

# **Exorcising the Ghost of Westphalia**

## **Building World Order in the New Millennium**

**Charles W. Kegley, Jr.**

University of South Carolina

**Gregory A. Raymond**

Boise State University

**Prentice  
Hall**

Upper Saddle River, New Jersey 07458

# Contents

About the Authors xi

Preface xiii

Introduction 1

## **Part I: The Thirty Years' War and the Genesis of the Modern International System: A Prologue to the Future 7**

### CHAPTER 1

The Causes of the Thirty Years' War 12

The Controversial Roots of the Thirty Years' War 16  
Faith, Fatherland, or Finance? Preconditions for War  
in Sixteenth-Century Europe 17

*The Intellectual Origins of International Conflict* 17

*A Struggle between Authority and Anarchy* 19

*A War Produced by Profit and Prosperity* 24

Politics and Religion in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth  
Centuries 25

*A War between Religious Confessions ?* 26

Military Answers to Theological and Political Questions 49

CHAPTER 2

The Evolutionary Course of the Thirty Years' War 51

- The 1618-1620 Bohemian Phase 55
  - The Defenestration of Prague* 56
  - The Empire Strikes Back* 58
- The 1620-1624 Palatinate Phase 60
- The 1625-1629 Danish Phase 62
  - Wallenstein 's Long Shadow* 65
  - The Empire's Drive for Dominion* 65
  - The Edict of Restitution* 67
  - Church and State Relations in the Tumult of War* 67
- The 1630-1635 Swedish Phase 69
  - Gustavus Adolphus Enters the War* 69
  - Cardinal Richelieu Orchestrates French Involvement* 71
  - Countering the Counter-Reformation* 75
- The 1635-1648 Franco-Swedish Phase 78
  - Richelieu and the Ascendance of Raison d'Etat* 78
  - The Final Phase of the War* 80
  - The Rocky Road to Peace* 82
  - The Eleventh Hour of the Thirty Years' War* 83

CHAPTER 3

The Costs of the Thirty Years' War 86

- A World Destroyed 87
- Why Did the War Last? 90
- The War's Consequences 94
  - The Collapse of Civil Culture* 94
  - The Collapse of Prosperity* 95
  - The Collapse of Christian Unity* 96
  - The Collapse of Legal Constraints on Warfare* 96
- How the War Ended 97

**Part II: The Peace of Westphalia's Blueprint  
for International Relations 101**

CHAPTER 4

Negotiating the Peace Settlement 108

- Ending the Thirty Years' War 109
- The Terms of the Settlement 111
  - Decisions on Material Issues* 112
  - Decisions on the Rules of Statecraft* 117
- Contending Interpretations of the Peace Settlement 123

CHAPTER 5

The Consequences of the Peace Settlement 126

- Evaluating the New Order 127
- Ten Tenets for Peace 128
  - Retributive Justice* 128
  - Assimilating Losers into the Postwar System* 129
  - Removing Religion from International Politics* 129
  - State Sovereignty* 131
  - The Equality of States* 132
  - The Balance of Power* 132
  - Collective Security and Multilateral Diplomacy* 133
  - Selective Nonintervention* 133
  - Legitimizing Realpolitik* 134
  - The Demise of Moral Constraints* 135
- The Normative Legacy of the Peace Settlement 136
  - Westphalia's Grim Military Legacy* 137
  - Westphalia's Turbulent Political Legacy* 140
- Westphalia as a War System 146

**Part III: The Westphalian Ghost  
and Future of World Order 149**

CHAPTER 6

Challenges to World Order at the Dawn  
of the Twenty-First Century 154

- Integrative Trends That Are Transforming World Politics 156
  - Globalization and the Erosion of State Sovereignty* 156
  - Democratization and the Emergence of Global Civil Society* 164
  - Humanitarianism and the Decay of the Nonintervention Principle* 166
- Disintegrative Trends That Are Transforming World Politics 168
  - The Implosion of Failed States* 168
  - The Reassertion of Parochialism* 170
- Beyond the Westphalian Model of World Politics 172

CHAPTER 7

Westphalia's Problematic Contribution  
to Contemporary World Order 178

- Comparing Two Postwar Eras 180
- Westphalia and the Changing World System 185
- International Norms and the Peace of Westphalia 188
  - The Westphalian Normative Order* 189

**X CONTENTS**

*Deficiencies in the Westphalian Normative Order* 192  
Toward a Post-Westphalian Normative Order 199

CHAPTER 8

The Importance of Trust in Global Governance  
for World Order 204

Trust and Statecraft 205  
    *The Concept of Trust* 206  
    *Types of Trust* 207  
Global Cultures of Trust and Mistrust 210  
    *Westphalia and the Culture of Mistrust* 210  
    *Weighing the Evidence on Cultures of Mistrust* 211  
Approaches to Building a Global Culture of Trust 213  
    *Establishing Reciprocity-Based Trust* 214  
    *Developing Identity-Based Trust* 214  
Summary and Conclusions 221

Endnotes 227

References 257

Photo Credits 281

Index 283