

UNIT 4

COERCIVE DIPLOMACY

Vocabulary List

expulsion from	to comply with the demand
interests at stake	to dissuade an opponent from
key-variables of coercive diplomacy	to employ coercive diplomacy
magnitude of the request	to evaluate the danger
on the assumption	to favour the use of
ongoing crisis	to intimidate an adversary
political-diplomatic strategy	to lead to an unanticipated war
practice of blackmail	to outweigh the gains
reluctance to	to persuade the adversary to back down
rigid time limit	to put up resistance
spectrum of strategies	to reject the request
suspension of an agreement	to resort to military force
try-and- see approach	to seize the enemy
wide range of objectives	to seize the opportunity
	to seize the opportunity
to avoid a humiliating defeat	to stop the enterprise
to be coupled with	to stretch at outer limits
to be inclined to escalate the crisis	to underpin the policy
to box into the corner	to undertake an encroachment
to coerce the adversary	to yield to the demand

You can claim to be really successful not when you obtain one hundred victories in one hundred battles, rather when you seize your enemy without even fighting.

This aphorism asserted by the Chinese strategist Sun Tzu (VI-V cent. B. C.) summarizes perfectly the meaning and the aim of coercive diplomacy, that is to make an enemy stop or undo an action without resorting to military means, but through issuing a specific demand backed by a threat of punishment for non-compliance with it. Clearly, the threat must be credible and potent enough to persuade the opponent that it is in his interest to comply with the demand.

A state can coerce its adversary with threatening political consequences, such as the expulsion from an international organization, economic sanctions, such as an embargo and the suspension of an economic agreement, or the use of force.

It should be remarked that coercive diplomacy offers an alternative to reliance on military actions; it is based on the threat of force rather than the use of force in order to get other actors to comply with one's wishes. If force is used, it takes the form of an exemplary or symbolic use of military actions, to demonstrate motivation and resolution to escalate to high levels of military action if necessary. Hence, in coercive diplomacy, force is not employed as a part of a conventional military strategy, but as a component of a political-diplomatic strategy aimed at persuading the adversary to back down. It is a more flexible, psychological instrument in contrast to the 'physical, quick and decisive' use made in the military strategy.

Furthermore, unlike conventional military strategy, the threat and use of force in coercive diplomacy is coupled with clear communication, signalling and bargaining in order to make the opponent aware of one's intentions, motivation and credibility at every step of the ongoing crisis.

The notion of coercive diplomacy can be distinguished by other related concepts. First of all, coercive diplomacy is regarded as a *defensive* strategy, thus distinct from *blackmail* – an *offensive* strategy – which occurs when a threat is employed to coerce a subject to give up something of value without putting up resistance. Coercive diplomacy has also to be distinguished from *deterrence*, i. e. a strategy that makes use of threats to dissuade an opponent from undertaking an encroachment of one's interests not yet initiated. On the contrary, coercive diplomacy is directed at stopping an action already undertaken.

The strategy of coercive diplomacy can take a variety of forms along a continuum and pursue very different objectives. At the extremes of the spectrum of available strategies are the "try-and-see" approach and the ultimatum. The former occurs when the coercing power takes one threatening step at a time, waiting for the reaction of the adversary before making additional threats. This strategy avoids putting pressure on the counterpart and, thus, prevents the crisis from escalating sharply. The latter consists in making a specific and detailed request backed by a rigid time limit. The conditions included in the ultimatum are presented as *final* and require unconditional and categorical acceptance by the opponent.

A state employing coercive diplomacy can achieve a wide range of objectives. The most limited one is to make the enemy stop an action already undertaken; a more ambitious one is the reversal of what has been already accomplished, namely the opponent is forced not only to stop its enterprise, but also to give up the advantages that its action had previously gained; finally, the most difficult one, is the cessation

of the opponent's hostile behaviour through a change in the composition of his government or in the nature of the regime. It could be argued, however, that this last variant stretches coercive diplomacy at its outer limits_as it closely resembles the practice of blackmail: the use of threats is made in an offensive rather than defensive fashion, while the request of the coercing power exceeds what would be sufficient to protect its national interest.

Coercive diplomacy is, in fact, an attractive strategy because it offers the possibility of achieving political objectives without resorting to the use of traditional military force and with less bloodshed and political costs. In the history of international conflicts, it has proved to be particularly efficient to intimidate, with little risk, weaker adversaries. Nevertheless, it is also a dangerous option as it can backfire, quicken the escalation and lead to an unanticipated war. This happens when the coercing power boxes into the corner a highly motivated adversary which is inclined to escalate the crisis in order to avoid a humiliating defeat. Moreover, the opponent can reject the request thinking it is a bluff, and challenge the coercing power, especially in the case of ultimatum. Thus, two key-variables of coercive diplomacy are the magnitude of the demand made on the opponent and his motivation not to comply with it; these two variables are strictly connected as the strength of the adversary's reluctance to comply with the request is deeply sensitive to the magnitude of the request advanced by the coercing power.

Overall, it is possible to identify a number of conditions that favour the successful use of coercive diplomacy in a dispute between two states: clarity of the objective, efficient communication of intentions and signalling of interests at stake, symmetric information about each side's willingness to escalate, strength of motivation, strong leadership, asymmetry of motivation in favour of the coercing power, sense of urgency, adequate domestic and international support, unacceptability by the adversary of the threatened escalation, unilateral coercive diplomacy, isolation of the adversary. A key-variable that underpins all these is, however, a balance of power in favour of the coercing state: its availability of massive material capabilities is more likely to persuade the counterpart to back off, as it will perceive the threat as sufficiently credible and potent. These conditions rest, obviously, on the assumption of a "rational" opponent who correctly evaluates whether the danger and risks of not complying outweigh the costs and gains to be expected from yielding to the demand of the coercing power.

(after Ilario Schettino, <http://www.e-ir.info/2009/06/29/is-coercive-diplomacy-a-viable-means-to-achieve-political-objectives>)

Exercise 1. Find in the text the English for:

відхилити прохання	важливість прохання
відповідати вимогам	виключення з
застосувати військову силу	виходячи з припущення
відмовитись від намірів	жорсткі часові рамки
чинити опір	загальноприйнята військова стратегія
залякувати супротивника	захопити ворога
вийти за межі	інтереси, поставлені на карту
відмовити опонента від	існуючий конфлікт
погодитись на вимоги	ключові аспекти 'дипломатії примусу'
оцінити небезпеку	небезпечна альтернатива
мати намір загострити кризу	низка поставлених цілей
загнати в кут	підсилити політику
переконати супротивника відступити	політично-дипломатична стратегія
уникнути принизливої поразки	практика шантажу
підтримати використання	реальна загроза
здійснити зазіхання / втручання	розмаїття стратегій
небажання виконувати	скористатися нагодою
переважати над здобутками	стримуюча сила
здіяяти дипломатію примусу	тактика 'спроб і помилок'
тиснути на ворога	тимчасове припинення дії договору
призвести до непередбачуваної війни	у поєднанні з

Exercise 2. Fill in the gaps using the following collocations.

suspension of the agreement	dangerous option
try-and-see approach	deterrent force
to be stretched at outer limits	ongoing crisis
to intimidate the adversary	to underpin the policy
to be coupled with	on the assumption
to comply with	

1. Failure ___ such a request for additional documentation may entail the ___ and a new subscription process.
2. In the event of war Britons should maintain their ___ as the most effective means of contributing to the victory.
3. Additional services and procedures shouldn't ___ or be outside the scope of practice, authorized acts and personal competencies.

4. One week ago, this Council considered the ___ in Gaza stemming from the siege imposed by Israel.
5. Nuclear terrorism does not only represent an effort ___ but also poses a critical threat to states and peoples around the world.
6. Gender mainstreaming is a key concept that should ___, yet no mention has been made of it whatsoever.
7. In order to reduce illegal immigration and exploitation of workers, this decision must ___ the clampdown on unscrupulous employers of third-country nationals that enter Europe illegally.
8. Security doctrines continue to argue a military utility for nuclear weapons, whether in active use or as a ___.
9. Everyone, including those who were in favour of such a ___ are now convinced that hasty recognition of the republic was a serious error.
10. The realists' approach is also ahistorical – it is based ___ that states are the primary actors in world politics.

Exercise 3. Paraphrase the highlighted expressions using the phrases from the Vocabulary List.

1. However, the freedom of expression is not absolute, and when the harm of expression *prevails over the benefits* it may be curtailed.
2. Once in power the typical coercive state almost instinctively *carries out intrusion* to intimidate and suppress any threat to its power or even on the pretext of threats or dissent which are shown to be imagined rather than real.
3. Religion can function as a powerful catalyst for opposition and potentially, for outright defiance as well as *demonstrate counteraction* to the regime.
4. The purpose of the United Nations is to maintain international peace and security *in conformity with* the principles of justice and international law.
5. There are also several specialized agencies that deal with the settlement of international disputes or calamities which might *result in an unexpected breach of peace*.
6. I would like *to make use of the chance* to pay tribute to all the humanitarian agencies and to their personnel for their dedication and courage.
7. In fact, the *sense* of insecurity is a fertile soil not only for *the disinclination to disarm* but also for the ambition to acquire nuclear weapons.

Exercise 4. Fill in the blanks with the words from the list.

spectrum

stake

to blackmail

resistance

encroachment
to seize
suspension

enterprise
reluctance
adversaries

1. The credibility of the United Nations body is at ____, so let us act to restore credibility to that entity before it is too late.
2. There is a risk that the rogue states would be able ____ non-nuclear weapon states by threatening them with nuclear attack.
3. While Carroll surveyed a broad ____ of issues, one transborder pollution issue has drawn sustained attention.
4. But his failure might also be seen in the light of the curious indifference or ____ on the part of French manufacturers to seek out and adapt to American markets.
5. It was the United States that provided much of the impetus for discussion of peace, but it was not solely an American ____.
6. Because the United States played the leading role in the founding of NATO and because it alone possessed the military might to protect the region from Soviet ____, its dominance has been inevitable and indeed necessary to the existence of the alliance.
7. The Swiss ____ to settle this dispute may be compared to the willingness of the German government to undo historical injustices such as the use of Nazi slave labour in German factories .
8. These are strategies and tactics used by the successful ruler ____ and retain power and the techniques of statecraft needed to conduct a successful foreign policy.
9. However, the victors were unable to defeat their ____ for good: the Anglicans, distrusting power in Catholic hands, refused to take part in the fighting.
10. Both sides shared responsibility for the ____ of the truce talks in August after the communists protested an alleged UN violation of the neutral zone.

Exercise 5. Match the words with their definitions, synonyms or related idioms.

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| 1. to seize | a. lack of eagerness or willingness; disinclination |
| 2. to bluff | b. to make smb eat humble pie |
| 3. to underpin | c. the shedding of blood; killing |
| 4. to yield | d. the act of delaying something for a period of time |
| 5. coercion | e. to pull the wool over someone's eyes |
| 6. to accomplish | f. to raise the white flag; to lay down arms |

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| 7. reluctance | g. to give corroboration, strength, or support |
| 8. to humiliate | h. to declare categorically; to insist upon (rights, claims, etc.) |
| 9. to assert | i. to take by storm; to make use of a chance |
| 10. blackmail | j. strong-arm tactics |
| 11. bloodshed | k. to succeed in completing smth; to put the tin lid on |
| 12. suspension | l. the act of putting pressure by making threats; hush money |
| 13. to evaluate | m. to become or make something greater, worse, more serious |
| 14. to resort to | n. to form an opinion, value or quality of smth |
| 15. to escalate | o. to make use of smth as a means of achieving smth |
| 16. to intimidate | p. to intrude gradually or stealthily upon the rights, property, etc. |
| 17. to encroach | q. q. to discourage or restrain unscrupulously by threats or blackmail |

Exercise 6. Comment on the meaning of the following notions.

symbolic use of military actions	strong leadership
to intimidate weaker adversaries	sense of urgency
unilateral coercive diplomacy	asymmetry of motivation
adequate international support	deterrent force
conventional military strategy	isolation of the adversary

Exercise 7. Answer the questions.

1. What is the primary aim of coercive diplomacy?
2. What are the possible political consequences of non-complying with the demand of a coercive power?
3. What is the difference between 'defensive' and 'offensive' strategies?
4. What can be the main objectives achieved by a state employing coercive diplomacy?
5. How can a rational opponent estimate costs and gains of yielding to coercive power?

Exercise 8. Comment on the difference between the following words and fill in the gaps.

• **persuade – dissuade**

1. They say that this contract is un-negotiable, but maybe we can ___ them to amend some of the details.
2. If this ruthless fanaticism is to be opposed effectively, the Secretary of State will need to enlist moderate religious leaders everywhere to combine their efforts ___ angry alienated young Muslims from being recruited into the Al Qaeda or jihadi networks.
3. According to community representatives, the absence of active offer ___ English-speaking clients in Quebec from fully exercising their language rights.

• **maintain – retain**

1. Despite the difficulty in creating typologies which cover the immense variety of religious creeds, we will ___ the simple threefold classification.
2. All states use coercion since all governments and regimes need to use force to enforce law, ___ internal order, and to defend the state against external threats.
3. As a consequence, a new Germany would not only ___ all of the German Empire but also Austria and parts of Czechoslovakia .

• **employ – deploy**

1. Naked power seems to have been the method ___ in the Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch Empires, at least to a greater extent than in the French and British Empires.
2. It has made a modest but useful contribution by ___ UN peace-keeping forces to help establish truce agreements and back up the diplomacy of conflict resolution.
3. Do you imagine for a moment that in case we ___ troops, the souls and the minds of people are going to change?

• **defensive – offensive**

1. The second and far more serious conflict between the two powers revolved around the placement of Soviet ___ missiles in Cuba in 1962.
2. The two camps play on the feeling of being besieged in order to justify a war that is presented as ___.
3. It played a historic role in ensuring strategic stability and security, as well as reducing arsenals of strategic ___ methods.

- **perceive – conceive**

1. Diplomacy is generally ___ as diametrically opposed to the use of force.
2. Global political space, as some geographers have noted, is ___ as either well connected /formatted or disconnected /corrupted.
3. For some reason, people only ___ our politics in black and white, yet politics has a much larger palette.

- **efficient – deficient**

1. Globalization has made the world economy more ___ and has created hundreds of millions of jobs, mainly, but not only, in developing countries.
2. In other areas, however, existing measures remain seriously ___ and progress requires investment in new statistical capacity.
3. This strategy is very ___ over the short term, but the methods used are morally flawed.

- **seize – cease**

1. We should ___ the opportunity to reach international consensus on the issues of concern and together improve the situation.
2. In this regard, we insist that all parties to the conflict in Kosovo should ___ fire and fully abide by the terms of the Military Technical Agreement.
3. A sophisticated fighting system lets you strategically place your bases, attack and ___ the enemy and their islands using tactical outposts.

Exercise 9. Note the difference between the following synonyms and fill in the gaps.

- **to coerce – to pressure – to threaten – to subdue**

1. Clearly, however, the future is uncertain as the public ___ the government to reduce their regulation of the media in the ‘public interest’.
2. They will resist structural, substantive or normative innovations or reforms in the international organizational system that ___ the Western-centric status quo.
3. The Security Council's decision to try ___ Iran into suspension of its peaceful nuclear programme is a gross violation.
4. The Macedonians marched first through Greece, where they temporarily ___ the ever-warring city states.
5. The purpose of war is ___ the enemy and live in peace with him thereafter, not to ravage his countryside and destroy his population.

• **to invade – to encroach – to intrude – to usurp**

1. It is because of China's support that Sudan felt it could get away this month with sending a proxy army ___ neighbouring Chad.
2. The ensuing demoralization of the Soviet proletariat was a critical factor in allowing the Stalinist bureaucracy ___ political power.
3. From Carr's perspective, the historical enquiry represents an interwoven series of events and perspectives in which the present ___ into the reconstruction of the past.
4. Such an action needs to respect the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality and must not ___ on the competence of the Member States.
5. If an organization ___ on the domestic jurisdiction of members to a substantial degree, the structure may approximate to a federation, and the area of competence of members will be in issue.

• **to yield to – to surrender – to give in**

1. The Palestinian people, despite their suffering, would never ___ oppression, subjugation and injustice.
2. Following the conquest of Poland and a period of deceptive calm (called the "phony war"), Germany conquered Norway and Denmark and then invaded France, forcing France ___ in May 1940 and Britain to evacuate its army hurriedly from Dunkirk in France.
3. Finland's peaceful people responsibly paid off the World War I debt, they established a democratic republic across the border from the largest communist nation in the world, and refused ___ the outrageous demands of Stalin.
4. Further discussions were held on the future of Europe at the Potsdam Conference a few months after Germany ___ .

• **to cease – to terminate – to halt**

1. Any decision ___ this agreement must be addressed in writing to the group members, setting out the reasons for the decision.
2. The Lebanese Prime Minister called urgently ___ fire and described his country as a 'disaster zone'.
3. Let it also be an incentive ___ hostility and ___ the military activities on both sides which are of great political, financial and human cost.
4. It is essential ___ and reverse the nuclear arms race in all its aspects in order to avert the danger of war involving nuclear weapons.

Exercise 10. Choose the appropriate derivative.

- **defend – defendant – defender – defensive – defense – defenseless**

1. ___ as it is understood today means more, however, than traditional ___ operations at the national borders against a conventional attack.
2. They need to be called on to ___ their performance in this sphere that is so critical to the future of Canada and our role in the world.
3. It is a nation which has always been a courageous ___ of liberty and has always been concerned with solidarity values.
4. Compliance with the conditions should not interfere with the ability of the ___ to continue working or any treatment she may be undertaking.
5. West Europe's dark-skinned proletarians are not just ___ victims but an important component of the working-class.

- **vary – variable – various – variant – variation – variance – variety – varying**

1. What we are aiming at is a solution that does not place us at ___ with our European obligations as full members of the EU.
2. Although the “trust me” approach to policymaking obviously may ___ in quality depending upon the policy and the expert, it always requires a passive public.
3. Historians of different eras and ___ political persuasions, have long disagreed about the origins of the conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union.
4. The agenda for the meeting of defense ministers includes current military operations and how to develop management capability for ___ types of crisis.
5. Foreign policy became an independent ___, a mechanism to reconcile, or drive apart, diverse interests and values within a state, and to justify extractions from and reallocation of resources between ___ segments of society.
6. The problem areas differ a great deal, and a wide ___ of sectors are affected, but the links between them are obvious.
7. In the real world of international relations there is enormous ___ in the degree to which states meet certain criteria.
8. Other forms of constructivism, particularly the more critical ___ are less focused on the instrumental role played by values, norms and identities in explaining cooperative or conflictual behaviour between states at the structural or institutional level.

Exercise 11. Match the words from A box with their synonyms in B box.

A

adversary deterrent credible magnitude counterpart flexible
expulsion cessation rigid urgent bloodshed range

B

obstacle exclusion displacement restraint rival
enemy impediment foe opponent removal
convincing plausible crucial unyielding strict
adamant immediate adaptable pause colleague
compliant standstill vitality halt trustworthy
massacre yielding believable harsh termination
significance fixed murder importance pressing
scope slaughter magnitude uppermost adjustable
associate co-worker spectrum variety chain

Exercise 12. Translate the sentences.

1. Щоб уникнути принизливої поразки, ворогу довелося вдатися до різноманітних тактик, нехтуючи інтересами, які поставлені на карту.
2. Без сумніву, варто оцінити всю небезпеку непоправних наслідків агресії, використати політично-дипломатичну стратегію та вжити усіх заходів, щоб запобігти прямому військовому втручання.
3. Щоб збільшити свій тиск на ворога, що чинить опір і не погоджується на поставлені вимоги, потрібно встановити жорсткі часові рамки щодо їх виконання.
4. Одним із ключових елементів дипломатичного примусу є вміння переконати супротивника відмовитись від наступу і, таким чином, уникнути загострення кризової ситуації.
5. Якщо ворог не відмовиться від своїх задумів, це може призвести до неочікуваної війни та кровопролиття.
6. Оцінивши небезпеку конфронтації та погодившись на вимоги опозиції, уряд загнав себе у глухий кут, однак згодом продемонстрував гнучкість у відносинах задля досягнення політичної стабільності
7. Застосування погроз та сили в дипломатії примусу може дійти до крайньої межі, що нагадує практику шантажу, якщо супротивник наслідиться не погодитись з вимогами.

8. Зрозумівши гостроту ситуації і намагаючись знизити градус напруги в існуючому конфлікті, дипломати вдалися до тактики “спроб і помилок”, досягнувши, таким чином, низки поставлених цілей.
9. Непередбачуваний військовий напад загнав у кут одну із сторін конфлікту, тому, аби уникнути принизливої поразки, останній довелося погодитися на усі вимоги супротивника.
10. Реальна загроза тимчасового призупинення дії документа є одним із способів політично-дипломатичної стратегії, мета якої тиснути на супротивника і змусити його призупити небезпечні починання, відмовитись від практики шантажу та використати розмаїття дипломатичних стратегій.

Exercise 13. Fill in the gaps with the prepositions.

1. Gibbs argued that Kennedy was able to pursue this policy because high-level officials ... his administration had virtually no economic interests ... stake in Katanga.
2. The satisfactions they yield ... their disciples are intellectual, not practical; and even then we have to confess that there is a large minus-side ... the account.
3. ... all, many of his ideas resting ... the assumptions which relate ... human nature depended more ... metaphysical theory than a real attempt ... scientific objectivity.
4. There are many who would like to comply ... all procedures, and that is also correct.
5. The only clear cases are the expulsion ... British and French colonial rule ... Palestine, Cyprus, Aden, and Algeria.
6. The call ... ‘unconditional surrender’ was controversial but it was able to portray ... their peoples the Allies as wanting to crush them, and undoubtedly prolonged the conflict ... putting ... resistance ... Allied forces.
7. The skeptics included ... one time or another that a North Atlantic alliance would lead ... the garrisoning ... Europe ... American troops.
8. John Cormick argues that the United States has shown its essential weaknesses ... the wars ... that time, and that power can be expressed ... resort ... force.
9. The Israeli air bombardment hit ... a far wider range ... targets and killed and injured hundreds ... innocent civilians, including large numbers ... children.
10. ... the cold war geopolitical arrangements were boxed ... the corner as US-dominated international organizations such as the IMF rendered greater control and influence ... regions.

Exercise 14. Complete the sentences using the context as well as your own ideas.

1. The threat and the use of force in coercive diplomacy coupled with ...
2. A conventional military strategy is based on ...
3. There are a number of prerequisites that favor the successful use of ...
4. In the history of international conflicts ...
5. A strategy / a policy / a state can be considered successful ...

Exercise 15. Agree or disagree with the following statements. Give your reasons.

1. Force in the political-diplomatic strategy is a more flexible psychological instrument in contrast to the physical, quick and decisive use made in the military strategy.
2. The history of international conflicts has proved that it is particularly efficient to intimidate, with little risk, weaker adversaries.
3. Coercive diplomacy is a dangerous option.
4. When a highly motivated adversary is boxed into the corner it is inclined to escalate the crisis in order to avoid a humiliating defeat.

Exercise 16. Make a presentation.

Types of diplomacy and their peculiarities (bilateral, multilateral, public, shuttle, etc.)

Exercise 17. Debate Circuit.

1. Sanctions should be used to promote democracy.

Points for

- Sanctions have been an effective long term policy tool in the past.
- Sanctions can block the weapons that are used to perpetrate human rights violations.
- Sanctions make clear where a country stands.
- Just the threat of sanctions can be an effective coercive tool.

Points against

- Sanctions are ineffective because it is very difficult to unify an adequate number of countries to cripple an economy.
- Sanctions are ineffective because they hurt ordinary people more than leadership.

- Sanctions are the opposite of free trade and therefore should not be used because free trade has greater benefits.
- Sanctions are ineffective because they can be counterproductive.

2. Democracy can be built as a result of interventions.

Points for

- Interventions show external support, strengthening local democratic movements.
- Interventions lead to the necessary actions for nation-building.
- Incentivizes democratic development in other countries as well.
- Interventions depose unjust leaders that the people might not have the power to overthrow.

Points against

- Old political parties cling to power, even after the government has been removed.
- Democracy must be developed from the inside and cannot be pushed upon a country.
- Interventions create violent, volatile situations that even if successful scar a country.
- Countries that need interventions have other problems inhibiting democracy.

3. It's necessary to use force to protect human rights abroad.

Points for

- Interventions can be small and successful.
- National sovereignty ends when human rights are systematically violated.
- There is a moral obligation to protect fellow human beings.
- This deters future human rights abuses.

Points against

- Foreign intervention fragments the conflict.
- Force does more harm than good.
- This is an illegitimate violation of national sovereignty.

Exercise 18. Write an essay.

1. Does the end always justify the means? Provide examples from the history when it did and when it didn't.

2. All wars represent a failure in diplomacy.