

of a world-system, or at least regarded as having similar patterns of external relations. Their reactions toward the establishment of German colonial rule in the area was very different though, whereas Chagga resistance was low-key (Cornevin 1969: 409), the Hehe under their chief Mkwawa waged a fierce war of resistance against the Germans (1891–1898). From this example as well as the results of the cross-cultural testing it appears to be warranted to state that world-system position by itself, or formulated more cautiously, as measured in the cited study, cannot account for the differences in warfare patterns.

Why does world-system position fail to explain patterns of warfare?

If we do not want to discard the notion of external factors as being important in the explanation of internal phenomena, the above results are in need of explanation. Several reasons might account for the obtained non-correlation of the variable measuring world-system position and the warfare variables. (1) In the conceptualization of world-system theory the internal variation within the zones is disregarded. Some authors (Smith 1978: 575; Hechter 1975: 30f.) have noted that the hierarchical organization of the world-system is also to be found – on a smaller scale – within a zone, the core for instance can be subdivided into a periphery and semiperiphery as well. (2) World-system position reflects many different dimensions of integration, which might have disparate effects on warfare patterns. In the study of White and Moore (1988) the emphasis is on economic integration. It should be noted, however, that integration into a world-system or world-economy is based on a multitude of interactions and touches on different cultural domains, the economic and political sphere representing just two. Hannerz (1989: 209) comments on the transfer of ideas and ideologies and the impact on indigenous meaning systems. The connection of ideology transfer with modes of conflict management is established by Skocpol (1979: 23). In explaining social revolutions she argues that the knowledge of past events can serve as a model and option for action in a revolutionary setting. (3) Snyder and Kick (1979) have suggested, that it is the interplay of 'exogenetic' (i. e. world-system position) and 'ontogenetic' (i. e. internal features of a social unit) variables which accounts for economic growth of nations, this argument can be transferred to the question of warfare patterns as well. The latter two possible explanations will be explored in turn.

(1) In operationalizing world-system position, five measures of involvement with larger economic networks have been used in the study of White and Moore (1988, see above). Even a cursory inspection of these measures reveals, that the potential impact of any of these aspects of integration on warfare patterns might be very different, e. g. whereas one aspect of integration (i. e. imposition of taxes, introduction of forced labor) can be perceived as having a positive effect on warfare, another (i. e. introduction of legal institutions) might reduce warfare. In addition, the relationship of the variables to internal and external warfare might also be different. The variable measuring