

States, Nations, and the Great Powers

The Sources of Regional War and Peace

Benjamin Miller



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	page xi
<i>List of tables</i>	xii
<i>Preface and acknowledgments</i>	xiv
1 Why some regions are peaceful and others are not	1
Why there is a need for a new theory of regional war and peace: filling the gaps in the existing literature	3
9/11, the post-Cold War era, and regional conflicts	7
Theory of regional war and peace: an overview	11
My theoretical approach	21
The key ideas and the existing literature	23
Overview of the book	35
2 A theory of regional war and peace	41
The phenomena to be explained	41
Competing theoretical perspectives: system, society, and community at two levels of analysis	48
Explaining regional war and peace	53
Summary	78
3 States, nations, and war	82
The argument	82
State-to-nation imbalance → hot wars	84
Forces affecting the state-to-nation balance	88
Types of states and their war proneness	100
Linkages between revisionism and failed states	106
The state-to-nation imbalance and regional war proneness	108

Propositions derived from the state-to-nation imbalance as a key cause of regional war	111
The state-to-nation imbalance and the immediate causes of regional wars	121
Conclusions	127
4 Explaining the war proneness of the Middle East	129
The Middle East puzzle	130
Application of the theory to the Middle East in the post-World War II era	133
The sources and manifestations of the state-to-nation imbalance in the Middle East	136
Explaining variations among different states in the same region with regard to resort to force and war involvement	153
Explaining spatial differences: the high war proneness of the Arab–Israeli arena	167
The effects of the state-to-nation imbalance on the regional war proneness: power and security as the proximate causes of specific Middle East wars	177
Explaining change over time	190
Conclusions	199
5 The great powers and war and peace in the Middle East	205
Global factors: types of great power regional involvement	207
The Middle East during the Cold War period	224
US hegemony in the Middle East results in a transition to Arab–Israeli cold peace	236
The effects of 9/11 and the war in Iraq	248
Conclusions: systemic effects – possibilities and limitations	253
6 War and peace in the Balkans: states, nations, and great powers	256
Assessing the theory in the Balkans (1830–1913)	258
The effects of the type of great power engagement on regional outcomes in the post-World War I era	284
Conclusions	302

7	The state-to-nation balance and the emergence of peace in South America during the twentieth century	306
	Potential pathways to regional peace	306
	The strategy of regional conflict resolution	311
	The strategy of conflict resolution leads to normal peace	311
	The conditions for the effectiveness of the conflict-resolution strategy: the presence of coherent states in the region	312
	Explaining the emergence of peace in South America	317
	The necessary conditions: consolidation of nationally congruent states	327
	Conclusions	336
8	The emergence of high-level peace in post-1945 Western Europe: nationalism, democracy, hegemony, and regional integration	337
	The effects of regional integration	338
	The conditions for the effectiveness of the integration strategy: the prevalence of liberal compatibility	340
	The interrelationships between liberalism and nationalism	341
	New liberal states under benign hegemony/concert	347
	Post-1945 Western Europe: transition from war to high-level warm peace	349
	The integration strategy's effects: the postnational state and high-level warm peace	352
	The conditions for the strategy's effectiveness: liberalization under US hegemony	354
	Conclusions	366
9	Conclusions	369
	Summary of the theory and findings	369
	Some of the findings with regard to the six propositions listed at the end of chapter 2	374
	Utility of the theory	384
	How to advance regional peace: lessons and suggestions	386
	Strong and incongruent states: defeat of the revisionists and the coercive approach	388
	Incongruent and weak states: great power intervention followed by partition or power-sharing	396

Contents

Congruent and weak: state-building leading to regional conflict resolution	406
Congruent and strong: integration of democracies	409
Sequencing the stages in regional peacemaking: an integrated-gradual approach	412
Regional peacemaking: summary	416
Agenda for future research	418
<i>Appendix A. Comparative dimensions of the state-to-nation imbalance in the Middle East, the Balkans, South America, and Western Europe in the post-1945 era</i>	422
<i>Appendix B. Data-file: major armed conflicts/wars by region, type, and modes of great power regional involvement (1945–2004)</i>	425
<i>Bibliography</i>	448
<i>Index</i>	489