONS OF UNPREDICTABILITY – ITS ROLE IN MANTAINING STABILITY AND SECURITY

1. Present international situation – crisis of the post-cold war system (from 2014 we are living in a situation of “a disorder in order”; post-cold-war system ceased to exist in many areas);

Conditions in which NATO is functioning. **Chaos and unpredictability** is prevailing in most of the sectors of international relations: loss of control of the financial sector, weakness of international organizations and international law (R2P), intensification of terrorism (ISIS and its failure in Syria), immigration and **refugees crisis** and pressure on Western Europe, **raise of China** (Thucydides trap) and its effort to find itself a better space – conflict with the US; **Russian regional challenge** – role in destruction of the post-cold war system, Crimea annexation and hybrid war in the Eastern Ukraine, general **weakening of the Western World, in particular of the EU** - return to the ideas of national state; role of NATO as stabilizer – not anachronism (Donald Trump).

2. Some encyclopedic reminders on NATO:

Unique classical politico-military alliance (not just military), exclusive international defense club, considered the most successful – won the Cold War without one shot, **high level of homogeneity** due to relative homogeneity and common values and aims (Lord Ismay: *Americans in, Russians out, Germans down*), basis – North-Atlantic Treaty of 1949. Basis of collective defense action – Art. 5 of the Treaty - based on principle: “one for all, all for one”; the article was enacted only once in 2001 after attack on the WTC in New York). **Three priorities in the Strategic Concept:** collective defense, stabilization operations, building collective security. USA offered its nuclear potential to the NATO disposal as its “*nuclear umbrella*”.

29 members (12 original), developed structures in the Brussels and Mons Headquarters, headed by North-Atlantic Council & Secretary General (Actually Jens Stoltenberg – Norwegian); **formally regional but with “global outreach”** (Reykjavik 2003), **specific US position** – hegemony or leadership (75% of financing), no separate army, but common defense commands; ministerial meetings 4 times per year (defense – 2, foreign affairs – 2), summit meetings once per two years.

Specific decision making; enlargement (problem with Russia); developed **system of partnership**: strategic, distinctive, EAPC, Mediterranean Dialogue, Istanbul initiative, contact states, large structural machinery. Anecdote on telephone reply from the NATO HQ

3. Some basic historic stages.

After 1989: future of NATO was matter of consideration in the Western capitals (enemy ceased to exist – Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact). After **YANAYEV** coup d'état in 1991 and ethnic disturbances in the territory of the former USSR, the decision was: to recognize Russia as **strategic** partner and Ukraine as **distinctive** one and continue the Alliance, but making it more like a stabilizing Instrument. This required constant reforms and transformation.

4. Dynamic changes and reforms as important NATO characteristic.

First, was to **develop partnership**: Russia (NRC), Ukraine (NUC), EAPC, etc. This embraced also partnership with the EU and cooperation with the OSCE and the United Nations.

Second, was to develop **crisis management**, relative **global outreach**,

Third, to increase interest in **cooperative security** matters.

Forth, was to increase expeditionary capabilities, which later was manifested in particular in Afghanistan, patrolling Baltic states skies and Mediterranean Sea, combating terrorism capabilities, actions against pirates in the Red Sea, military training assistance to some partners etc.

Fifth, enlargement in 3 stages, given Russia strategic satisfaction ("3 No": to nuclear weapons, **significant** military presence and significant military installation stationing).

5. How military transformation looked like?

Priority – collective defense (*usability, smart defense, pooling&sharing, mobility*), **second** – crisis management and prevention (*expected results: military action, stabilization, reconstruction, advisory and training functions*), financing – minimum 2% of GDP, attention to disarmament and arms control (*anecdote on telephone to HQ*), **third**, contribution to building cooperative security – relations with the EU, OSCE, UN.

6. Changes after 2014 (Crimea annexation and Russian hybrid aggression on Eastern Ukraine). Before that President Putin gave to understand in 21007 (Munich Conference) that Russia was dissatisfied with the post-Cold war system and with liberal democracy values, criticized strongly OSCE and its common values system; in 2008 engaged in war with Georgia. Moscow was trying to divide West, and to undermine European Union; practiced military brinkmanship in the Baltic sea, demonstrated increasing military might in the East, produced military incidents.

NATO responded showing more determination, mainly by putting forward a concept called – "from deployed NATO into prepared NATO", **more deterrence and containment** (**Newport and Warsaw Summits– 2014, 2016**), return to *contingency plans*, RAP - *Readiness Action Plan*, development of NRF - *NATO Response Force*, strengthening of the Eastern Flank – *permanent rotational presence*. promise of American Brigade and 3,4 billion US \$. Effort to increase rapid response and automaticity (except full scale war).

Problem of **balance between Russian challenge and Southern challenge**. Obligations with Russia of 1997 – “3 no”). Resumption of the NRC in Brussels – April 2016: **double track in relations with Russia – deterrence and dialogue**.

7. In 2018 as tensions with Russia went high up: the US wants to step up readiness and ensure that at least 30.000 troops, plus additional aircraft and naval ships can reach a trouble spot within 30 days. This means to commit 30 battalions, 30 fighter squadrons and 30 naval ships ready to deploy. NATO has also a 5.000 spearhead force to serve as quick-reaction team to come to the aid of those troops within 10 days.

Difficult problem raised by Trump: long declining European military budgets. NATO target is 2% of gross domestic product (GDP).

Questions is NATO ability to deploy rapidly **4.600 troops on forward deployment in Baltic States and Poland**. Reinforcements are indispensable element (nightmare scenarios for the Alliance: Russia attempt creeping annexation of NATO territory and US forces engaged in a crisis in Asia). Cooperation with the EU: military mobility, tanks, artillery and other equipment to travel on European roads, bridges and railways (upgrading)

Some weaknesses: Greece and Turkey armies are not trained to deploy out of the region. Belgium 7 Romania cut their land forces, Germany lacks some necessary equipment, France is overstretched in Africa, British army has been shrinking, Central Europe, in particular Baltic States are exposed. However, policy of deterrence and containment is progressively strengthened..

8, Questions and perspectives

The main question: will NATO effectively defend it allies in case of aggression (75 % of alliances failed, 10% allies turned back)? NATO specialty – securing peace without war. Problems of obligations with Russia and how to reply to Russian nuclear threat.

- **Develop two track policy with Russia and in parallel with deterrence & capabilities and increased readiness (quick response);**
- **Protect Ukraine** – constituting element of European security;
- **Develop defense measures against ISIS and terrorism** (no *world gendarme*);
- **Engage in building new security order (system)**, once conditions permit.